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THE WEEKLY REVIEW

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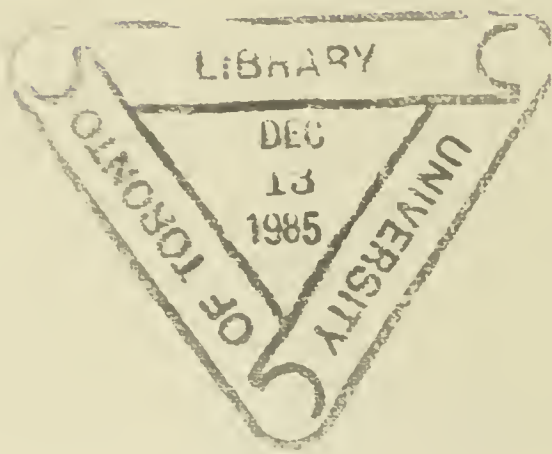
October—December, 1921

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# The Independent

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THE WEEKLY REVIEW

October 1, 1921



## The Leadership of Secretary Hughes

By a Gentleman Without a Duster

**F**EW if any Secretaries of State have won such commanding leadership in foreign affairs, fewer still have won such great public confidence, as Charles Evans Hughes. None, it is safe to say, has achieved such a result in the first six months of his official life.

There must be something very unusual in the equipment and mental characteristics of Hughes to explain the quiet, powerful grip that he has taken on the country and the world since he tackled a situation in Washington last March of unprecedented subtlety and difficulty. Even those who have followed him intimately from the days of the Armstrong Insurance Committee investigation, through the Governorship of New York, the Supreme Court Justiceship, the Presidential campaign and candidacy of 1916, have been surprised at the quality of his work in Washington. His warmest admirers have wondered why he is at his best, and a sustained best at that, in his new job, for which many of them would never have thought of him or in which they would not have expected him to prove a conspicuous success.

### Hughes Primarily a Great Lawyer

The country received his appointment with general satisfaction; partly because they interpreted it as signifying that President Harding did not intend to be his own Secretary of State, as Wilson had chosen to be throughout his two terms, so that there would be less danger of continuing conflict between the White House and the Senate. Why the President selected Hughes for the first place in his Cabinet and what qualities have enabled Hughes to make this opportunity the occasion of signal service to the country are matters that have aroused little discussion in Washington and are not generally appreciated at home or abroad.

The President's selection of Hughes did not mean that he had no foreign policy of his own, but rather that his general principles, which he had purposely avoided developing in any detailed application, were in the main identical with those held by Mr. Hughes. He wanted a Secretary of State who would be a sound legal adviser in foreign affairs and capable of developing the application of those principles to the specific problems of the complicated international situation. It was not Hughes's claim to consideration for a post of honor in the new Administration by reason of his past services as standard bearer

of his party in 1916 that was probably the decisive factor in the President's mind, and Mr. Hughes would have been the last person to suggest or press such a claim. It was well known that he personally would have preferred to remain in private life in the enjoyment of an interesting, varied, and lucrative law practice and in a position of leadership at the bar of New York.

Hughes is primarily and at all times a great lawyer. He has a legal mind capable of the keenest analysis and quick to detect the subtlest distinctions in the most complicated situation. He is progressive in temperament, but it is safe to say that he would forgo progress as too dearly or insecurely achieved if confronted with a situation in which he could not reconcile it with the orderly legal development of society. In the next place, he has what always must accompany really great legal talent, prodigious energy and capacity for hard work. Nothing has impressed Senators and diplomats alike in their official dealings with him more than his frank, simple, and direct approach to a problem which he has first mastered in every detail and in the handling of which he exhibits reserve power they can not penetrate or measure. This gives him a great advantage in just the kind of negotiations and "informal conversations" in political and diplomatic business that go on all the time in every Foreign Office. Too many of his predecessors in the State Department have been weak or less effective because they had to rely on materials prepared for them. He prepares his own case, while at the same time he knows how to utilize specially trained and technical assistance. He is a stalwart Republican without any of the outward signs of a professional politician, a patriotic and self-reliant American without any pose, bluster, or bluff. He inspires confidence and exudes an atmosphere of sincerity and justice. At work he impresses his colleagues and those with whom he has to treat in foreign affairs very much as one is impressed by a huge and powerful piece of industrial machinery with delicate mechanism under perfect control and capable of carrying a much heavier load in an emergency.

### His Policies

But what are the policies for which Hughes stands and for which, in harmony with the views of the President, he is laying broad foundations in order to secure harmonious party action? It will be remembered that Mr. Hughes was



one of the group of advocates of international coöperation to promote peace, who along with Root, Hoover, Schurman, Wickersham, Butler, and others prominent in the Presidential campaign had signed the statement of the "31" in support of Harding for President on the ground that his principles of international relations would secure the participation of the United States in an effective league to preserve peace—whether a new League of Nations or the existing League reorganized without the entangling commitments of the present Covenant or the involvement of the United States in purely European problems.

Mr. Hughes was clearly on record as favorable and sympathetic to the aims and purposes of the Covenant of the existing League of Nations, but his legal acumen led him to examine the Covenant as a corporation lawyer would examine the charter of a corporation or its important contracts, and as a constitutional lawyer would examine the written document that constitutes the supreme and fundamental law of the land. With the dominance of the legalistic principle Hughes was naturally a strict constructionist. He accepted Wilson's phrase that Article X was the heart of the Covenant, and he pronounced it a bad heart. Not even the explanations and interpretations which the League itself has placed upon Article X would have enabled Hughes as a lawyer and counsellor to pronounce any other verdict than that Article X was susceptible of becoming a trouble maker, and was a dangerous clause in any contract to which the United States would become a party if it wished to preserve unimpaired its sovereignty and to avoid undefined commitments. For the rest, Hughes was entirely sympathetic with the main purposes of the League Covenant and quite as convinced as the most ardent pro-Leaguers of the responsibility of the United States, and of the necessity of its participation in world affairs if civilization was to be safeguarded from a repetition of dangers as great as or greater than those suffered in the World War.

#### Our Rights and Duties

There was another aspect to the fundamental principles and attitude of mind with which the President and Secretary Hughes, with the support of the whole Cabinet, approached the practical situation that presented itself from the beginning of this Administration by reason of the rejection by the Senate of the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty, either with or without the Covenant of the League of Nations, involved a settlement of or agreement upon a dozen or more major propositions which were so interwoven that a vote or judgment upon the combination always brought about a consolidation of minorities opposed to one or more

of these propositions. Mr. Hughes thought they could be better dealt with separately; that only in this way could a square issue be raised, opinion in the Senate or the public at large be definitely measured, and a satisfactory solution be reached. Thus he began the consideration of our rights and duties, as one of the principal Allied and Associated

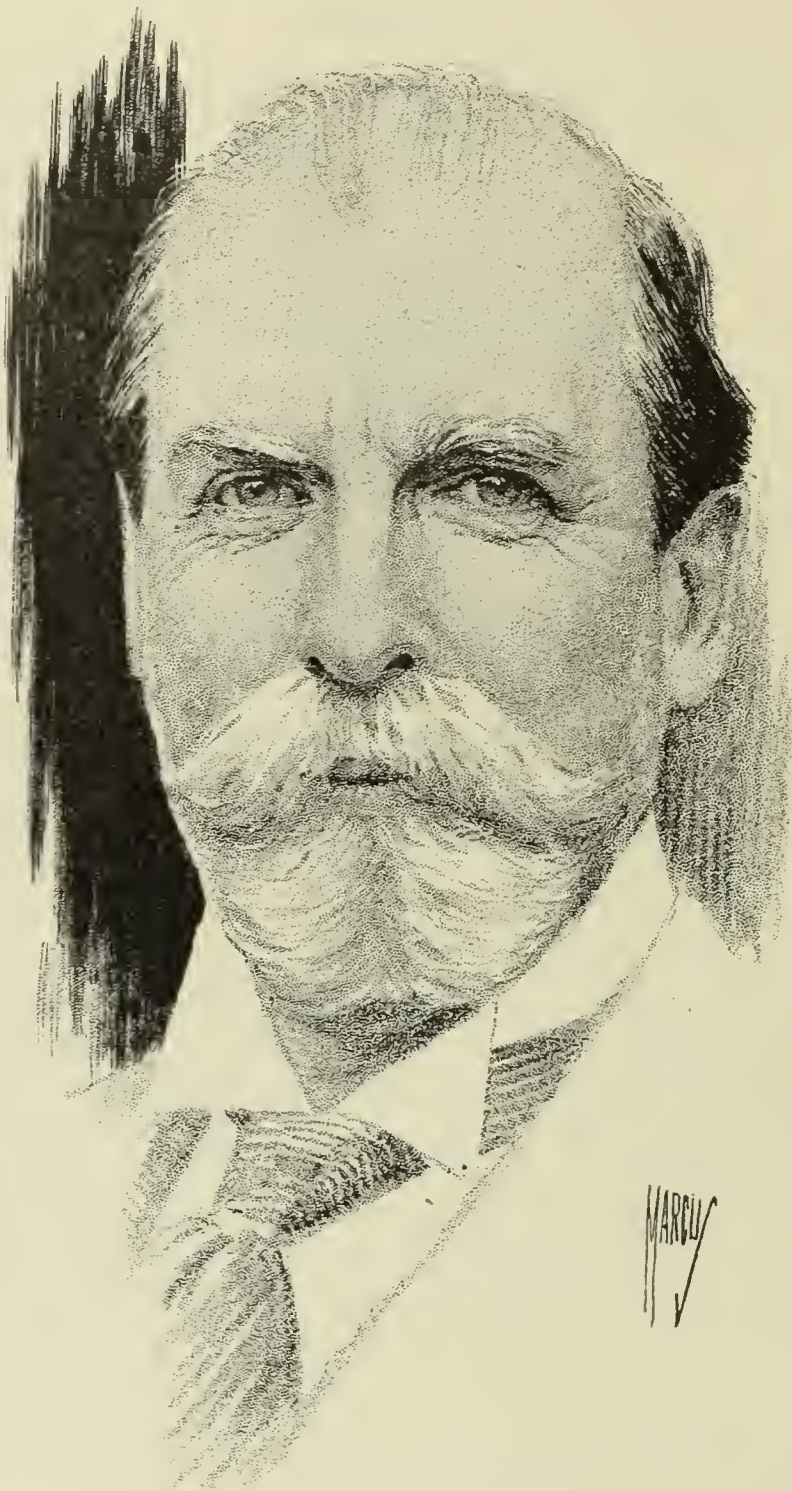
Powers and a party to the armistice agreement under which the Treaty of Versailles was negotiated, in the questions involved in Yap, and separately in more general questions—those involved in the assignment of mandates; in the financial aspects of German reparations; in agreements with respect to expenditures for armaments; and so on through a considerable list of questions all of which would have been indefinitely settled, or at least referred for settlement to some agency with indefinite powers as far as the United States was concerned, if we had ratified the Treaty of Versailles and become a member of the League.

#### One Thing at a Time

Mr. Hughes seems convinced that effective American coöperation and decisions with respect to American interests can best be secured through the open and direct methods of separate consideration and negotiation of each particular issue. While these are matters that require time and great patience before results can be accurately measured, it must be admitted that Secretary Hughes has made remarkable progress in the clarification and simplification of many of these issues; that he has solidified public opinion and political support in America for a definite stand on questions of foreign policy with which Americans are little accus-

tomed to deal. In respect to them the United States must assume new obligations and become more intelligent in international thinking in order to maintain the position in world affairs that circumstances not of her choosing and the course of world history have thrust upon her. Signs are not lacking that the American people are responding to this leadership in a gratifying manner and are taking a genuine interest in our foreign relations.

The approaching International Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, with all its possibilities and in spite of its difficulties and limitations, will establish in Washington, if it does nothing else, a new realization of our world relationships. It is likely to contribute more than did the whole course of the World War to the education of the American people in international thinking. That conference is but one, although up to the present the most notable, instance of the Hughes policy of dealing separately with the major elements in the impasse in international affairs and world reconstruction created by America's rejection of the Treaty of Versailles.



Charles Evans Hughes



# The Dawn of Sanity in Ireland

By Stephen Gwynn

THE great war never brought to us in Ireland times so anxious as those we are still passing through. That was an earthquake, for which none of us felt personal responsibility, and the whole was less bitter because so impersonal. Now we are involved in a kind of contest which many of us think should never have been begun; it is pursued for ends and in a temper which to many of us Nationalists, and to all who are not Nationalists, make no appeal. We know, and could name, those who have it in their power to decide whether we shall settle down into civil conditions or shall see ourselves and our country flung back into the most demoralizing kind of strife. A great part of the community has exulted in the defiant attitude assumed by Mr. de Valera and his stand upon the mathematically clear principle that Ireland, being a nation, has an absolute right to determine its own form of government. Very few, however, have willingly faced the fact that persistence in this stand means war. They have always believed that England would give way—though they have hardly defined to themselves the limit of England's possible concessions. I wonder if any section of Sinn Fein realizes now with what extraordinary skill Mr. Lloyd George has constructed a bridge by which Dail Eireann and Mr. de Valera can retire with credit, and how disastrous to Ireland would have been the consequences had Mr. Lloyd George taken their formal reply to the Cabinet's proposals as a ground for breaking off.

The letter which conveyed the invitation to conference on September 20 was, in a sense, an ultimatum, but it was couched in such terms that it carried assent from the Nationalists' press, which up to this had not presumed to advance an opinion on any point before Dail Eireann had decided it. I have never seen so marked a contrast between two periods of political history as between the conduct of Irish affairs since Mr. Lloyd George directed his main attention to them and before; we came out of a welter of barbarities, absurdities, deceptions, and incompetences into a region of sane, sympathetic, and firm statesmanship.

## Sinn Fein's Real Opportunity

Undoubtedly, Mr. Lloyd George will desire to have this question settled before the Washington Conference; and Sinn Fein can bank upon that desire. I am terribly afraid that it may bank too heavily. In 1917-18 the Irish Convention was sitting, and that winter England had great need of America and was otherwise in straits. I believe that we could have reached a solution then, had not powerful elements in Ireland exaggerated the cinch which England's difficulty provided. The same may happen again, and this time there is no cinch. When Mr. Lloyd George induced his Tory colleagues to make these practical proposals, and, even more difficult, to make concessions of dignity in his latest document, it became very hard to argue that prolonged strife in Ireland was prolonged by his fault. With a settlement or without a settlement, he can now face any conference in Washington. He has put himself right with the world, at all events as against Sinn Fein. Yet the desire for a prompt settlement in England should help skillful and prompt negotiators to extract certain further concessions which would have great sentimental value, and possibly a practical usefulness.

The proposal submitted to Dail Eireann, and rejected by it as not giving the substance, had one very grave defect. They proposed to confer complete fiscal autonomy, but at the same time laid down that there should be no tariff barrier set up between any parts of the Three King-

doms. In other words, Ireland could not put a protective duty on goods from Great Britain, or from Ulster. The limitation is to my mind far more valuable to Ireland than to England, for it ensures Irish goods an open market in Great Britain; but it is inconsistent with complete fiscal autonomy, and all the Dominions have the right to tax British goods, and exercise it. Secondly, Ireland is allowed to raise a territorial force, but a limit is imposed on its numbers. Here probably the absolute freedom given to the other Dominions could also be obtained, and usefully, since Ireland's military fever should be allowed full vent, in any way that is not necessarily destructive. But discussion in conference is not likely, I think, to turn on these points, over which differences are reconcilable. The eternal question of Ulster blocks the way. We all know that Ireland would accept the Government's proposals and would have accepted less, if all Ulster were placed under the control of a central Irish parliament. Ireland will not recognize that no English Government could do this at present; and that England could not have endeavored to force any one of the Australian States under the Commonwealth, any more than she forced Natal when Natal refused to join the Union of South Africa.

## Let the Irish People Decide

Yet a vehement agitation is being worked up in Ulster and elsewhere against the recognition of Ulster as a separate and equal State until such time as Northern and Southern Ireland agree to unite. It has been strengthened and justified by disgraceful attacks on Catholics in Belfast, which began by bomb-throwing into Catholic quarters and developed into an attack by rifle and revolver. The Catholics of course defended themselves, and finally the local organization of the I. R. A. was called out—after which step the military came on the scene and restored order. But fighting lasted three days, with about 150 casualties, three-fourths of them Catholic. In the area of Northern Ireland as now defined by law, the minority has bitter cause to assert that it is in danger of oppression. Up to the present, this issue has been kept in the background so far as negotiations between England and Dail Eireann were concerned. Sinn Fein's contention has always been that Ireland could easily settle with Ulster if Ulster were allowed to be a purely Irish question. We are now reaching the point at which Dail Eireann's spokesmen will probably say: "We agree to accept a status within the Empire, provided that Ireland is treated as one and indivisible." If that concession were obtained, if the separate status and right accorded to Ulster by the recent Act were taken away, Dail Eireann would score a triumph so generally popular that it could afford to waive its claim to separation. But it looks to me impossible that England would agree to coerce Ulster into giving up what Ulster has got; and it is therefore likely that Sinn Fein will have to recognize that it must either go on fighting or give way both on complete separation and on the claim to have all Ireland under one authority, chosen by the entire population.

However, there is one way out—a reference to the people. I have been for some time urging this and it is now publicly recommended by Mr. Roger Sweetman, who was elected as Sinn Fein member for County Wexford in 1918 but resigned his seat in the course of last year because he did not approve of the methods pursued by his party. He says that the negotiations can have only one of three results—the concession by England of complete separation, which he regards as impossible; rupture and renewal of



hostilities; or the acceptance by Ireland of a settlement within the Empire. Members of the Dail are in his opinion debarred, by their pledges given to the electorate, by the mandates from the electorate, and by their oaths, from accepting a settlement which wipes out the Irish republic. On the other hand, Ireland is entitled to say whether it will accept such a settlement as is now available, but was not available when the last elections took place, or will choose to make war in the hope of obtaining complete separation. The Dail, therefore, can and should do no more and no less than prepare this issue for a referendum.

If, as I believe, this is the way to reach peace without a sacrifice of the principles so emphatically reasserted by Mr. de Valera, Ireland will almost certainly get this opportunity of self-determination. But Sinn Fein's negotiators are likely to protract the proceedings. Unless they can get what they want about Ulster, they will do their best to prevent Mr. Lloyd George from getting what he wants—a settlement before the Washington Conference. Delay means great risks, but they will be taken. It is certainly the duty of their negotiators to get the maximum that they can for Ireland in the bargain. But they have once already, by their reply after the Dail's session, made it possible for England to break off negotiations and create a new contest in which Ireland would have had decidedly less support than before—in Europe, in America, and, what matters most of all, in England.

#### English Public Opinion Ireland's Best Friend

An extraordinary letter illustrating the effect of English opinion has just been published in the *Morning Post*, which, almost alone of English papers, vehemently disapproves the recent Irish policy. It comes from General Prescott-Decie, a regular soldier of Irish birth and of high distinction, who has been acting in general command of the police in that part of Ireland which was under martial law. Prescott-Decie has resigned his command because he condemns the Government's action in entering conference with Mr. de Valera, "the head of the murder gang, a foreigner." The true course would have been to persevere with the policy which in his judgment had almost succeeded. "The reprisals in my division," says the General, "were done under my directions, not because I liked it, but because it was the only way. . . . I never approved of taking these measures without official sanction and only did so on absolute necessity. I asked for martial law so that every punishment (a reprisal) considered necessary might be done officially. Martial law was put on and was a failure. It failed because it was not martial law at all, but a hybrid article in which the powers of the Military Governor were limited and interfered with."

The proof given by him of the success of these unofficial but directed reprisals (which of course had been vehemently denied by Sir Hamar Greenwood) is interesting. "The murder gang had propaganda in England and elsewhere to try and get them stopped. They succeeded in getting us ordered to stop. That was a great victory for the murder gang." The persons through whom the stoppage was produced were, especially, one may recall, Lord Grey (Sir Edward) and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Again: "The Government apparently has not given the Crown forces the necessary support because the press and the people were not behind it." We come back to the fact that, in the kind of war which the truce terminated or interrupted, the sole powerful ally that the Irish found was the conscience of the English people. England has never got any credit for that fact in Ireland, and very little outside Ireland; yet it is remarkable. Neither is it realized in Ireland, I think, that the Prime Minister has united England in regard to Ireland and that his latest public document will have consolidated that union. If Ireland chooses war rather than the alternative, she may keep

her other well-wishers, but she will have lost England's support—unless indeed the English Government should restore it to her by return to the unofficial methods which Prescott-Decie used, though he did not like them.

I should imagine, and indeed am sure, that Mr. de Valera and many of his colleagues did not like the methods which they on their part thought necessary. It ought to be remembered by those who are considering Ireland's choice that war in Ireland has meant a state of things in which each side considered the other's actions as murderous and barbarous—and could produce ample justification for their opinion; and that each side regarded the other as criminals. The most deplorable effect of this has been the demoralization of sane and honorable minds. General Prescott-Decie is known for a high type of the British officer, yet the expression of his mind after eighteen months in command of Irish police is stupefying: not more so than the defence of shooting policemen in cold blood which is put forward by equally honorable persons on the other side. It is a proof of dawning sanity that both attitudes begin to be recognized for what they are, and that renewal of war is shunned for moral even more than material reasons.

*Dublin, September 9.*

## The Angel of Vengeance

(Written in 1906)

### From the Russian of Maximilian Voloshin

[The following poem, written during the revolutionary ferment of fifteen years ago, was prophetic of the present troublous times in Russia, and helps to an understanding of the emotions and mental outlook of the Russian revolutionary *intelligentsia*. The translation is by Mr. Leo Pasvolksy.]

O RUSSIAN people, hear: An angel of sad vengeance,  
Into thy blackened wound, the newly furrowed sod,  
I cast my eager seed. The age of patience withers.  
My voice is tocsin-like; my standard red as blood.

Amid the constant storm of flitting agitation

The ruddy flowers shall spring, as dread as spectral pall.  
The maiden's heart I'll fire with joy of fearsome murder,  
Grim blood-stained dreams I'll fling into each tender soul.

The spirit fierce shall glow, of death and blood enamored.  
With flowing tears I'll flood love's dream-like paradise,  
From woman's heart I'll tear its holy ruth and pity,  
With fierce and crushing wrath I'll blind her kindly eyes.

O pavement stones, o'er which but once streamed freely  
Hot, crimson blood, your count full well I know;  
Obedient to my charms, the stones shall thirst forever,  
And blood for blood unmeasured here shall flow.

A flame of lambent blue, the people's soul I'll conquer;  
A flag of flaming red, the cities I shall tame:  
Each mouth will wildly shout the holy name of Freedom,  
Yet to no twain that word will mean the same.

Upon my flag I'll write, "My law is highest Justice!"  
Yet foes shall plainly read, "No pity for you all."

I'll lend to murderous crime disguises of sheer beauty,  
And dread delirium shall rule the avenger's soul.

The sword of Justice, provident, avenging,  
I'll give to mouthing mobs, in fury blind to shake,  
And it will flash, as quick and dread as lightning,  
In children's hands upraised, the parents' life to take.

To each in turn I'll say, "Yours are the keys of hope;  
Alone you see the light; for others all is dark."  
And each will sob in rage and grief-struck rend his garments,

And pray to all about, but find them deaf and stark.

Ah, not the sower grim the harvest dread shall gather:  
He that hath raised the sword shall perish with the same;  
For who but once imbibes of wrath's fierce-galling vintage  
Must die upon the block, or play the hangman's game.



# A Good Word Gone Wrong

By Agnes Repplier

WHEN one looks in the dictionary for the word "propaganda," its definition suggests nothing reprehensible. Why should not an organization "for spreading doctrine or a system of principles" be a decent, candid, and upright organization, inviting the attention and challenging the good-will of mankind? "Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide" is an august, mouth-filling title, inspiring nothing but respect. One of the ill turns done us by the war was the investing of this ancient and honorable word with a sinister significance, making it at once a term of reproach and the plague and torment of our lives.

The horrid activities of Germany stood responsible for the suspiciousness which sat so uneasily upon our candid souls. It took us a long time to believe that a foreign nation was undermining first our neutrality and then our safety; but, having once grasped the idea, it became an obsession. When the war was over we could not, and would not, let go. It then grew plain to our observant eyes that German propaganda, having registered a failure in this country, was unloading its goods in Russia, not through the medium of print, with which many thousands of Russians are happily unfamiliar, but through the industry of agents who spent much and talked more, speech being the cheapest thing left in a devastated world. In 1918 we were told sternly and very often that it was our duty to save Russia from selling her soul—not to mention more marketable assets—to the Teuton purchaser.

## Pasting Labels Over the World

By 1919 all the nations had seemingly engaged in the propagandist trade, and were shoving one another for room. The *New Republic* loudly denounced critics of Lenin as exploiting falsehoods to alienate sympathy from Russia. Sinn Feiners protested against our friendly relations with Great Britain as embodying treachery to Ireland. *Punch* contemplated with a smile the agitated Balkans, where Bulgarian propagandists, forcible men engaged in local brigandage, made it plain to the Serbs that they would be wise to call themselves Bulgars; where Serbian propagandists impressed upon Bulgars the advantage of standing in with the Allies by calling themselves Serbs; and where Greek propagandists, with more syllables to their names than there are constellations in the heavens, pointed out impartially to Bulgars and Serbs that they were disguised Hellenes, owing all they had—which was for the most part nothing—to Greece.

In 1920 a new peril threatened our peace of mind. German films were sold to American producers and displayed upon the American stage. The first two were elaborate productions dealing with the incontinence of Louis XV and the matrimonial infelicities of Henry VIII. Being films and not textbooks, they were frankly unhistorical. One of them was frankly indecent. Perhaps the life history of Madame du Barry could hardly have been otherwise, though the poor thing had, like the rest of us, her good qualities.

It was not, however, the grossness of the pictures which created a sensation, but the amazing rumor that they were Teuton propaganda. Some said this propaganda was imperialistic, and designed to show how badly Germany's foes had behaved in their day. The Anne Boleyn films were meant to insult the English Establishment, and to afford religious solace to devout and church-going Sinn Feiners. Others said the propaganda was communistic, and whispered darkly that the Revolutionary mobs were shown as an incentive to discontented labor. That the Bourbons and the Tudors are as alien to modern France and England as

they are to North Dakota, and that German moving pictures, like American moving pictures, have for their sole purpose the amusement of the uneducated, were soothing circumstances insufficiently called to mind. As a matter of fact, German films are seeking foreign markets because the German people, being inordinately well educated, refuse to be so easily amused.

## Utopia Through the Looking Glass

And now in 1921 comes the lamentable famine in Russia, which, we are assured, has been made the subject matter of a propaganda wider and deeper than any that have preceded it. Sympathetic Bolsheviks, the world over, accuse the helping nations of misconstruing Lenin's measures and jeopardizing their results. Lenin himself has had trouble deciding whether it would be wiser to let the people starve or subject them to the disquieting influence of relief.

In the days when news traveled slowly, people believed it until they heard something different. Now it is hurried round the world, and arrives simultaneously with its contradiction. The *Graphic* for August 20 and the *Illustrated London News* of the same date printed heart-breaking pictures of Russian women, ragged and emaciated, and of Russian children in every stage of famine and disease, children whose wasted limbs and bloated abdomens showed them close to the doors of death. At the same time the September issue of *Asia* printed a series of really charming illustrations, accompanied by cheerful letterpress setting forth the prosperity and well-being of Russia.

Nothing could be less distressful than the conditions portrayed in these Soviet photographs. There are pictures of farm products en route for market, pictures of landless men applying for freeholds (a simple and satisfactory process), pictures of well-behaved soldiers, "a Puritan army," enjoying their sober educational clubhouse at Petrograd, of a "Congress of Women" in the Moscow opera house, of President—or rather "Comrade"—Kalinin hobnobbing pleasantly with Ukrainian villagers, who are grouped around him like the happy peasantry of grand opera, ready at any minute to break into a chorus. "The homes of the nobles," we are told, "have been turned into schools, libraries, and clubs." There are no drinking-shops, but every cottage holds a gramophone and every village a theatre. Indeed, one photograph shows us country people crowding joyously to welcome the "Soviet Moving Picture Special," sent by an open-hearted Government to provide free entertainment for all classes. And we downtrodden Americans have not only to pay for our own amusements but are taxed for the privilege of doing so.

And the children? The famine-stricken children whom Mr. Hoover is snatching from the grave? Here they are on *Asia's* pages, happy, well-fed, well-washed youngsters, learning to read and sing, listening to folk tales, marching blithely through the streets of Moscow, opening new recreation grounds, playing football, swimming and diving under the care of "trained athletic directors." "The Children's Colonies in Soviet Russia resemble the public schools attended by the children of the upper classes in England."

It is a bit confusing. While on the one hand we are bidden to save human beings from dying of hunger—an obligation not to be denied—we are confronted on the other by a vision of Utopia, of a country like that of Prester John, exempt from want and sin. If the key to the puzzle be propaganda—that good word gone wrong—then who is cajoling the world with illusions and what is the purport of the game?



# The Story of the Week

## The Week at Home

AFTER a month's vacation, Congress has resumed the special session. The House, having passed the great bills and having nothing to do with treaties, has little business before it; its members will have leisure for those philosophical and historical studies which employ all their hours not devoted to official work and whence they fortify their legislative wisdom. The Senate, however, is faced by a terrific schedule, having to act upon the following: the tax and tariff bills, the railroad relief bill, the peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary, the Borah canal tolls repeal bill, and the conference report on the Campbell-Willis "Anti-Beer" bill.

The prospect of passage of the tariff bill this session is becoming, like the Thames at Twickenham, "small by degrees and beautifully less." [The misquotation is classic.]

The treaties are now being debated by the Senate in open session. The Foreign Relations' Committee reported them favorably, but embodied in the resolution of ratification submitted with the German Treaty—and similarly with respect to the other treaties—a very important reservation: to the effect that the United States shall not be represented in any body, agency, or commission created under the Versailles Treaty unless and until an act of Congress shall provide for such representation. It is reported that the Administration has indicated approval of the reservation; but its passage would open up a prospect of bitter struggle over such an enabling bill, between the advocates of "splendid isolation" for this country and the advocates of a discreet and limited participation in European affairs. It seems certain that such an act would require confirmation by the Senate of Presidential nominations under it; with resulting prospect of still more acrimonious controversy. It is said that opposition to ratification of the German Treaty, headed by the great champion of the "irreconcilables," Senator Borah, is growing. Says Senator Borah: "We are tied on completely to the Versailles Treaty by this document." Certain Democrats discover in the German Treaty other grounds of offense. Instead of committing us too much, it would, in their eyes, commit us too little. Opposition will doubtless be made to the Hungarian and Austrian treaties on similar grounds.

A great many regret that the Panama canal tolls matter should come up for debate and discussion prior to the Washington Conference, fearing that a vote which should annul present arrangements might give mortal offense to the British and so compromise hopes for the conference. It is a pity the matter can not be threshed out at once, in order that the world may know before the conference how we stand disposed towards our engagements. A point

of national honor is involved. It is the most important business before the Senate.

Before Congress went on vacation, a debate of singular ferocity and verbal richness was being waged in the Senate over the conference report on the Campbell-Willis ("Anti-Beer") bill. It will be recalled how the Senate unanimously passed an amendment to that bill, reaffirming *in toto* the guarantees enunciated in the 4th Amendment to the Constitution and prescribing severe penalties for violation thereof, and how the conferees offered a substitute amendment reaffirming only those guarantees which assure the sanctity of the home and prescribing penalties only for violation of these limited guarantees. The opposition to the conference amendment is Constitutionalist rather than Wet. Indeed, persons more concerned about a safe drink than about the Constitution might prefer the substitute amendment, since it may plausibly be construed in practice to legalize home-brewing (in order that the war on bootleggers may be conducted without legal obstruction). After the recess, debate was resumed with no lessening of ferocity, but it has now been postponed until after consideration of the treaties and the tax bill. The House does not seem to be worried about the Constitution.

A National Conference on Unemployment opens at Washington on the 26th, under the combined auspices of the Departments of Commerce and Labor. Almost certainly the number of unemployed in the country is not far short of four millions; and the number seems to be increasing. The proportion of "unemployables" is probably small. Decent shelter and subsistence must be furnished to the destitute unemployed until work can be provided. Coördination of efforts to that end is one part of the work of the conference. But its main function is to discuss a fundamental solution; that is, means to employ these unfortunates. For it is truistic that good men and women are sure to be demoralized by long-continued dependence on public or private charity.

We exhibit herewith a picture of a Ku Klux Klan initiation—pleasantly horrific. There seems to be a general disposition, public and private, to discourage the Ku Klux from attempting to extend the scope of their activities.

There is quiet in West Virginia, and will be so long as Federal troops are there. But when these are all gone, what then? It is to be hoped that the second Senate Investigating Committee will do a thorough job.

We once invaded Mexico with notable success. We have in turn been invaded from Mexico, not less successfully. A detachment of boll-weevils crossed the Rio Grande near Brownsville in 1892. Their descendants have gradually spread so that they now infest the entire cotton-growing area of the United States, causing such havoc that our export trade in cotton is dangerously threatened; Australia, Egypt, Cilicia, Turkestan, etc., may supplant us in the cotton markets. Poison will do for the vermin, but only at great labor and expense. Unless something more effective than has yet been devised shall be brought to bear upon the



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Disarmament begins at home



problem, the second largest agricultural interest in the country, and one upon which the prosperity of the South so largely depends, will continue to be crippled by an absurdly diminutive enemy. The little brute is about a quarter of an inch long, half snout. What with pellagra and the boll-weevil, Nature seems to be discriminating a little against the South.

It is reported that Secretary Hughes and Ambassador Shidehara will soon have ready a formal agreement upon the Yap question: the United States to have the Yap-Guam cable, with untrammelled control of the Yap end; Japan to have the Yap-Shanghai cable; and the United States to acknowledge the Japanese mandate for the island. The formal assent of the British, French, and Italian Governments to any such agreement must be obtained, but nobody doubts thereof.

The Second International Eugenics Congress is in session at the American Museum of Natural History, and the discussions as reported by the press are of the very highest interest. The "melting-pot" theory came in for some hard knocks on Saturday; which theory holds that the several races are equal in capacity of development, and that the best solution of the world's worst difficulties would be to get them mixed as quickly and thoroughly as possible. The speakers of the Congress seem to hold the opposite view very strongly. Following Professor Osborn's suggestion, we shall watch for reports of the investigations now making by Dr. Sullivan in the Hawaiian Islands, which should go far to explode or justify the melting-pot theory. But unfortunately, should the proofs explode the theory, they will come a little late. The delegates to the Eugenics Congress include many scientists of the first eminence. The debates deserve the earnest attention of those who are interested in the problems of Americanization.

## The Irish Situation

THE correspondence between Lloyd George and de Valera during the past week has consisted of two telegrams. In the first Lloyd George rejects de Valera's elegant and subtle interpretation of certain language he had used in the correspondence, declaring that the "self-recognition" explanation "does not modify the claim that" the Irish "delegates should meet" the British "as representatives of a sovereign and independent state." Concluding, the Premier says: "My colleagues and I cannot meet" Irish delegates "as representatives of a sovereign and independent state without disloyalty on our part to the throne and the Empire. I must, therefore, state that unless the second paragraph of your letter of the 12th is withdrawn a conference between us is impossible." [In the obnoxious paragraph de Valera had said that, in view of the fact that "Ireland has formally declared its independence and recognizes itself as a sovereign state, it is only as representatives of that state and as its chosen guardians that we have authority or powers to act on behalf of our people."] De Valera's reply is so important, of so singular and characteristic a quality, so impossible to digest (to decant, as it were, without losing the bouquet, which is everything), that we quote it at length:

We have had no thought at any time of asking you to accept any conditions precedent to a conference. We would have thought it as unreasonable to expect you as a preliminary to recognize the Irish republic formally or informally as that you should expect us, formally or informally, to surrender our national position. It is precisely because neither side accepts the position of the other that there is a dispute at all and that a conference is necessary to search for and discuss such adjustments as might compose it.

A treaty of accommodation and association, properly concluded between the peoples of these two islands and between Ireland and the group of States in the British Commonwealth, would, we believe, end the dispute forever and enable the two nations to settle down in peace, each pursuing its own individual development and contributing its own quota to civilization, but

working together in free and friendly coöperation in affairs of agreed common concern.

To negotiate such a treaty the respective representatives of the two nations must meet, but if you seek to impose preliminary conditions which we must regard as involving the surrender of our whole position, they cannot meet.

We request you to state whether your letter of September 7 is intended to be a demand for surrender on our part or an invitation to a conference free on both sides, and without prejudice should an agreement not be reached.

If the latter, we readily confirm our acceptance of the invitation, and our appointed delegates will meet your Government's representatives at any time in the immediate future that you designate.

Now what would de Valera be for saying? Through an Indian summer haze of words we descry without difficulty the eager lineaments of Acceptance; do we also descry the shamefaced, reluctant lineaments of Disavowal (disavowal, that is, of the claim to recognition Lloyd George so stresses)? What is more important, will Lloyd George



International

*The ghostly figures, with their insignia and masks, the fiery cross, the flag, the black-draped altar and the blindfolded novice kneeling to take his sacred oath—here is the full panoply of a Ku Klux Klan meeting*

descry the latter, "let it go at that," beam forth as he can do so irresistibly and say: "Come on, let's talk it all over"? Or will Lloyd George conceive it necessary to pin de Valera down to a definite statement of disavowal? Seldom has the world waited with such strained interest for a decision. It is a week now that Lloyd George has been silent.

## A German Accident, and Other Things

A terrible explosion occurred the other day in the Badische Chemical Works at Oppau, Germany; 800 dead and 2000 injured is the latest casualty estimate. This establishment produced the first poison gas used in the war and was the greatest dye, nitrate, and poison gas manufactory in the world; in its place is now a ghastly hole filled with debris of machinery and human fragments. Some people will be discovering divine retribution; others will be satisfied with the scientific explanation. The wonder really is that in experimenting with gaseous and other compounds of doubtful stability there are not more accidents. Oppau is in the Mannheim district of French occupation; the French authorities have coöperated in the work of relief and search for the injured with the greatest energy. We have supped with horrors so often in recent years that the disaster has not made the impression it would have made ten years ago.

Bavaria has a new Premier, a certain Count Lerchenfeld, in place of the questionable Kahr. He is said to be an



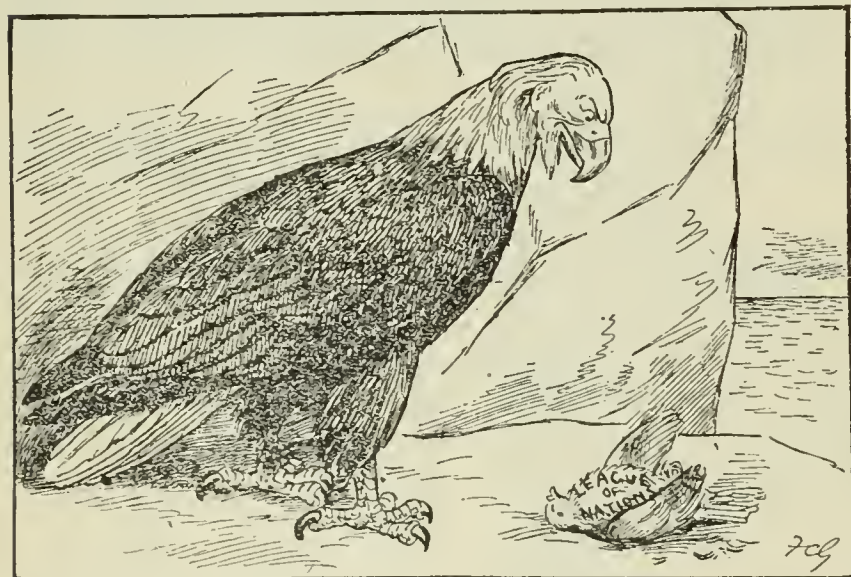
amiable swell of the old order, leaning to conciliation. If that is his description, it is to be feared he will prove a tool of the aggressive reactionaries. Bavaria requires to be rid of the ascendancy of the Reaction and to be brought into cordial relations with the Federal Government. Whether events (even though including a change of ministry) do yet tend that way is doubtful; "Amurath to Amurath succeeds," perhaps. It is said that Chancellor Wirth has hurt his case against Bavaria a good deal (has even, some aver, jeopardized his official position) by including in the evidence against the Reaction which he has published, a good deal of fusty matter no longer pertinent.

The Rhine customs barrier ("economic sanctions," in the strange official argot) established in March by the Allies, was to be removed on September 15, provided that by that date Germany had fulfilled certain conditions. One of these conditions was payment of one billion gold reparation marks by the end of August; this condition has been fulfilled. The precise nature of the other condition is not clear to us;—apparently German collaboration in the formation of some sort of international commission to supervise commercial dealings between the Allies and the Germans. The latter condition not having been fulfilled, the barrier remains.

## Muscovite Accusations and Polish Folly

THE Moscow Government has sent a note of accusation to the Allied Powers.

That note reiterates the charge that the Allied Famine Relief Commission (appointed by the Supreme Council), in proposing to send a sub-commission of experts to Russia to study conditions there, had in view, not succor for starving



Saturday Westminster Gazette

*The American Eagle: "I've no prejudice against doves, in fact I'm rather partial to them; but I didn't want this one flying round"*

Russians, but collection of statistics damaging to the Moscow régime.

It reiterates the charge that France is sending great quantities of munitions to Poland and Rumania and is plotting an attack, in conjunction with Poland and Rumania, or perhaps only using the latter as her instruments, upon Russia.

It reiterates the charge that General Petlura, the Ukrainian Nationalist leader (who, with Generals Antonov and Makhno, is again prowling about the Black-Earth country), is getting substantial aid from Poland and Rumania.

The Muscovite leaders, in proportion as they are false and intriguing (and that they are peerless in these qualities the British note on their violations of the Russo-British

trade agreement sufficiently shows), are suspicious of others.

The charge against the Allied Famine Relief Commission is of course absurd; likewise the charge against France. One doubts that Rumania is looking for trouble. But as to Poland, one does not know what to think.

## Muscovite Honor

THE British Government has sent a note to the Moscow Government calling attention to violations by the latter and its agents of the trade agreement between the two Governments. Under the agreement the Moscow Government engaged that Soviet Russian activities against British interests in the East should cease. The note declares that they continue unabated and are directly instigated by the Moscow Government. The note proceeds to details of accusation as follows:

The energy of the Executive Committee of the Third International is largely expended in efforts to undermine British institutions, especially in the East.

The Moscow Government continues to intrigue with Indian revolutionaries in Europe. In May of this year it invited some of these choice spirits to Moscow to discuss the best means of provoking revolution in India, supplying funds for the purpose.

The Moscow Government has been trying to persuade a notorious Indian anarchist, one Dr. Hafiz, who has been studying in Europe the manufacture of bombs, to go to Afghanistan and supervise a bomb plant on the Indian border, the bombs to be smuggled into India.

The Moscow representative in Teheran, Persia, is spending large sums of money on anti-British propaganda.

The Moscow Government is supplying the Turkish Nationalists with considerable money and every description of arms, while assuring the British Premier that no such assistance is being given.

The Moscow Government has used every persuasion to prevent the Angora Government from coming to an agreement with the Entente Powers, has assembled considerable forces on the borders of Anatolia, and has suggested to the Angora Government that these forces shall be sent into Anatolia to support the Turkish Nationalists.

The function of the so-called "trading agents" of Moscow in Afghanistan is rather to spread anti-British propaganda than to promote trade. A specially selected Soviet propagandist is largely responsible for the uprisings of the Waziris (British India), and has planned liberally to supply the tribesmen on both sides of the Indian border with arms and ammunition for use against the British.

"His Majesty's Government is in possession of indisputable evidence" to support the above charges. So then His Majesty's Government proposes to break off the trade agreement? But no. "His Majesty's Government asks for definite assurance that the Soviet Government will cause these activities, which constitute breaches of the trade agreement, to cease." This is not the language of a Chatham or a Canning; not the sort of language to inspire fear or respect. Fresh assurances? They will doubtless be forthcoming. But is there the slightest likelihood that they will be fulfilled more faithfully than previous ones? The British Government is indeed embarrassed, that it should hold such language under such circumstances.

## Berlin and Moscow Come Together

FULL diplomatic relations have been established between Germany and Soviet Russia. When the German representative (his diplomatic rank is not reported) presented his credentials to M. Kalinin, the latter, according to the



Associated Press, observed that "a majority of Russian engineers and technical men had been educated in Germany, which country was a model for technique and organization. The combination of German organization and technical experience with the natural resources of Russia," he added, "must bring vast benefits to both countries." He could not have put the German thought on the matter more happily. Germany expects to recover fully within short space her pre-war influence upon Russia; her position Russiawards as regards trade, finance, direction of industry, education, etc.

At last Italy has definitely decided to conclude her long-talked-of trade agreement with Russia. In fact, if the Associated Press is to be credited, all the trading nations except the United States and France are breaking their necks trying to establish trade relations with Russia; having in view the future trade expected to develop under the new quasi-capitalist régime, for at present Russia has little to offer except flax.

## The Washington Conference

TAKE a look, reader, at the cartoon herewith showing a lock on a Chinese statesman's mouth and a Japanese standing by with the key thereof. The cartoon cleverly sets forth by pictorial symbolism the not-to-be-doubted wish of the Japanese that they might control the speech of the Chinese delegates at the Washington Conference [we say this without moral reflection on the Japanese]. But can they? Half China (the southern part) loudly denounces Japanese presence and influence in China; and the voices of many northern notables have been raised to the same effect. But it is probably true (it certainly *was* true) that certain important northern Chinamen have their mouths stopped by Japanese gold or promises to support their selfish and unpatriotic ambitions. The question, then, is of great importance: How many, if any, such persons will be included in the Peking delegation to the Conference?

The Washington Government has intimated a wish that the Peking delegation should include representatives of the Canton or Southern Republic. But the Southerners will not hear to it; they demand separate representation. The conference problem of devising an international policy towards China will be immensely complicated by the internal dissensions of China, and darkened by distrust (inevitable, however unjust) of any purely Northern delegation. The Conference will be much the poorer in eloquence and brilliancy if none of the southern Chinese leaders participate.

## The League of Nations

THE Assembly during the past week devoted itself chiefly to debate on the Yugoslav-Albanian dispute, the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, and the armament question.

The Albanians claim that the Yugoslavs have violated their northern frontier. The Yugoslav delegates pleasantly informed the Assembly that the Albanian charge is absurd since Albania has no frontiers. The Council of Ambassadors, they say, is at work defining frontiers for Albania, but, until that job is completed, might is right as to the disputed territory. The Albanians say that their frontiers are those declared by the London Conference of 1913 and guaranteed by the great Powers at that time. They say that the Council of Ambassadors has no jurisdic-



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service

Japan has no objection to China sitting at the conference table providing—

times have given modern Greece some of her best admirals and generals, and the Albanian contingents are the best (the Cretans possibly excepted) in the Greek army. The Albanians are a very brave and capable people. We think it probable that ignorance of their capacity and achievements is responsible for the Allies' shabby treatment of them hitherto. But the Albanians have had an eloquent champion before this Assembly, a bishop and graduate of Harvard. It seems probable that the Assembly will resolve in their favor.

The Assembly voted a resolution approving in a general way the Council's proposals for a settlement of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute. The Polish argument that the Vilna district should be an autonomous state within Poland rather than within Lithuania (as decided by the Council) was plausible enough and might have won upon the Assembly but for the villainous fact of General Zeligowski's continued occupation of Vilna. In an unguarded moment the chief Polish spokesman admitted that the Polish Government could easily get him out, were it so minded. The Lithuanians say they will accept the Council's proposals (with some minor changes) if and when Zeligowski shall clear out of Vilna. The Poles give no hint of an intention to clear him out. So the dispute promises to continue until the millennium, unless meantime it starts a general European conflagration, as it might well do.

## Miscellaneous

SOMETHING seems to have gone wrong with the Spanish general offensive in the Spanish zone of Morocco. Those Moors are a tenacious folk. The descendants of the families ousted from Spain centuries ago keep as their most sacred possession the keys of the family houses in Cordoba, Granada, etc.

The trouble in the Burgenland is not yet over. The Council of Ambassadors has sent an ultimatum to Hungary, ordering her to get her armed bands out of that district or "stand the consequences." By "consequences" is meant, we suppose, military action by Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia or Italy, or by two or all of these nations.

The first carloads of American relief supplies are reported by the American Relief Administration to have reached Kazan (the "Tartar Republic").

It seems from a vague report that the Greeks have retreated west of the Sakaria River and may withdraw their lines close to Eskishehr.

HENRY W. BUNN.



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

FABIAN FRANKLIN AND HAROLD DE WOLF FULLER, EDITORS

### Socialism in Eclipse

TWO and a half years ago, when the first number of *The Weekly Review* was issued, Socialist agitation, in this country as well as in Europe, was at flood tide. As a result of many causes, but chiefly of the awful spectacle presented by Bolshevist Russia, that tide has receded with a rapidity which then seemed impossible. When it was at its height, perhaps the most dangerous feature of the situation was the readiness with which multitudes of persons accepted the view that revolutionary ideas were sweeping everything before them, and that conservative opposition would of necessity be as impotent to stem the tide as Mrs. Partington's mop to sweep back the waters of the Atlantic. Now that the tide has ebbed, we are face to face with the opposite danger. A year or two ago it was the vogue to believe that it was all up with "capitalism"—that is, that the institution of property, and of representative government as we know it, was on its last legs; today the tendency is to think that the revolutionary movement has received so disastrous a setback that we need no longer trouble our minds about it. And the complacent mood of today is just as unwarranted, and just as dangerous, as was the fatalist mood two years ago.

#### Socialism Very Much Alive

There could be no greater error than that of ascribing to the Great War the Socialist ferment through which the world has been going during the past few years. The war merely intensified an agitation and a sentiment that has been gathering head for half a century and more; and, although there has been among the general public a reaction from the high point to which the great upheaval so suddenly carried it, the attack on the fundamentals of the existing order is carried on with unabated vigor by those who have been its leaders all along, and by a constant stream of accessions from among the brightest minds of the rising generation. The question of Socialism has become, and will remain for an indefinite period, central in the political thought of the world; and anybody who flatters himself that the Russian object-lesson has for our time disposed of it as a living issue overestimates both the logical force of that lesson and the permanence of its influence upon the minds of men.

That the Socialist movement will long persist, that it will, in one form or another, constantly present a formidable challenge to the existing order, there can be no doubt. And to one who takes a long view, the important question is not as to its fluctuations, upward or downward, from year to year, but as to the headway it is making, or failing to make, in the forum of intelli-

gent opinion. Upon that, in the long run, the outcome will turn. Gains and losses in the size of the vote are but surface phenomena, dependent largely on the chances of circumstance, and having no enduring significance. The great question is whether, in decade after decade, the weight of intelligent opinion is put more and more into the one scale or into the other—in favor of, or against, the fundamentals of our existing order. If the feeling, on the whole, steadily grows that the evils of a régime of private property and individual self-dependence outweigh its good, that the only hope of mankind is to be found in the assumption by the community of the care and responsibility for each individual's welfare, then, in spite of every superficial indication to the contrary, we shall either drift away or be torn away from our present moorings, and a régime still fundamentally individualistic will be replaced by one in which the essentials of individualism shall have been wholly extirpated.

#### How the Danger Must Be Met

Of the ways in which this peril must be fought there are two which seem to us to deserve especial emphasis; one of them relating to critical, the other to constructive, effort. Of all the weapons in the Socialists' armory the most effective in winning over to their camp ardent and generous young minds is the exaggeration and distortion of the facts of the existing order. It is immaterial whether such exaggeration and distortion is intentional or is the natural result of a strong and overmastering bias; indeed, the more honest and sincere it is, the more powerful is its effect upon the plastic minds of those to whom the plea is addressed with all the eloquence of enthusiastic conviction. Temporary grievances are represented as though they were permanent; of those features of the existing order which *are* permanent, the bad side is harped upon and the good side never mentioned; and, perhaps most potent of all, singular and extreme instances of existing evils are represented as though typical of the whole state of things. The trouble, for example, with Upton Sinclair's arraignment of the American press is not so much with any explicit inaccuracies or misrepresentations which it may contain, as with the assumption that a handful of bad things which he may have discovered in the newspapers is proof that they are conducted with a systematic design to suppress the truth and spread falsehood. It is melancholy to think how many right-minded and intelligent persons accept this absurd conclusion, when a moment's reflection ought to enable them to see that it flies in the face of the evidence presented by every day's



issue of every reputable newspaper. To challenge unfounded calumnies like this, and exaggerations and distortions of the general facts of the time, is one of the most essential requirements of the fight against the spread of Socialism.

### Improving the Existing Order

As for constructive effort, it is of the first importance that we should understand the nature and limits of its efficacy as a defense against Socialist agitation. The existing order is full of imperfections; there are a thousand ways in which the lot of multitudes is far worse than, with wisdom and patience and energetic endeavor, it may be made. But, on the part of those who believe in the fundamental soundness of the existing order, such endeavor must be inspired by the intrinsic merit of the thing sought, and not by the wish to throw a sop to Socialism. Few better illustrations of the distinction can be offered than that afforded by the Workmen's Compensation laws, which, within the space of a few years, were adopted by State after State throughout the Union: to commend these to the approval of intelligent persons it was only necessary to make plain their nature and effect. It may be true that an improvement like this

tends to diminish the drift toward Socialism by lessening the grounds of discontent; but it is idle to imagine that the piling up of any number of measures of this kind would have any substantial effect as a barrier.

Finally, we must have the courage of our convictions. If the existing order is justified as against Socialism, it is essentially not because Socialism "couldn't work," or is "contrary to human nature"; nobody knows whether it could work or not, or whether or not human nature could adapt itself to it. The real justification of the existing order is that in it the foundation element is the responsibility of the individual for his own welfare, and that under Socialism the foundation element is the responsibility of the community for the individual's welfare. It is possible that human nature could adapt itself to such a state of things; but the adaptation would mean the extinction, in the great mass of mankind, of those qualities which give strength to character, variety to personality, and savor to life. It is possible that Socialism might do away with the hardships, as well as the rewards, that go with liberty and individuality; the cardinal reason for rejecting it is not that the hardships do not exist, but that they are worth enduring for the sake of the rewards.

## Russia the Ward of the Conference

LOOKING back at the Peace Conference of Paris we realize more clearly than ever how unfitted were the Big Three for the delicate and complicated task of setting in order a bruised and disordered world. One saw only his own suffering country, and defense against a foe that might rise again, and cared for naught else. The second, ignorant of general European affairs and misinformed, was a shrewd trader who utilized the opportunist expedients of the older diplomacy but lacked the world-view of a statesman. The third saw not the world of reality but a phantom world, the picture of his imagination. They made many costly blunders, but the most serious was that of neglecting Russia or merely paltering with the problem. They failed to realize, what nearly everybody in Europe now realizes, that no arrangements in Europe could establish equilibrium while Russia remained a disturbing factor.

The world is paying a heavy price today for this failure to deal wisely and courageously with the Russian problem. As a result we see the great Russian people helpless and starving, in the grip of a ruthless band of fanatics and criminals, withdrawn entirely from the economic life of Europe, unable to buy her products or furnish her with food. We see also the peoples of Europe infected with the virus of revolution, for the fostering of which the Bolsheviki have squandered the gold and treasures of Russia. That the Bolshevik régime cannot last is recognized by all; that it could not change itself and evolve into something workable has been evident to most; some, however, have been inclined to compromise with the loathsome thing for present advantage.

America fortunately has taken a larger view, and has announced a policy based on the assumption that sooner or later the great and fundamentally sound and wholesome Russian people would reassert themselves, and

when that time came we should have deserved their gratitude and lasting friendship because we did not truckle to their oppressors or join in despoiling them of their heritage. It is not necessary here to recall the previous splendid statements of Secretary Colby and Secretary Hughes—they will stand as great state documents. But it is important to consider carefully the latest note of Secretary Hughes for its bearing on one of the underlying problems of the Washington Conference. That note, issued on September 20, was an informal reply to the request of the Far Eastern Republic at Chita to be represented at the Conference, but it was much more than this. It was in fact nothing less than an announcement that America regards herself, together with the other powers, as the trustee of Russia's interests in Siberia and elsewhere during the period of her disability. It is addressed quite as much to the Powers whose representatives we shall welcome next month at Washington, as to the struggling little commonwealth in Eastern Siberia. Secretary Hughes's declaration is bound to have such an important bearing on the deliberations of the Conference that his exact words should be carefully read:

In the absence of a single recognized Russian Government, the protection of legitimate Russian interests must devolve as a moral trusteeship upon the whole Conference. It is regrettable that the Conference, for reasons quite beyond the control of the participating Powers, is to be deprived of the advantage of Russian cooperation in its deliberations, but it is not to be conceived that the Conference will take decisions prejudicial to legitimate Russian interests or which would in any manner violate Russian rights. It is the hope and expectation of the Government of the United States that the Conference will establish general principles of international action which will deserve and have the support of the people of Eastern Siberia and of all Russia by reason of their justice and efficacy in the settlement of outstanding difficulties.

The meaning of this is clear and unmistakable. We stand for the preservation of Russia's territorial integrity and the safeguarding of her rights against spolia-



tion. This stand is justified by its recognition of justice and moral principle in international relations. It is justified also by considerations of sound world policy. *It is the necessary condition for maintaining the integrity of China.* Russia's position is far different from that of China. Hers is a young and vigorous people, temporarily incapacitated, bound to emerge soon and play a part in world affairs. If, when they emerge, they have to begin all over again the struggle for unity, and for an outlet to the sea, it means more and greater wars. On the other hand, if they find themselves in possession of their Pacific littoral with their resources intact, they will constitute a powerful ally in the cause of peace. It will be of incalculable value to us in the future to have staunch friends at Vladivostok and Nikolaievsk. We do not like to stress this point unduly in its strategic significance, for we have every confidence that Japan will join with the other Powers in the establishment of a policy of peace and justice in the Pacific, but it would be foolish to ignore the fact that a restored Russia in the Far East is the best possible guarantee against the ambitious designs of the Japanese military party. Russian naval bases, while not in the least threatening Japan, would deprive the Japanese fleet of its unique strategic advantage over us and make competitive navy building ridiculous.

Japan's Siberian adventure has been a costly failure. It may even lead to the discrediting of the military party responsible for it. The withdrawal of her troops is foreshadowed, but at the same time it is rumored that she is bent on making a deal with the Chita Government as a condition, a deal which would secure to her a special foothold in Siberia. If this is the case, the declaration of Secretary Hughes is a timely warning.

We have every reason to believe that Japan's statesmen are ready to meet us half way in establishing a better order of things in the Pacific and in removing the causes of friction and controversy that now endanger peace. We hope that they will be convinced of the sincerity of our professions and the honesty of our motives. But it is well that they should realize—and Okuma has shown that he does realize—that the alternative to a fair and just settlement that protects China is isolation; and that is an alternative which Japan, provided she herself is given fair treatment, will not willingly invite.

## War Criminals

THE Leipzig trials of the war criminals have had at least this effect—they have amply confuted one phase of the propaganda of the defeatist elements in the Allied countries. Ever since August, 1914, it has been the practice of Socialists, radicals, pseudo-liberals, parlor revolutionists, and plain pro-Germans to discredit even the most authentic accounts of outrages ordered or inflicted by German army officers. All these accounts, they said, were mere fabrications to inflame the Allied peoples and to stimulate a war frenzy. One side was as bad as another, they averred; the Germans had no monopoly on cruelty. The clause in the Versailles treaty demanding the trial of these officers was denounced as an absurdity in itself and a fresh incitement to international hatreds. Well, many of the trials have been held. In case after case they have unanswerably and for all time proved the truth of the charges. Indeed, in some cases, the proved truth makes a far worse show-

ing than that of the stories circulated during the war. It is unlikely that these trials have added anything to the stock of existing international hatreds. Among the Germans themselves (outside of the fanatic nationalists) the predominant effect is probably a further reaction against militarism. Will any of the voluble champions of Truth, Brotherhood, Internationalism, Justice, and so forth, modify or retract his mendacious assertions in this matter? Not a chance. They are not built that way.

## Treaty Prospects

THE time for making a treaty of peace with Germany was two years ago. The misfortune of not having done so cannot be wiped out; nor can the long train of events that went with the failure be ignored. In any judgment of the present Administration's handling of the case, it must constantly be remembered that its problem is to make the best of a bad job. In whatever way the blame for that failure may be distributed, it is idle to repine at its unavoidable consequences. There can be no doubt that Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes are sincerely anxious that the United States should not be placed in the position of demanding the advantages of the Versailles treaty and shirking the proper responsibilities. In assenting to the reservation which makes our participation in any Commission arising out of the treaty dependent upon the express authorization of Congress, the President and the Secretary of State have simply made a concession to what they regard as an inevitable necessity. They doubtless expect, too, that, in each particular instance in which such participation shall rightly be called for, the requisite Congressional authorization will be forthcoming. This will require action by both houses of Congress, but only a majority vote, not two-thirds. The Democratic members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are to be commended for refraining from all factious opposition. As for Mr. Borah's misguided though honest attitude, there is every reason to hope that its irreconcilability will be matched by its impotence.

## That Homesickness for Prisons

EMMA Goldman, we learn on high authority, suffers from nostalgia, but she is not, in the precious phrase of Mr. Waldo Frank, "nostalgic for prisons." Her affliction is plain homesickness for bourgeois America. She grew up here, all her friends are here, and here she spent her happiest and fullest days. Life in Soviet Russia, she says, "is too difficult." Another of the trio listed by Mr. Frank as homesick for prisons was Mr. William D. Haywood, who shortly afterwards exemplified his nostalgia by escaping from a prison sentence obligingly decreed for him by the United States Government. The third was Mr. Eugene V. Debs, and the efforts made for his release (presumably with his consent) indicate that he would somewhat rather be out than in. When that precious phrase appeared in a certain volume, we had the unfeigned joy of lifting it from its matrix and bringing it to the attention of a jaded world. We were frankly skeptical about nostalgia for prisons. We remembered, of course, the assertion that the Prisoner of Chillon regained his freedom with a sigh. But we took that for a purely imaginative flight; we doubted the existence of any such ailment,



and, while avoiding all dogmatism in the matter, we gave what seemed to us good reasons for rejecting the diagnosis in the three cases mentioned. It would appear that Time has again favored us with a verdict.

## The Discipline of Golf

ONE under fours for thirty holes—that best summarizes the kind of golf played by Guilford in the final match of the amateur championship at St. Louis. Last year, at the difficult Engineers' Club, Evans did even better, making the last twenty-one holes of his memorable clash with Ouimet in 78. Such performances have come to be expected of those who win through to the championship. At St. Louis the battle of the finalists was one of long hitters. To get home as Guilford did on a hole of 498 yards with a drive and a mashie, with the fairway still soggy from the downpour of the preceding day, is to bring the deeds of Titans back to earth. And most of the time his opponent, Gardner, kept well up with him from the tee.

Guilford left no doubt as to the high quality of his golf. Yet last year in the amateur championship he failed to qualify, as did many another sterling player. What is there in this sport which makes for so great uncertainty? Professionals, who themselves are far from being machines, are continually analyzing the technique of the game for the benefit of aspirants. They give lessons, and after the lessons the pupils usually find themselves helpless until they have gone apart and, in a lonely struggle with mind and temperament, discovered for themselves the many weaknesses that flesh is heir to. One item in the report of the match at St. Louis must have brought great comfort to the multitude who delight in the game and who have not quite despaired of shining: "Gardner looked up on his tee shot and put his ball into a bunker." That a seasoned golfer like him could not keep his head down long enough to hit the ball cleanly is of profound significance.

For golf is more than a game of skill in the usual sense: The temptation to look up, which is the bane of all golfers, binds this sport to some of the darkest secrets of philosophy. The temptation to look up in golf comes upon one unawares, like other dark mysterious things. Yield to it, and you are lost. Not only is your game shattered, but self-respect vanishes and you walk the rounds of the course a derelict. No kind friend can help you; you yourself must fight it out. A Scotch professional, who committed this elementary fault, was asked how often he did so. After due reflection, he answered, "Aboot once a year, sir." He probably was well within the truth. In point of fact, the Scotch have excelled at golf because of their long training in theology. For it will not do to explain the temptation to look up psychologically and say that it is natural for the eye to follow the flying object. The question goes much deeper, as anyone knows who has stood helplessly before his ball and, in spite of best resolutions, lifted his head before completing his swing. Descendants of Jonathan Edwards are really the only ones in this country as yet fully equipped to deal with this problem in an understanding way. Considering the age of golf, this country is still very new to it—that explains the rough-and-ready success we have had with it. The longer it is with us the deeper its secrets become. It is all very well for youth with its unshakable confidence to slug out a good

game; when youth becomes age, it will see perplexities in the game which it formerly wist not of, and not at all because muscles are no longer flexible.

But the discipline of golf is not wholly of this sombre, negative character. Golf also holds forth an alluring ideal which is present to the mind at every tee. Par shines out as a happy goal which all on occasions can reach. When a man is going steadily, he has that sense of well-being which is the best reward of life itself. And all the time, as in the larger game of life, there is a sense of the perilousness of his path which may at the moment turn well-being into hardship. Golf is a microcosm which should be explained not by Jim Barnes, but by that other golfer, who is also a philosopher, James Balfour.

## Credulity

SMALL sympathy would be wasted on a corporation that made a contract with a group of well-known confidence men and then complained that they were not keeping their word. Small sympathy, likewise, we fancy will be evoked by Lord Curzon's complaint on behalf of the British Government that the Soviet Government has been violating the terms of the British Soviet Trade Agreement in regard to revolutionary intrigues and subversive propaganda. What, after all, did the British Government expect?

## New York's Perpetual Problem

IF the Tammany dragon could be killed by a single stroke, the St. George to perform that feat would long ago have been forthcoming. Again and again something that has had somewhat the appearance of that achievement has been accomplished, but the creature still lives, and is perhaps as strong as ever. Its apparently perennial hold on life is due to many causes, but above all to two. In the first place it has behind it the deep-rooted attachment of hundreds of thousands of the foreign-born and their descendants, derived primarily from Tammany's historic connection with the Democratic party; and the attachment of the poor as such, built up and nourished by sedulous attention to their minor needs, their weaknesses, and their prejudices. Secondly, Tammany is an organization of consummate experts in the lower arts of politics, while its opponents are unorganized amateurs. Moreover, so far as the present time is concerned, there must be noted a deplorable absence of leadership on the part of commanding figures in the citizenship of New York. The candidate for mayor has a record of extraordinary excellence in his long career of practical political usefulness, and has the advantage of being free from any taint of the silk-stocking. A great number of admirably public-spirited men have coöperated in the formation of the fusion ticket. It is only right to mention in particular Mr. Joseph M. Price, whose periodical quiet emergence when his service is needed, and equally quiet disappearance when the need is over, has long been one of the remarkable phenomena of New York politics. The daily press is doing its duty manfully. It is to be hoped that all this will bear fruit. Nevertheless, it is a notable fact that names of conspicuous eminence play little or no part in the campaign. This is not as it was wont to be in former days. Whether the change has any significance or not is a question that piques curiosity.



# If We Knew as Much as a Tree

## The Big Problem of Applied Science: How to Put the Sun to Work

By Edwin E. Slosson

THE largest assembly of the largest meeting of the largest single scientific society in the world—the American Chemical Society, at its New York City session last month—was devoted exclusively to a question of the highest practical importance as well as of the greatest theoretical interest, namely, the possibility of direct utilization of solar energy.

All our food and all our fuel, all our muscular and machine power, depend upon the peculiar ability of the little green granules of vegetation to build up carbohydrates out of air and water. The green-leaf reaction—or, if you insist upon having it in Greek, the chlorophyl reaction—is the sole support of all plant and vegetable life, and without it the earth would be a desert planet like the moon.

If the work of the world were really done by “horse-power,” as we still call it, man would have reached the limits of civilization a hundred years ago, for a horse requires hay and hay requires land, and there would not be enough land in the world to provide for the horse-power we are now using. Supplementing the green fields with the coal

oil reserves “are rapidly nearing depletion and can hardly maintain our present rate of production for more than twenty years.”

Sir William J. Pope, president of the British Society of Chemical Industry, speaking at the same session, looked to tropical oil and alcohol to relieve us from the curse of Adam:

It is no part of my task today to discuss philosophical questions which originated in the Garden of Eden, but it seems plain that modern science is called upon to find means for curtailing the expenditure of such high potential forms of energy as human labor and mineral fuel. The solution of this problem must come from the proper utilization of the radiant energy which comes to us from the sun. We require efficient methods for transporting solar energy from the tropics for use in our more temperate climes. It is perfectly possible that the scientific study of oil-bearing plants in tropical regions may lead to such improvements in yield and cost of production that vegetable oils will replace the ordinary fuels, coal and petroleum, now used the whole world over.

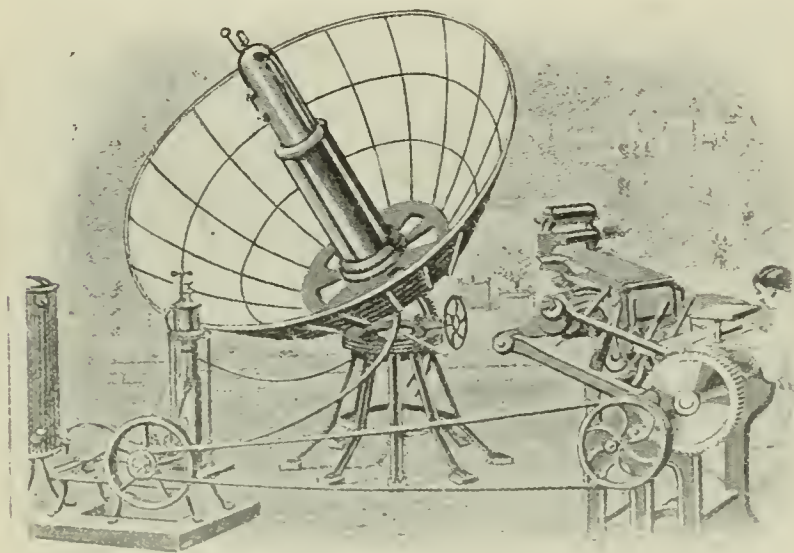
Dr. L. H. Baekeland, the inventor of two materials that have had the honor of becoming common nouns, velox and bakelite, is more ambitious, though necessarily more indefinite, in his anticipation of the future. He boldly calls upon the chemist to outrival nature and rob the plant of its prerogative:

Here is a power, an energy, which has been much neglected by scientist and engineer alike. Where is the Faraday, the Ampère, the Leonardo da Vinci; where is the Archimedes who shall show us how to use the sun rays for charging our electrical storage batteries, or who will teach us how to handle the photochemical action of sunlight, or to emulate nature in her delicate synthesis of plant life? Who will utilize this delicate method instead of our hitherto brutal processes of synthesis? Nature in her methods of plant-life synthesis does not treat with boiling solutions of alkalis or strong acids: she uses no high temperatures nor strong electric currents. If we want to be successful in this direction we shall have to utilize equipment possessing large exposed surfaces similar to the leaves of plants. We may have to operate in rather dilute solutions instead of the concentrations which are ordinarily used in our present methods. We may have to find means for rapidly separating the formed products as fast as they accumulate. We may be compelled to work within narrow ranges of temperature, perhaps not exceeding those outside of which plant life stops.

Still, the trees and tiny plants flaunt their foliage provocatively in the face of the scientist as though to say, “See what we are doing! Don’t you wish you could?” And they expose freely to the gaze of every passerby their little green-leaf laboratories, where, with no reagents but the air and water and no power but the silent sunshine, they build up by the ton the most complicated carbohydrates out of the simplest compounds of the commonest elements—carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen.

Still the sun, sole source of all our life and weather, floods half the earth with its rays, and the land that receives the most of this potential wealth is the land that retains the least of it, the arid region of the tropics. A section of the Sahara forty miles square receives in six hours of a day as much heat as is produced by the coal burned in the twenty-four hours throughout the world. If only a small fraction of this wasted energy could be economically stored up and set at work by some sort of solar engine, we should not need to worry about the exhaustion of our oil, gas, and coal. There would be wealth enough for all.

Here, then, is the greatest problem of conservation, the kind of conservation that consists in utilization. But, being accustomed to such wastefulness, it does not excite attention. Nobody is bothering about it except such far-seeing men as were gathered in the Great Hall of the College of the City of New York—and they do not know how to help it.



Smithsonian Report, 1915

*One of the first inventions for making use of solar energy was this sun-power plant put forward by Pifre in 1878. It was intended, as the illustration shows, to furnish power to run a printing press, but it never proved practicable*

fields, man has not only prevented civilization from coming to a stop, but has given it an unprecedented forward impetus. The iron horse feeds on subterranean pastures. He is living on the crops of the Carboniferous Era. Modern civilization basks in the sunshine that fell upon the earth unmeasured millennia ago. We are living on our capital, drawing on the coal banks. Some time we must begin to earn our own living, to grow our fuel as we go.

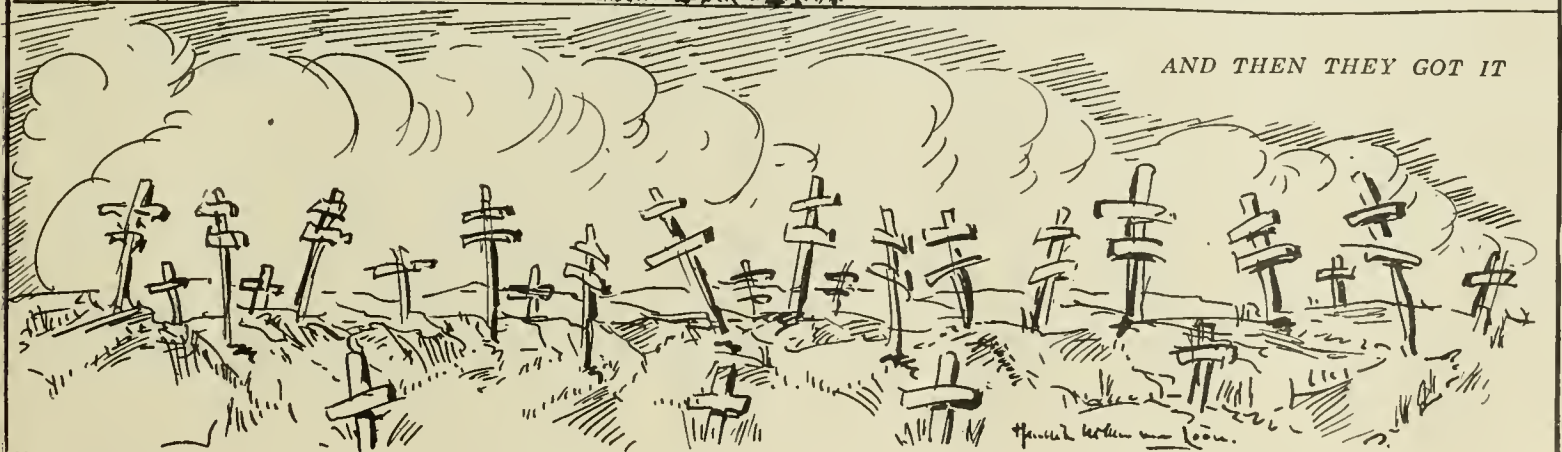
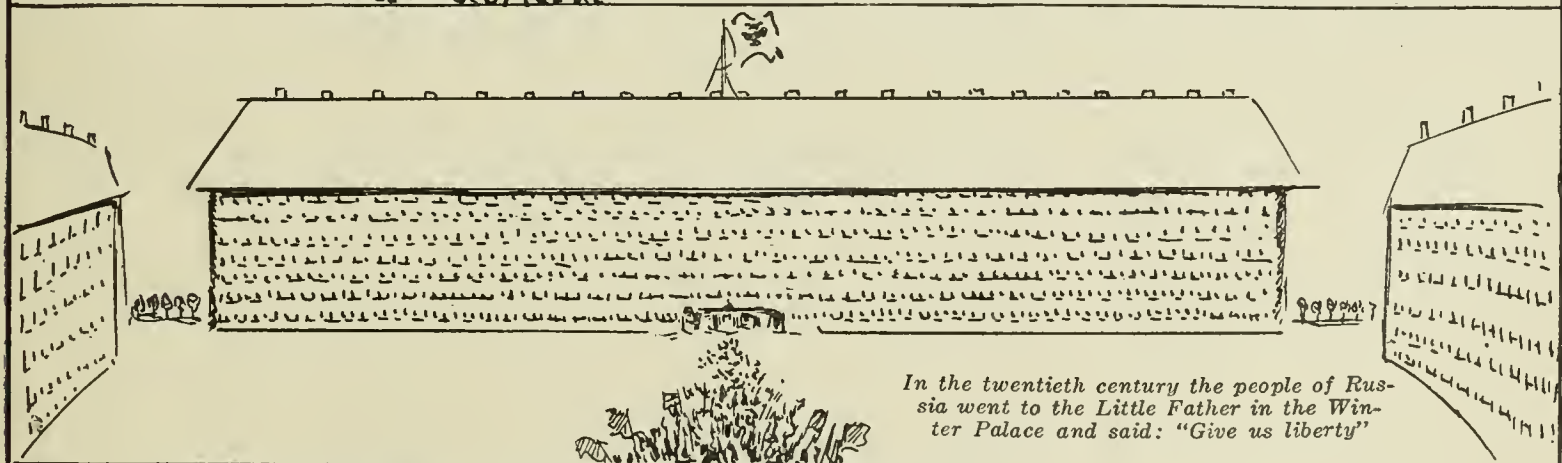
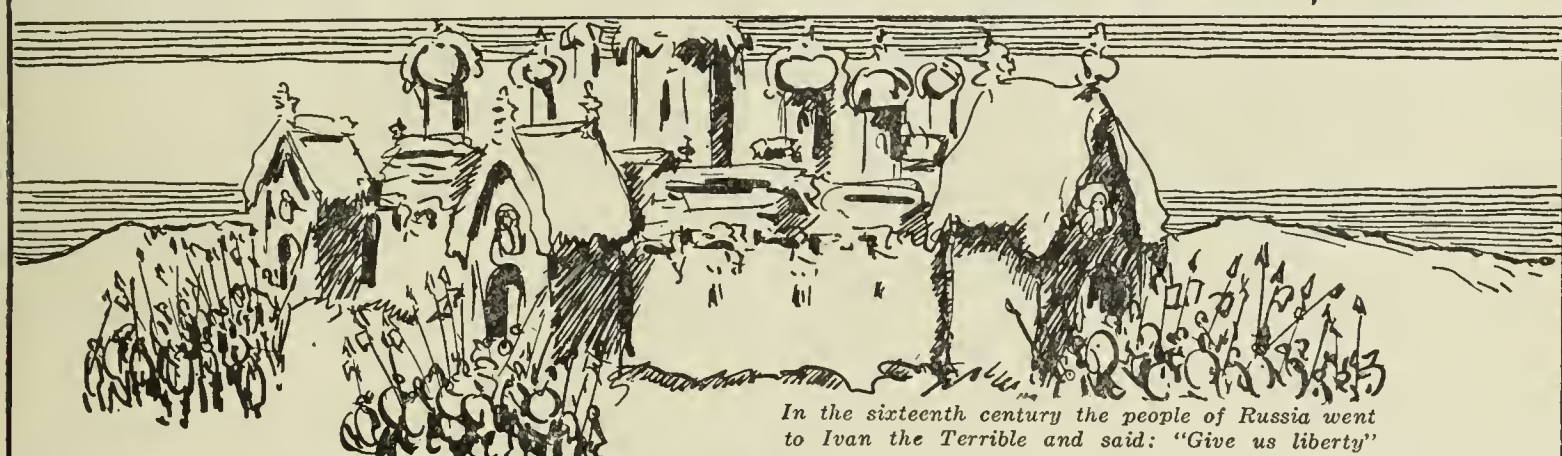
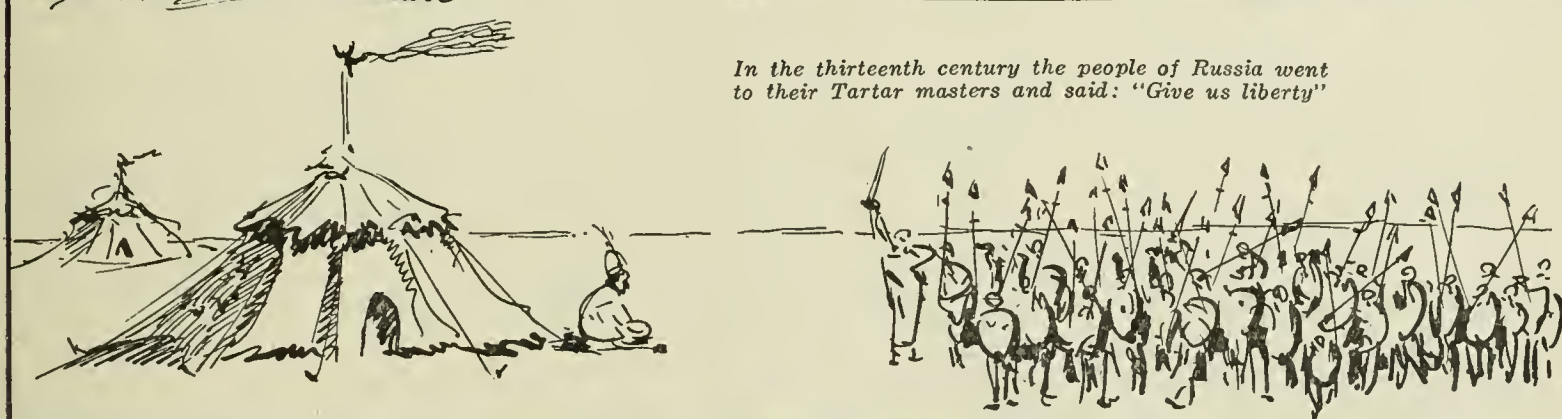
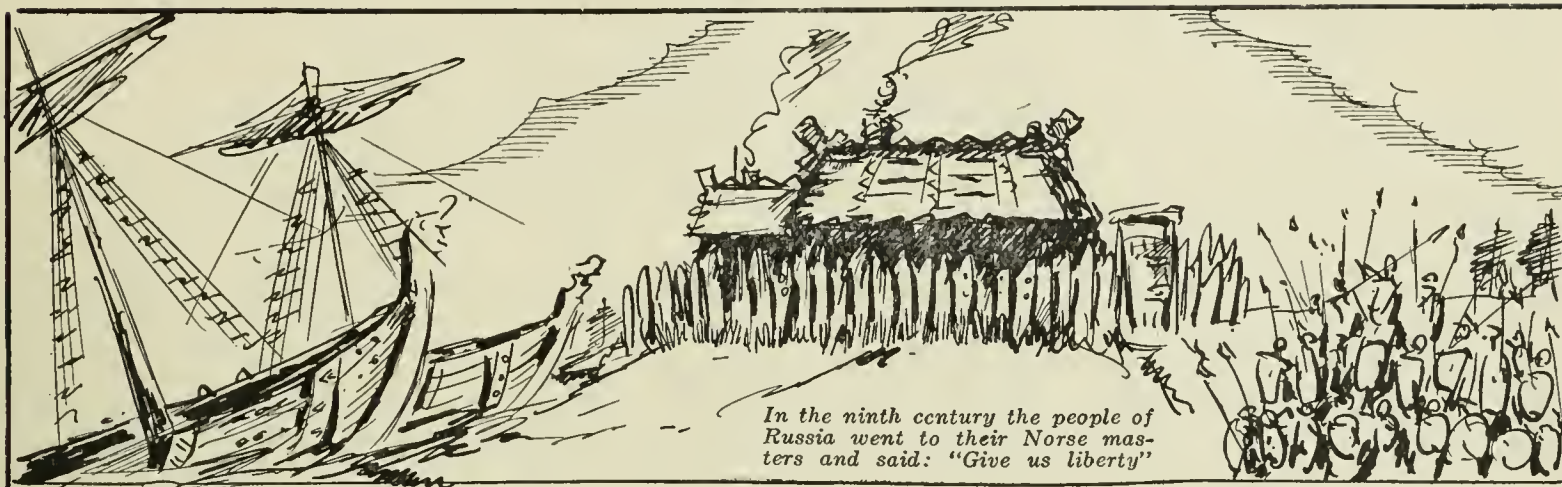
Meanwhile, the amount of solar energy that is being stored up in the plants every summer is ten times as great as that released by the combustion of coal. But coal is more condensed and convenient than wood. Oil and gas are still better fuels. It would seriously check the progress of civilization if the world had to return to the wood basis as it was a hundred and fifty years ago.

At the Chemical Society symposium, Dr. Arthur D. Little, of Boston, warned us that we have been wasting, year by year, half of our natural gas and three-quarters of our petroleum. The supply of gas has fallen off by a quarter in the last five years and soon will be running short. Our



# History Teaches . . .

By Hendrik van Loon





# New Books and Old

## Books of the Week

MR. PUNCH'S HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND, by Chester L. Graves. Volumes 1 and 2, 1841-1874. Stokes.

Pictorial satire, social and political, for three decades.

NEWS HUNTING ON THREE CONTINENTS, by Julius Chambers. Kennerley.

The interesting recollections of a newspaper man, whose career extended from the days of the *Virginian*, and Charley Ross, to the Versailles Treaty.

GREAT SEA STORIES, edited by Joseph Lewis French. Brentano's.

An anthology, with all its advantages and limitations, including stories from Marryat and Cooper to Stacpoole and Jack London.

IMPRESSIONS AND COMMENTS; SECOND SERIES, 1914-1920, by Havelock Ellis. Houghton Mifflin.

A philosopher's reflections upon a hundred different subjects, written in war-time.

is funniest, and the flunkey with side-whiskers, the mid-Victorian lady with her crinoline, are celebrated, and the coming of the aesthete is forecast in these volumes. Here are Du Maurier's languid gentlemen of the 'seventies, with their Dundreary whiskers, and here his hawk-nosed dowagers and pompous bishops. John Leech's "advanced" women and fat schoolboys, Charles Keene's smock-frocked farmers walk through these early pages, where Palmerston and Lord John Russell are caricatured, while Gladstone and Chamberlain are making their entrances.

The reader of American novels is between the devil and the deep sea. If he care not for the inane school of Pollyanna, he has no other choice than sackcloth and ashes, the grim, grubby crowd of writers who produce "Dirt" and "Clay" and "Gloom" and "Verdigris." If I haven't the names correctly, these will serve: I have yet to read a Pollyanna novel, my acquaintance with the other Mrs. Porter—Gene Stratton—is still theoretical, and I have read but one novel by Harold Bell Wright, and that purely for mercenary reasons. But after two years of the American "modernists" and "realists," I am led to believe that the cesspool school of novelists is just as absurdly unreal, exactly as false to life and art as Pollyanna in her most maddening phases. And the realists are so frightfully long-winded—Mr. Norris's "Brass" drags on its interminable coils forever and forever.

So with John Dos Passos's "Three Soldiers" (Doran) which (see the jacket blurb), "says exactly what the youth of America thinks of War, Modern Society and Its Morals." In it, by the same authority, the author, "with a passion for truth-telling that burns with a white flame, . . . states the case for Youth in rebellion against the Established Order—particularly the case of Young America, generous, open-minded, spiritually alive, courageous idealists, caught and crushed in the great stamping machine of war." With all due respect: Fudge!

"Three Soldiers" is a realistic novel. You know that because there is a smell of "greasiness" in its second sentence, and a smell of garbage on the second page. All the disagreeable smells of army life are described and described again; all the pleasant smells, like the smell of bacon cooking in the early morning, the smell of wood-smoke, and of freshly trampled grass, are ignored. All officers are represented as pompous fools or inhuman brutes. All the profanity and obscenity of talk in the barracks is reported with the pedantic accuracy of a dictaphone, and a consequent lack of reality; a complete loss of artistic truth. The exactions and annoyances of military discipline, which undoubtedly grind upon the sensitive spirit, but which are accepted with grumbling philosophy and humor by 95 per cent. of the

men, are represented by Mr. Dos Passos as intolerable and fiendish insults—reasonable cause for desertion or for murder. Mr. Dos Passos is satirical at the expense of those who encouraged or harbored hatred against the Germans for their acts in Belgium, but entirely sympathetic with those who nursed hatred against their officers or fellows for personal reasons. Hatred is an ugly thing, but why is hatred of your own persecutor more pardonable than hatred for the slayers of the innocent stranger whom you never saw? We are supposed to sympathize with one of the deserters, a musician, who after getting transferred at his own request to a school in Paris, goes, absent without leave, to the country to see a girl, and is arrested by the military police. This description is part of the author's "unleashed fury" in his "attack on military discipline as a 'system.'" Such actual men as Alan Seeger and Joyce Kilmer, the poets, or André Champollion, the artist, who died fighting in France, would not be considered by any of Mr. Dos Passos's three soldiers with anything but contempt. Those men were "slaves," because they obeyed orders and did not desert.

## To an Unknown Lady

(On finding, in a second-hand bookshop, a copy of Kenneth Grahame's "The Wind in the Willows," with the name "Betty" on the fly-leaf, *but with its pages uncut.*)

Betty, O Betty, your cognomen frivolous

Love should provoke, or sentiments chivalrous,

But how shall a lady who's blind to such art

Flutter my orderly, elderly heart?

When you came near to a portal so magical,

How could you pass it in ignorance tragical,

Taste not the banquet that Grahame had spread—

Is there a vacuum, Miss, in your head?

There was the Toad and his song egotistical,

There was the Badger so calm and statistical,

The Mole and the Water Rat—all of the crew,

The merriest cantrips that ever I knew!

The Field Mice would sing for you, small serenaders;

The Stoats and the Weasels, those evil invaders;

There was tenderness, poetry, nonsense, and—look!

This stupid young person ne'er opened the book!

Yet if I write of you, Betty, so sneeringly,

Truly I'm gloating the while, profiteeringly,

Though you're foolish and heedless, yes, numb and quite dense,

Yet you bring me this copy for seventy cents!

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON

"MR. Punch's History of Modern England" (Stokes) is liberal with its five hundred cartoons and illustrations which are to be scattered through the four volumes, when the work is complete. But there will be three persons to look at the pictures for one who will read the rather sober text of Mr. Graves, which accompanies them. We look at *Punch* primarily for the drawings and the jokes printed beneath; next, some of us read the verses; and finally, a few read the prose sketches and articles. Still more pictures would be welcome in these entertaining volumes. They begin with Leech and Keene, and come through to Sir John Tenniel in the social and political satire. The first two volumes do not reach Linley Sambourne and Bernard Partridge as political caricaturists. (The third and fourth volumes appear next spring.) Du Maurier appears in the second volume. *Punch* began as a Radical and a social reformer, and in 1843 printed "the most noble contribution that ever appeared" in its pages—Hood's "The Song of the Shirt." Probably this is a correct judgment, though an American must always have great respect for the fine recantation in the poem on the death of Abraham Lincoln. Some of the *Punch* staff thought that the weekly fairly gorged itself with humble pie on that occasion. The Indian Mutiny, the Crimea, our Civil War, and the Franco-Prussian War figure in these pages, mainly in the great cartoons of Tenniel. But it is in the curiosities of fashion and social life that *Punch*



# Book Reviews

## What Is Peace Worth?

THE FRUITS OF VICTORY. A SEQUEL TO "THE GREAT ILLUSION." By Norman Angell. New York: The Century Company. \$3

"Whether Britain and America are to fight may very well depend upon this: whether the blinder and more unconscious motives rooted in traditional patriotisms, and the impulse to the assertion of power, will work their evil before . . . we have modified our tradition of patriotism, our political moralities, our standard of values. Without this more fundamental change no scheme of settlement of specific differences, no platforms, Covenants, Constitution can avail, or have any chance of acceptance or success." These words, from the introduction to the American edition of Mr. Norman Angell's new book, fairly well indicate the drift of his argument. He does not believe that conferences at Versailles or Washington can manufacture enduring peace. The will to peace must first grow in the hearts of men.

It is well to say at once that this is an important book. It is not probable that any volume will appear with more direct bearing on the subjects to be discussed at the forthcoming Conference on the limitation of armaments called by President Harding in Washington.

It is not a simple book. It is clear and on the whole fair; but the argument covers a wide range of economics, politics, and ethics in its main section of 250 pages. These are somewhat illuminated by an "Introduction," a "Summary of Argument," and a "Synopsis." At the end we find about eighty pages devoted to the argument of the author's earlier book, "The Great Illusion." In this concluding section the author gives himself the luxury of saying "I told you so," and of answering some of the critics who, during the decade since the publication of his earlier book, have given it serious and often bitter attention. Incredible as it may appear in a book of this sort, there is no index.

As to the main argument of "The Great Illusion," Mr. Angell complains that most of his critics misunderstood it. Of course it was an argument against war, and it has been frequently regarded as a basically economic argument. One writer not referred to by Mr. Angell may be taken as representative. Professor Myers in "History as Past Ethics" says:

We cannot concur with the author, Norman Angell, of "The Great Illusion," in his contention that there will be no change in the practice of nations regarding war and preparations for war till there is a change in ideas respecting the economic advantage to be derived from successful war. Moral idealism, finding expression in revolutions and reforms, is constantly giving denial to the validity of the economic or materialistic interpretation of history when the economic motive is thus made the dominant motive in human action.

War will become a thing of the past only when men can no longer fight with a good conscience.

"As a matter of simple fact," says Mr. Angell, "the book was largely an attempt to show that the economic argument usually adduced for a particularly ruthless form of national selfishness was not a sound argument." On another page he explains this by saying:

While it may be true that conscious economic motives enter very little into the struggle of nations, and are a very small part of the passions of patriotism and nationalism, it is by a realization of the economic truth regarding the indispensable condition of adequate life that those passions will be checked, or redirected, or civilized.

This does not mean that economic considerations will dominate life, but rather the contrary—that these considerations will dominate it if the economic truth is neglected. A people that starves is a people thinking only of material things—food. The way to dispose of economic preoccupations is to solve the economic problem.

How is this problem to be solved? By a free flow of goods across national borders? By coöperation and agreement on production and distribution? Assuredly. But this agreement will not be possible until our "instinctive pugnacities" are curbed, until our "deep-rooted instinct to the assertion of domination" is eliminated or redirected. "If our instinctive pugnacities and hates are uncontrollable, and they dictate conduct, no more is to be said. We are the helpless victims of outside forces, and may as well surrender."

Here we are confronted by the age-old problem of the nature of man. Professor Myers's statement that "war will become a thing of the past only when men can no longer fight with a good conscience" brings up a point upon which Mr. Angell has much to say that will arouse wide discussion. As long as men fight they will fight with a good conscience, because the efforts of the nation are concentrated through propaganda on making them believe their country is right. Or if not, still "Right or Wrong, My Country!" In his seventh chapter, "The Spiritual Roots of the Settlement," he argues that "the most righteous war can only be kept going by falsehood." If we gave full value to the case of our enemy, if we presented frankly our own defects, we could not "fight with a good conscience," certainly not for an extended period. The people would not support it. Propaganda to prove we are wholly right and the enemy is wholly wrong is essential to the morale of war. In consequence, says Mr. Angell, when we have won our war we can not make a just peace. Our enemy can not be dealt with on a reasoned economic basis. "If the Treaty of Versailles had been more economic it would also have been a more humane and human document. If there had been more of Mr. Keynes and less of M. Clemenceau there would have been not

only more food in the world, but more kindness."

One of the best things to be said about Mr. Angell's book is that, while no man will agree with all of it, and most men will violently differ from many of its conclusions, no one is likely to read it with complacency or indifference. Discussions of peace and disarmament in the past have been altogether too much a matter of rose leaves and heliotrope. If we are to get forward with prevention of a recurrence of the horrors of the Great War, or, even more frightful, the horrors of "The Next War," so vividly pictured by Mr. Will Irwin in his recent book, we must discuss the subject with the utmost frankness and definiteness. We have in our hearts the motive to peace; that was well-developed long before 1914; but the war rushed upon us in spite of its "manifest impossibility." Books like "The Fruits of Victory" may help to bring our heads out of the clouds and our feet to earth. They will help us to decide not only the question, "Do we believe in peace?"—but also the far more vital question, "What are we willing to sacrifice for peace?"

Mr. Angell has not furnished us with a road-map to disarmament and lasting peace; he has, indeed, said nothing essentially new. But he has brought together an unusual amount of challenging material. He helps to rouse us from the apathy into which we sank after the armistice. He helps to stir us from the gloom and disillusionment which followed the knowledge that mankind could cry "Peace! Peace!" for generations, and then plunge into the bloodiest war in history.

We must not set our hopes too high. Only recently (September 1), in a speech at the Army War College, President Harding said: "No matter where the best aspirations of the world may lead us, no matter what tremendous and gratifying progress is made, there may never be a time without the necessity for armed forces in every government." This is not pessimism. It is merely wisdom. It is prompted, doubtless, by the wise conviction that we must not have at Washington another great rousing of hopes, only to be followed by delay and nonfulfillment. But this does not render futile the passion for peace on the part of men like our present author. He is one of those to whom H. G. Wells refers in his "Outline of History": "The terrible experiences of the Great War have made very many men who once took political things lightly take them now very gravely. To a certain small number of men and women the attainment of a world peace has become the supreme work in life, has become a religious self-devotion. . . . Perhaps now most human beings in the world are well-disposed towards such efforts, but rather confusedly disposed; they are without any clear sense of what must be done and what ought to be prevented, that human solidarity may be advanced."



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GUY EMERSON.

## Woman: Old Style and New

MRS. FARRELL. By W. D. Howells. With an Introduction by Mildred Howells. New York: Harper & Brothers.

VIVIEN. By W. B. Maxwell. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

DANGEROUS AGES. By Rose Macaulay. New York: Boni and Liveright.

"MRS. Farrell" gives the effect of a "revival," in the stage sense; but as a book this is really the first appearance of the novel. Under the title "Private Theatricals" it was printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1875. Howells was editor; and it may be that he wrote it as it came out, and was not satisfied with the way it developed as a serial. For some reason he never cared to make a book of it. Oddly enough his very last novel, written nearly half a century later, had much the same time and setting, the rural New England of the middle seventies, where farmers' wives were supplementing the meagre returns of an already worn-out soil by "taking in boarders." Summer hotels were not, and the precarious chances of country boarding were all that good Boston people like the Kelwyns or a Mrs. Farrell had to choose from in holiday season. "The Vacation of the Kelwyns" is a more finished piece of work, and more characteristic of the mature Howells. It is full of the dry and demure humor with which the novelist could still permit himself to adorn his facts after his final enrollment under the banner of realism, or veritism, or whatever he preferred to call the method of the elect. But the later novel is a bit arid; there is nobody in it one can care much for, except as a specimen. If it be, as the subtitle avers, an idyl, it is the idyl of one who had long forsworn romance and its works. There is a warmth and, let us say, a credulity about "Mrs. Farrell" which is endearing. It is the story of one who still looks with affection as well as with amusement upon the world of women. If Mrs. Farrell is what would now be nicknamed a "vamp," she is involuntarily and even helplessly so, a child

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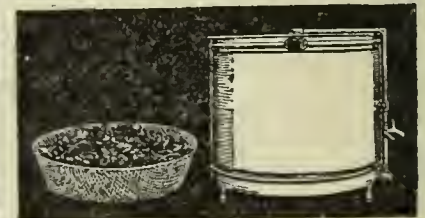
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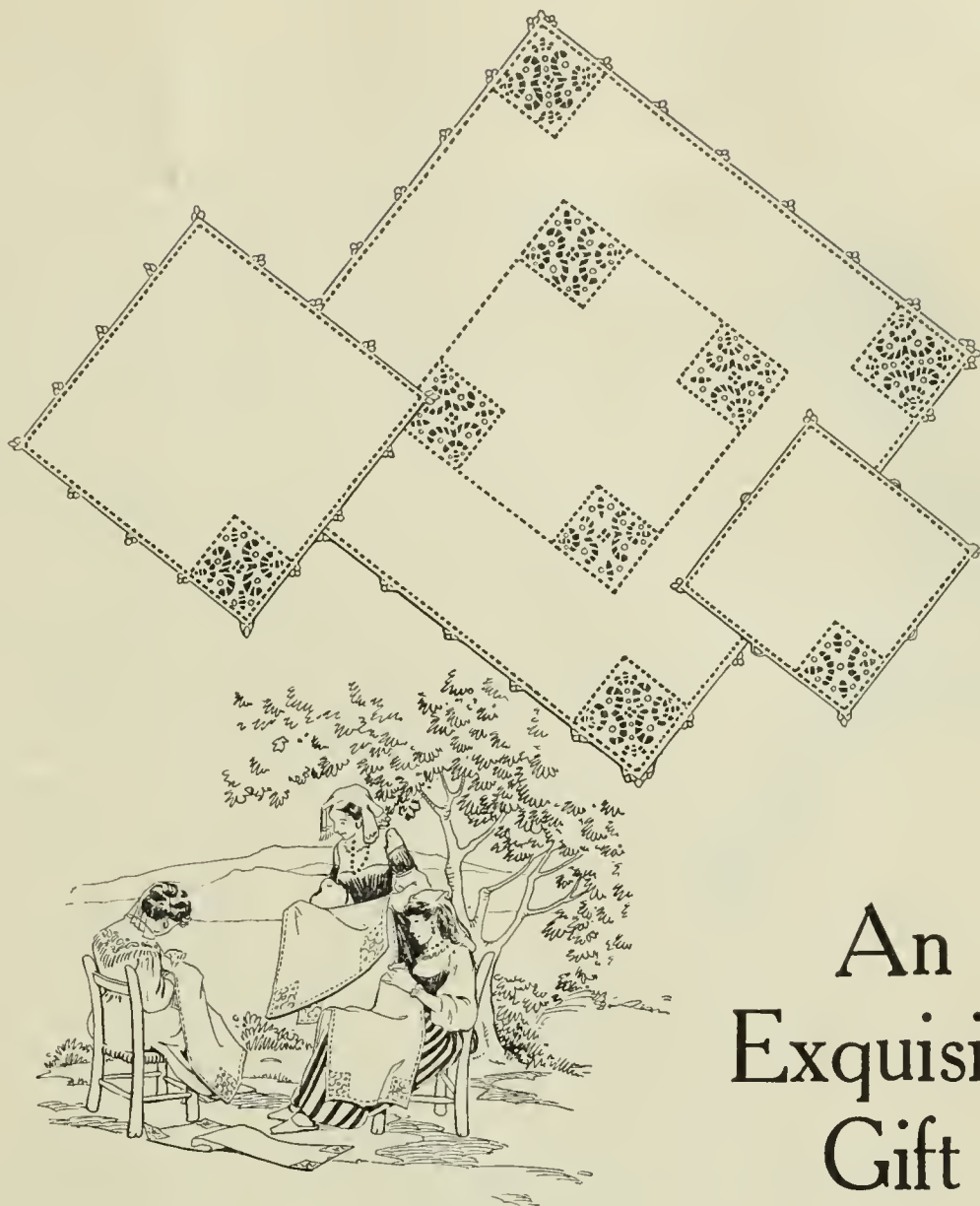
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and a weapon of nature. New England has no place for her, but can not obscure her warm and generous allurements. Beside her the Parthenope of "The Vacation of the Kelwyns" is a chill prig, and even Rachel Woodward becomes a piteous embodiment of the New England conscience. Mrs. Farrell, in short, is of larger mould than the later heroines about whose ladylike sentiments and foibles Mr. Howells's fancy was to play so slily and unactionably.

Miss Howells notes in her graceful introduction the amusing quaintness of this feminine world of the seventies, "the general resignation of even faintly middle-aged ladies to headaches and invalidism, and the walks taken through woods and meadows in trailing draperies." Hardly less quaint seems the feminine world of Mr. Maxwell's "Vivien," though only a matter of twenty years separates us from it. Vivien's father is a figure out of "Vanity Fair," Lady Colwyn is a dowager of dowagers, Mrs. Arncliffe a siren of the elder mode; Stanford and Lord Helensburgh are villain and hero as conceived in the years of the Jubilee and the Boer War. Vivien herself is that long outmoded young person, a sensitive and thoroughly "nice" girl. All this goes to explain Mr. Archibald Marshall's enthusiasm over the story. This is the period, these (in part) are the materials of his own art. . . . I confess that the happy ending of "Vivien" is almost too saccharine even for a tolerably faithful Victorian taste. When the fairy prince comes back to his Vivien from the wars and mentions the word wife (he has grossly insulted her before on several occasions), she whimpers, "Your wife?" and grovels before him. Her birth is not so bad, but she has neither wealth nor title. Hence she is a "goose-girl," and his condescension is almost too much to bear: "Oh, my prince. Lift me up, or leave me here. Do with me what you like." The prince (who is a Duke) chooses to lift her up, with supernal indulgence: "Unworthy? Hush. My sweet, my silly Vivien. You are good, you are brave, you are beautiful. What more should a man want in his wife?" She is good, she is immaculate, as he is not; and physical virtue, in both their minds, is where it ought to be.

"Dangerous Ages" is a chronicle of that strangely different world of women in which, after a scant twenty years, we find (or fancy) ourselves to be living. "Vivien" seems to have nothing behind it but the nineteenth century tradition and practice—Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Reade. "Dangerous Ages" is a perfect blossom of the post-Wellsian florescence. It begins where the professional anti-Victorians leave off, assuming a human sphere which has cast off the ancient superstitions and inhibitions, and which revolves freely if not too steadily on its own axis; or, let us say, which tugs manfully and womanfully, if without miraculous results, at its own bootstraps. The free world, at all events, is here and we are in it. When little



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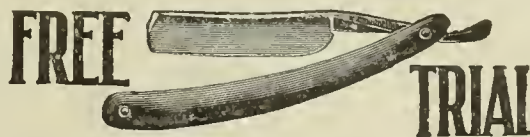
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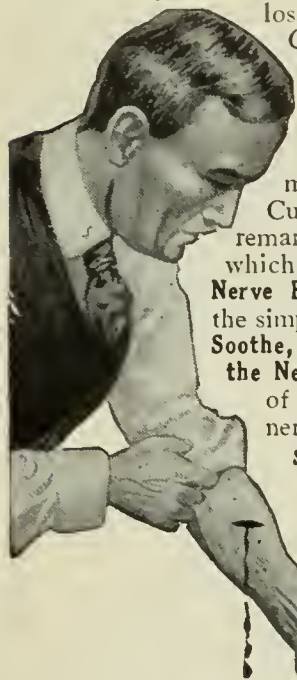
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Gerda and Barry fall in love and the time comes for an "understanding," it is Gerda who proposes a "free union," and it is Barry who will not take her on these terms. Not that he has any indignant objection to her theories, but he wants his children to have a fair chance, and confesses that he happens to be a marrying man anyhow. And when Gerda is talking it over with her mother, and Neville warns her that Barry may look elsewhere for a wife, the girl cries, "I can't help it, mother. I can't do what I don't approve of for that. How could I?" And her mother replies without further ado, "No, darling, of course you couldn't; I apologize. But do see if you can't get to approve of it, or anyway to be indifferent about it. Such a little thing!"

Twenty, thirty, forty, sixty, eighty, are, roughly, the ages of Gerda, her aunt Nan, her mother Neville, her grandmother Mrs. Hilary, and her greatgrandmother; and they are all dangerous ages but the last. Neville at forty-three, her business of motherhood done with, tries vainly to take up the career her marriage has interrupted. Mrs. Hilary, a feeble egotist, finds nothing at sixty-three to live for. "The bitter emptiness of sixty-three turned her sick with frustration." Nan, Neville's unmarried sister, has lived the life of free attachments, and turns, at thirty-three, to love—turns with something like condescension to find herself flouted and set on the shelf. Only "Grandmama," who in her eighties has outlived the expectation of anything, and has won the negative peace of the noncombatant, finds any comfort in life. Grandmama and Pamela (sister to Nan and Neville) who, at thirty-nine, possessed of a calling and a devoted woman friend, has attained a sort of remote immunity from danger. With Pamela and Grandmama lies the last word: "Pamela said blandly to Grandmama, when the old lady commented one day on her admirable composure, 'Life's so short, you see. Can anything which lasts such a little while be worth making a fuss about?' . . . 'Ah,' said Grandmama, 'that's been my philosophy for ten years . . . only ten years. You've no business with it at your age, child.' . . . 'Age,' returned Pamela, negligent and cool, 'has extremely little to do with anything that matters. . . . I certainly don't see quite what all the fuss is about.'"

H. W. BOYNTON

Mr. J. H. Curle, the author of a book of travel called 'The Shadow Show,' has now written another entitled "This World of Ours" (Doran). Both are written in a breathless, rather self-conscious style, with more than an agreeable repetition of the personal pronoun, first person, singular. Something, undoubtedly, should be done to vary the manner of the usual globe-trotter's recital, but we do not think Mr. Curle has found the secret. He writes of Africa, South America, North America, Asia, and, for the matter of that, the islands of the seas.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

I. Suggestive Questions for Those Who Are Preparing to Write in The Independent's Essay Contest on "The Limitation of Armament."

1. Examine the articles entitled, "What Are We Willing to Sacrifice for Peace?" "A Good Word Gone Wrong," "The Leadership of Secretary Hughes," and the various news articles and editorial articles that in any way concern "The Limitation of Armament," or the coming conference at Washington. Make notes of all the points that appeal to you as particularly valuable. Mark, or underline, passages to which you may wish to refer at some later time. Begin the preparation of a carefully indexed book of material for writing on "The Limitation of Armament."
2. Give a clear explanation of what is meant by the following expressions: (a) Traditional patriotism; (b) The impulse to the assertion of power; (c) Political moralities; (d) Our standard of values.
3. Prepare a well-organized exposition that will show how every one of the four points named in the preceding "question" affects the peace of the world. Explain how "traditional patriotism" may work great harm as well as great good; how "the impulse to the assertion of power" may harm as well as benefit; how "political morality" may benefit the world, and the lack of it cause lasting damage; and how a nation's "standard of values" may raise a nation to true greatness, or bring it to ruin.
4. Give a short talk in which you explain the meaning of the opening sentence of "What Is Peace Worth?"
5. The article just named says that no covenants, no agreements, can alone bring peace. "The will to peace must first grow in the hearts of men." Give reasons that will support your belief concerning the truth or the falsity of the statements. Is the writer opposed to such conferences as the coming conference at Washington? What would he probably say concerning the value of such conferences?
6. Mr. Norman Angell says, "A people that starves is a people thinking only of material things—food." Consider the present condition of Russia; of the lands east of the Mediterranean; of India; and of China. What would Mr. Angell wish the people in these lands to do? How can you apply Mr. Angell's statement to your own conduct in life?
7. "Discussions of peace and disarmament in the past have been altogether too much a matter of rose leaves and heliotrope." What does the sentence mean? What figure of speech does the writer employ? What is the effect of using the figure? Write an original sentence that will also make use of figures of speech, and that will tell what sort of discussions of disarmament would be the opposite of the type named in the quoted sentence.
8. Write a short composition in which you tell some of the things that it may be necessary to "sacrifice" for peace.
9. In "A Good Word Gone Wrong" Agnes Repplier says that the war made "propaganda" a term of reproach. Prepare a clear definition of propaganda, showing by examples how the meaning of the word has been twisted.
10. The last paragraph of "The Leadership of Secretary Hughes" says that the International Conference on the Limitation of Armaments will lead the American people to "international thinking." Give a talk in which you tell just how the Conference will do this.
11. Questions on Literature.
  1. Read "Women: Old Style and New," and other book reviews in this number of The Independent.
  2. What three types of women have appeared in recent fiction?
  3. What is meant by "enrollment under the banner of realism, or veritism"?
  4. What is "dry and demure humor"?
  5. What "tradition and practice" was established by every one of the following writers: Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Reade? Which books by these writers would be interesting reading for the average school student?

### History, Civics and Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,  
Former Principal of the High School  
of Commerce, New York

I. America's Foreign Policy—The Leadership of Secretary Hughes. Treaty Prospects. The Week at Home. The Washington Conference.

1. What mental qualities were evident in Charles E. Hughes previous to his appointment as Secretary of State which indicated his fitness for the position?
2. "President Harding did not intend to be his own Secretary of State as Wilson had chosen to be." Upon what facts in Wilson's career does the author base this judgment?
3. What is the chief aim and purpose of the present administration in its handling of foreign affairs?
4. How are these aims being furthered in the negotiations with Germany, Austria and Hungary? In the arrangements for the Washington Conference? In the negotiations being carried on with Japan?
11. Russia and the Nations—Russia, the Ward of the Conference. History Teaches. . . . A Mongolian Vision, Muscovite Accusations and Polish Folly. Muscovite Honor.
  1. Who were the "Big Three" referred to in the first paragraph of the second editorial? Identify each of the three by the description given by the author.
  2. "The world is paying a heavy price today for this failure," etc. What proof of this statement do you find in this issue of The Independent?
  3. "Russia's position is far different from that of China." In what respect is this true?
111. Is Peace in Ireland in Sight?—The Dawn of Sanity in Ireland. The Irish Situation.
  1. Trace the progress of the negotiations between the Irish leaders and the English Cabinet from their beginning last summer up to the present time.
  2. In view of the last exchange of notes, which side is in the better position just now?
  3. "Undoubtedly also, Mr. Lloyd George will desire to have this question settled before the Washington Conference." Why?
  4. "The eternal question of Ulster blocks the way." What is this question? Is any permanent solution possible?
  5. Why does de Valera insist on a recognition of Ireland's independence? Why does Lloyd George refuse to grant this recognition?
- IV. Our Domestic Problems—The Week at Home.
  1. What difficulties stand in the way of the passage of the tax and tariff bills? The railroad relief bill?
  2. What is the issue involved in the debate over canal tolls repeal bill? Why should this question be settled before the opening of the Washington Conference?
  3. What solutions will the Unemployment Conference probably have to offer for this problem?
  4. Under what circumstances did the Ku Klux Klan originally come into existence? Why has it been revived at the present time?
- V. What Are We Willing to Sacrifice for Peace?
  1. Who is Norman Angell? Professor Myers? Will Irwin? H. G. Wells?
  2. "He [Norman Angell] does not believe that conferences . . . can manufacture enduring peace." What method does he propose to substitute?
  3. Comment on Professor Myers' statement that "war will become a thing of the past only when men can no longer fight with a good conscience."
  4. How does this statement fit in with President Harding's assertion that "there may never be a time without the necessity for armed forces in every government"?
- VI. Machine Politics vs. Reform Movements—New York's Perpetual Problem.
  1. Is there in your community a political condition similar to that which exists in New York? How do the "reformers" meet the power of the organized machine?
  2. Upon what elements in the population do the machine politicians depend for their strength? The "reformers"?
  3. How do you account for the fact that "reform administrations" practically never stay in power for more than one term?



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

October 8, 1921



### Unemployment—The Views of a Sociologist

By Franklin H. Giddings

*Professor of Sociology and History of Civilization, Columbia University*

THE unemployment conference, called by President Harding, should take either a more or a less superficial view of the situation than has been forecast by the daily press. If amelioration only is to be considered, let that determination be frankly announced and accepted without prejudice. If causes are to be studied, an effort should be made to get deeper into the phenomena than current investigations attempt to go.

Unemployment is an economic phenomenon, but also it is something more. Merely economic explanations get nowhere. One might as well try to explain mental disturbances without reference to physiology, or try to explain physiological processes without reference to organic chemistry, as try to account for unemployment and to interpret it comprehensively without reference to the sub-economic, super-psychological facts of collective human behavior.

#### The Sociologist Versus the Economist

Without attempting refinements of discrimination one may say that economics is a discussion of what is likely to happen in a world of human beings bursting with "enlightened self-interest," while sociology is a discussion of what is likely to happen if it turns out that human beings generally are not enlightened and are not bursting with much of anything except, now and then, "pure cussedness." The economist assumes that most of us know the difference between profit and loss and thriftily try to avoid loss. The sociologist questions the assumption, being convinced that most of us are as reckless and wasteful as a crew of drunken sailors. The economist who is true to form is too often an uncompromising individualist or a baptized Socialist; the sociologist frankly wonders how the Socialist "gets that way" and he sees no harm in as much restraint of individualism as is prescribed by the criminal law and the sanitary code.

Every so-called "crisis" of unemployment brings to view paradoxical conduct and situations that bear out the foregoing observations and point to the deeper causes of idleness. While jobless men walk the streets and sleep in parks, farmers with wasting crops to harvest are unable to get help on any terms; competent and trustworthy domestic service is almost unobtainable; in the trades men throw down their tools and walk out on factitious disagree-

ments, proclaiming that their action can not make things worse because there has been "over-production"; and everywhere slacking goes merrily on because it "makes work."

#### People Act According to Folkways

These things are not rational, and rationalistic explanations of them are nonsense. They are folkways, as truly as costly weddings and funerals and charity balls are. They are products of innumerable impulses, fantastic beliefs, imitations, traditions, and, above all, of that insatiable craving for compensations of inferiority which makes every man and woman alive more afraid of losing caste than of any other misfortune short of death. To go into domestic service, to be a farmer's hired man, to do more work in a day than your fellow craftsmen do, to work with "scabs," is to lose caste, and employment at that price is not acceptable.

All folkways have their causes in fundamental conditions, and these modern folkways of unemployment spring from conditions far more general than the capitalism to which the Marxian creed attributes them. Both they and capitalism are products of that widening of the market which began with the great period of geographical discovery. To condense into a sentence the large philosophy of a big subject, unemployment and its folkways are consequences of the intellectual and moral inadequacy of human beings to produce for a world market as decently and successfully as they once produced for a neighborhood market.

#### Business Men Don't Know Enough

This inadequacy, let it be distinctly understood, is not the peculiar deficiency of wage earners. It is a serious inadequacy of business men. The shoemaker, the weaver, the smelter of iron, the maker of tools and implements in the old days, produced goods for customers individually known to him and for use among people who would bring their complaints of imperfection to his personal attention. He dealt with neighbors that he had to live with. He knew his "help" and their families. Social status was not determined by employment and its conditions so largely as now, and holding or losing caste was more likely to turn upon personal qualities and conduct. Demand also was more



calculable. The market was all in sight, and it changed but slowly. The modern business man produces for a distant market. He rarely meets the people who use the goods that he sells. He knows but few of his employees, and they are left to work out their own ideas of what will and what will not help them to "stand in right" with one another. His imagination rarely pictures the remoter consequences of his quality-cheapening policies, and the imaginations of his employees of course fail entirely to picture the consequences of unintelligent reactions to their "inferiority complex."

All this means that a majority of present-day business men and employees are now, as in former generations, just about intelligent enough and just about honest enough to get on in a home market situation, and not intelligent or honest enough to handle a world-market situation without recurring disaster.

#### Free Traders and Protectionists—A Plague o' Both Their Houses

The economic argument for free trade is impeccable.

There has never been a strictly economic rejoinder to it that has not been infantile. But this argument assumes the "economic man" of the Ricardian philosophy, and he is an exceptional individual. The multitudes do not behave as he is said to behave. They can't. They are not rational enough, they don't know enough, they are not morally big and sound enough. These facts would be unassailable data for the home market people if they had sense enough to use them. Notwithstanding the fact that they haven't, it will be necessary to build constructive policies upon them if the magnitude and distress of unemployment are not to increase.

The world market can not be and will not be sacrificed or limited. All in all, it has incalculably enhanced human well-being, but it can not be permitted indefinitely to grow at the expense of the economic self-sufficiency of local groups. Yet not by protectionism, but rather by that up-building of neighborhoods and villages which demands individual initiative and responsibility, and costs untiring social coöperation, can business be stabilized and prosperity be insured.

## The Survival of the Unfittest

The Eugenics Congress Up Against Inverted Evolution

By Edwin E. Slosson

THERE was a curious contrast in the tone of the two international congresses held in New York during September. The outlook of the first, the chemical congress, was optimistic. The outlook of the second, the eugenics congress, was pessimistic. Both had reason to rejoice in the recent advance of their sciences, but, while the chemist asserted with confidence that his discoveries would promptly be applied to human needs, the eugenist could not feel any assurance that the world would take heed of his warnings, although the future of the race was imperiled. What need to build bigger engines if the engineer is inferior? Even vitamins will not put pep into a decadent people.

That civilization is cultivating a race of incapables in its midst is shown by various statistical studies. The Jukes, the Nams, the Kallikaks (or the kak half of them), the Zeros, the Ishmaelites, and innumerable other unidentified strains of defectives and criminals continue to increase at the expense of the community. Sanitary science, benevolent government, and Christian compassion are the highest achievements of human endeavor, yet their inadvertent interaction is to make evolution work backward in some cases and to promote the survival of the unfit.

Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, statistician of the New York State Hospital Commission, says:

The burden of mental disease is each year becoming heavier. The ratio of patients with mental disease under treatment in institutions per 100,000 of population increased from 118.2 in 1890 to 220.1 in 1920. The economic loss to the nation on account of mental disease now amounts to over \$200,000,000 per year. As less than one-fourth of those who develop psychoses are cured, no permanent relief can come from treating patients in hospitals.

The diagnosis of the eugenist shows conclusively that society is suffering from a parasitic disease. The hereditary criminal, defective, and pauper families are preying on the body politic as the tapeworm and hookworm on the human body; doing it a double injury, both robbing and wounding, sucking its blood and poisoning it.

In the discussion of this question one must beware of confusing poverty and pauperism. Poverty, being an economic condition, may possibly, as some suppose, be entirely eradicated by increase of production and more equable distribution. Pauperism, being an hereditary disease, will only dis-

appear when the strain dies out. The permanent pauper is one who is unable, from inadequacy of intellect or instability of character, to do his fair share of the world's work and who willingly relies upon the rest for his support.

Professor de Lapouge, the veteran eugenist of France, regards Europe as ruined, and looks to the Anglo-Saxon to save civilization through breeding by selection of a race of supermen who shall be able to master the complexities of modern commerce and non-Euclidean geometry. His picture of victorious France is a gloomy one:

In France, the war gave a blow to the superior elements which may prove to be mortal. The best of our young men have perished or been invalidated in the proportion of at least 2 to 3. In these same circles the young women will not find husbands, partly because the young men have disappeared and partly because the high cost of living has made their dowries too small to be able to furnish, even if joined to the earnings of a husband, resources sufficient to found a family. I have reason to believe that the disastrous results of selection exercised by the last war are the same among all the other people of Europe. In Russia, for example, eugenical inheritance may be considered destroyed.

The foundations of the science of eugenics have now been solidly laid in the vast amount of statistical and experimental work that has been done on heredity during the present century. Psychology has recently come to the aid of eugenics in devising tests of inborn intelligence, which are sufficiently and measurably accurate and are independent of education, wealth, race, and social position. Stocks and strains bearing the determinants of the highest intellectual and moral qualities, as well as dangerous and incurable defects, can now be identified and traced with considerable certainty. But it does not yet appear how this new knowledge can be applied for the advancement and salvation of the race.

Eugenic measures are of two classes: (1) negative, those designed to check the multiplication of the unfit, and (2) positive, those aiming to promote the propagation of the better elements of the race.

Of the negative eugenic measures the most prominent are (1) sterilization, (2) segregation, and (3) birth control. The first is most effective, but too drastic to apply on a large scale, and, if applied on a small scale, can not eradicate the evil inheritance. Fifteen states have since



1907 passed laws providing for sexual sterilization in certain cases. In some states the law is carried out; in others it is a dead letter. Up to the beginning of this year 3233 cacogenic persons had been operated upon under these statutes. But such measures, though multiplied by ten or a hundred, would make no perceptible and permanent improvement in the average quality of the population.

The popular and temporary segregation of convicted criminals in prisons, and mental defectives in asylums, has always been practiced and can be more widely extended and more wisely applied as the public becomes educated to its prime importance. Birth control in some form is favored by most eugenicists, but they have to recognize that its first effect is to make matters worse by restricting the propagation of the provident while leaving the improvident to multiply *ad libitum*.

The positive measures for the promotion of eugenics appear no more practical and promising than the negative. Indiscriminate bounties for babies may turn out a dysgenic measure, since eugenics aims at quality rather than quantity. The most that can be hoped for from legislation at the present is a little alleviation of the financial handicap that now hinders our most promising young couples from rear-

ing a family. So the leaders in the movement are looking forward to the education of the people and the cultivation of "the eugenic conscience" in individuals, so that it will come to be regarded as a public disgrace and personal sin if those who have received a fine inheritance fail to pass it on to the coming generation and if those who have a serious hereditary taint should perpetuate it in their posterity. To educate a whole people to such a sense of their duty to their race would seem an impossible prospect. Yet it is the best and perhaps the only way to accomplish this vital aim. Already "young persons contemplating matrimony" are taking a new interest in genealogy, not with a view to claiming estates or coats of arms, but of finding out whether the match is a good one in the true sense of the word.

Eugenics does not propose to banish Cupid, but merely to unbandage his eyes. Even though blinded he can hear "the jingling of the guinea," and this often leads him in the wrong direction. Eugenists recognize that the race owes its health and handsomeness largely to Master Cupid's target practice throughout the ages past, but now-a-days his aim has been deflected by outside influences, so that his hits are wrong more than half the time.

## Panama Tolls and National Honor

By Bernhard Knollenberg

[The writer of the following article is associated with the law firm of Root, Clark, Buckner & Howland. The article presents in compact form a comprehensive survey of the essential facts bearing upon the question of America's obligation in the matter of Panama Canal tolls. The conclusion is unescapable that we cannot institute the proposed exemption for American ships without a clear violation of the nation's honor.]

THE Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals some months ago favorably reported a bill introduced by Senator Borah for the exemption of American coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls at the Panama Canal. A vote on the measure is scheduled in the Senate for October 10.

In 1912, despite the protests of the British Government that the law violated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 between Great Britain and America, a statute providing for a like exemption was enacted. Many prominent Americans, notably President Wilson and Senator Root, convinced that the discrimination in favor of our coastwise shipping violated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, succeeded in so arousing the public and Congress against the law that the toll-exemption was repealed in 1914.

The underlying basis of opposition to the toll-exemption of 1912, on the part of those who most earnestly opposed the discrimination in favor of American vessels, was the conviction that the law clearly violated Article III of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which provided that the Canal should be open to all nations on terms of entire equality. Nevertheless, in his Congressional message of March 5, 1914, advocating the repeal of the toll-exemption law of 1912, President Wilson tactfully avoided the charge that the law (which many of the Congressmen whose support he sought had helped to enact) was a breach of faith, by basing his appeal on this ground:

We are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting, a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please. The large thing to do is the only thing that we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we are right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation.

While the appeal to the good will of the nation was effective in accomplishing its purpose in 1914, it has left

an unfortunate impression that our action in repealing the toll-exemption was an act of grace, not the fulfillment of a contract obligation. Consequently, now that the pendulum has swung, leaving this nation for a space indifferent to the generous idealism which has been its best heritage, the supporters of toll-exemption are meeting with but feeble opposition. Under the conviction that the American people, cynical, perhaps, for the moment, will nevertheless not knowingly take a dishonorable step, I hope in this article to bring home the fact that the exemption of American coastwise traffic from Panama Canal tolls would constitute a flagrant violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

### I

#### THE COASTWISE-TRADE PLEA

Coasting Vessels Are Not Confined to Coastwise Trade—Diversion of Trade from Canadian Ships—Our Coastwise Ships Should Pay Their Share

The assertion has often been made that, since the United States has for over a century excluded all foreign vessels from coastwise trade, an exemption limited to American *coasting vessels* will not affect British interests, and that Great Britain's protests have been frivolous. That this argument is flimsy and that there is real merit in the British protests is, however, apparent.

Since American vessels registered for coastwise trade are, under existing law, free to touch at foreign ports, American vessels, sailing from New York to San Francisco, can, after passing the Canal toll-free, proceed from San Francisco to Vancouver or Shanghai in direct competition with foreign vessels running between the Atlantic seaboard and foreign ports on the Pacific.

Furthermore, there is a growing ocean commerce between the north Atlantic and north Pacific ports of this Continent, a substantial portion of which flows through Canadian ports and is carried on British vessels. The lower ocean freight rates which will presumably prevail between Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, if American coastwise shipping is exempt from Panama Canal tolls, will almost inevitably divert trade from Canadian to American ports. Goods which ordinarily would be shipped by water from Vancouver to New York, from Seattle to Mon-



treal, or from Vancouver to Montreal, will instead be routed from Seattle to New York. American shipping and American ports will be fostered at the expense of British shipping and Canadian ports.

Article III, paragraph 1, of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty provides that "conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable." In determining an equitable rate of toll, the entire amount of revenue which could be collected from all vessels using the Canal ought to be taken into consideration. From a commercial standpoint, the Canal is at the present time an unprofitable investment, and there has been no serious complaint that the present rates of toll are too high. Traffic through the Canal is, however, constantly increasing. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921, the toll collections from merchant vessels exceeded eleven million dollars, an amount 32 per cent. greater than the receipts of any previous year; it is not improbable that, repeating the financial history of the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal will emerge from a losing commercial venture into a highly profitable enterprise. Great Britain, in view of our past attitude in dealing with the Canal, is justly apprehensive that, when the day of prosperity comes, our Government, if it has exempted coastwise shipping from tolls, will lose sight of the revenue which might have been collected had the exemption not been granted; and, in fixing an "equitable" rate of toll, will take into consideration only the revenue actually collected.

In judging the merits of the foregoing considerations, it must be remembered that the amount of subsidy involved in an exemption from tolls is very great—in the case of the larger coasting vessels coming to over five thousand dollars for each voyage through the Canal.

## II

### WHAT DOES "ALL NATIONS" MEAN?—STORY OF THE TREATY

**Our Promise of "Entire Equality" for Vessels of "All Nations" Includes Ourselves on Its Face—And the Circumstances of the Time Dispose of the Plea that We Meant to Except Ourselves**

The controversy over the right of the United States to discriminate in favor of its coasting vessels centres upon the proper interpretation of Article III of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which provides in Rule 1 that:

The Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these Rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise.

Certainly, on the face of this paragraph, there is no ambiguity; the rule declares that the Canal shall be open on terms of entire equality to *all nations*—the United States is not excepted.

The ordinary meaning of this simple phrase "all nations" is rejected by the supporters of toll-exemption on the ground, primarily, that it would be unreasonable to accept a construction of these words which would deny to the United States, the builder and owner of the Canal, the right to make such rules as it pleased for vessels under its own flag, engaged in domestic commerce. The attitude on this point is explained in the following interview in the *New York Times* of February 6, 1921, by Senator Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State in 1912, when toll-exemption was enacted:

Of course it must be admitted that by applying a childish legal formula to the text it can be claimed that the United States is included within the words "all nations," but a consideration of the relations of the parties to the subject matter of the Treaty shows that the United States, the grantor of conditional privileges in the Canal to all nations, parted with no particle of its rights in the ownership of the property or subjected its own use of the Canal to the conditions it imposed upon the beneficiaries of its generosity.

The "relations of the parties" to "the subject of the

Treaty" (the Canal), had been described by Mr. Knox in an earlier paragraph as follows:

The United States paid to Panama \$10,000,000 for the Zone itself; we built the Canal at a total expenditure of more than \$400,000,000; no other country has shared, and does not propose to share, one penny of this expenditure or any phase of risk connected with our stupendous undertaking. Surely on these facts arises no necessary implication that Great Britain is entitled to the benefits of this colossal work on the same and identical terms as we, the owners, the builders, the operators, the protectors and the insurers of the Canal, or that she shall dictate how we shall treat matters of purely local national trade and commerce.

The hollowness of this argument lies in the fact that the circumstances on which it is based arose *after the Treaty was signed*, whereas it is axiomatic that an agreement must be construed in the light of the circumstances *under which it was made*.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was negotiated in 1900-01 under the following circumstances:

The impossibility of coördinating the Atlantic and Pacific fleets without a canal through the Isthmus of Central America had been recently demonstrated by the Oregon's protracted cruise around the Horn to join the Atlantic Squadron in Cuban waters. Only a little while before, in 1898, the United States had acquired Hawaii. Sugar bound from the cane fields of Hawaii to the refiners at New York could be unloaded and trans-shipped by rail more economically than it could be carried over a circuitous sea route measuring twice the length of South America. The demand for a canal, arising alike from the dictates of naval strategy and commercial advantage, had become overwhelming.

The colossal failure of the de Lesseps Company, with its loss of over two hundred million dollars to French investors, having decisively intimidated private capital from further speculation in this field, it was apparent that the building of a canal must fall upon the Government of the United States. In order, however, for this nation to undertake the construction of the Canal independently, it was necessary to procure Great Britain's consent to the modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention of 1850, by the terms of which the United States had expressly agreed to act jointly with Great Britain in the building and control of any canal across the Isthmus.

Great Britain, temporarily incapacitated from coöperating in the construction of the canal by the exhausting Boer war in which she was engaged, assented to our request for complete independence in the construction, operation, and defense of an Isthmian Canal, and on November 18, 1901, John Hay, Secretary of State, and Lord Pauncefote, British Ambassador to the United States, signed a Treaty, shortly after ratified, which superseded the Clayton-Bulwer Convention.

As frequently reiterated by the supporters of toll exemption, it is this later Treaty, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and not the Clayton-Bulwer Convention, which defines our present relations with Great Britain. Nevertheless, since the existence of this Convention is one of the most significant circumstances surrounding the negotiations of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, it is indispensable that in seeking the correct interpretation of the later Treaty we bear in mind the provisions and essential facts of the history of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention.

## III

### THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE TREATY

**Under the Clayton-Bulwer Convention (1850), Great Britain Was to Share with Us in Building the Canal—Later, We Found This Unsatisfactory—Britain Assented to Our Release from This Bargain, upon Terms Entirely Agreeable to Us**

The Clayton-Bulwer Convention provided:

First: That neither the United States nor Great Britain would ever obtain or maintain exclusive control over the



then proposed Nicaraguan Canal,\* or any other canal which might be constructed across the Isthmus connecting North and South America; but that the contracting parties would give their *joint* support to the construction of an Isthmian Canal.

Second: That the Canal when constructed should be open to the citizens of the United States and Great Britain and to all other friendly Powers, on terms of entire equality.

At the time the Convention was signed it appeared that the United States and Great Britain, in agreeing to coöperate in encouraging the construction of a canal, had each made an excellent bargain. Great Britain, with an established protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, along whose territory flowed the river San Juan de Nicaragua, controlled the eastern terminus of the Nicaraguan Canal route. The United States, on the other hand, under our Treaty of 1846 with New Granada (now the Republic of Colombia), occupied a favored position at the Isthmus of Panama and had recently negotiated a treaty with Nicaragua which, if ratified, would give us control over the Pacific terminus of the proposed Nicaraguan Canal. Under the Convention, each nation gave up its exclusive but fragmentary privileges for a joint interest in a workable project; and it must have been apparent to the diplomats engaged in drafting the Convention that, in order to obtain the acquiescence of other nations in the novel assumption by Great Britain and the United States of a jurisdiction over all isthmian canal routes, definite assurance by these Powers that they were not seeking a discriminatory advantage was essential.

During the course of the succeeding half-century, that portion of the Convention which reserved to Great Britain joint supervision of the proposed Canal became exceedingly irksome to the United States. The recognition of Great Britain as a joint protector of all "practical communications across the Isthmus" was inconsistent with our growing insistence upon the Monroe Doctrine. Nevertheless, the United States had made a bargain which it was bound to keep until released; and, while fine-spun arguments were advanced from time to time to prove that one act or another of Great Britain had nullified the Convention, the conclusion, reached after an exhaustive study of the question by Richard Olney (Secretary of State under President Cleveland) that "upon every principle which governs the relations to each other, either of nations or of individuals, the United States is completely estopped from denying that the Treaty is in full force and vigor," was still sound in 1900 when overtures were made to Great Britain for the modification or abrogation of the Convention.

In striking contrast to its increasing hostility towards the provision of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention for British joint control, the United States appears throughout to have been entirely satisfied with the provision that all nations, including the United States, should enjoy the proposed Canal on terms of entire equality.†

#### IV

##### THE HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY

Text of the Existing Treaty—Ambassador Choate Was Thoroughly Satisfied With It—"All Means All," Said Secretary Hay

That the negotiations which led to the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty were undertaken for the sole pur-

\* During the negotiations of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in 1901, attention was again focused on the Nicaragua route, as it had been in 1850. It was not until 1902, some months after the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty—having ascertained that the rights of the Panama Canal Company (successor to the de Lesseps Company) could be acquired for less than \$50,000,000—that our Government gave favorable consideration to the Panama route.

†A pungent recapitulation of the diplomatic correspondence pertaining to the Clayton-Bulwer Convention will be found in Senator Root's notable addresses to the Senate on January 21, 1913, and May 21, 1914, in favor of the repeal of the toll-exemption: "Addresses on International Subjects," pp. 207-312, Elihu Root (Harvard University Press).

pose of eliminating the partnership provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention, and that a modification of the provision for equality of treatment was neither considered nor desired, is evident not only from a consideration of the motives which led us to seek the modification of the earlier Convention, but from the diplomatic correspondence in connection with the negotiation of the new Treaty. In a letter dated October 2, 1901, to John Hay, Secretary of State, Joseph H. Choate, the American Ambassador to Great Britain, in summarizing the result of his conferences with the British Foreign Secretary, wrote:

I am sure that in this whole matter, since the receipt by him of your new draft, Lord Lansdowne has been most considerate and more than generous. He has shown an earnest desire to bring to an amicable settlement, honorable alike to both parties, this long and important controversy between the two nations. In substance, he abrogates the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, gives us an American canal—ours to build as and when we like, to own, control, and govern—on the sole condition of its being always neutral and free for the passage of the ships of all nations on equal terms, except that if we get into a war with any nation we can shut its ships out and take care of ourselves.

Turning to the text of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty as finally ratified, it is difficult to suggest in what manner its terms could have been more clearly drawn to secure the desired repeal of the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention for joint construction of the Canal, and at the same time to preserve the mutually satisfactory agreement for absolute equality in the enjoyment of the Canal.

The Preamble recites and confirms the "general principle of neutralization" (that the Canal shall be open to the citizens of all friendly nations on equal terms) "established by Article Eight of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention." The provisions of the Treaty are as follows:

##### ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties agree that the present Treaty shall supersede the aforementioned Convention of the 19th April, 1850.

##### ARTICLE II

It is agreed that the Canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost, or by gift or loan of money to individuals or Corporations . . .

##### ARTICLE III

The United States adopts as the basis of the neutralization of such ship canal, the following Rules . . . :

1. The Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these Rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges or traffic, or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

[Then there follow five rules relative to the neutral status of the Canal.]

##### ARTICLE IV

It is agreed that no change of territorial sovereignty or of the international relations of the country or countries traversed by the before-mentioned Canal shall affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligation of the High Contracting Parties under the present Treaty.

Article V, the closing article, provides that the Treaty shall be ratified within six months.

In closing, I can present no more impressive evidence of the true meaning of the Treaty than the testimony of John Hay, one of the men who drafted it. When questioned whether "all nations" meant "all except the United States," Mr. Hay said:

"All means all. The Treaty was not so long that we could not have made room for the word 'other,' if we had understood that it belonged there. 'All nations' meant all nations, and the United States is certainly a nation. This was the understanding of both Governments, and I have no doubt that the Senate realized that, in ratifying the second Treaty without such an amendment, it was committing us to the principle of giving all friendly nations equal privileges in the Canal with ourselves."



# The Story of the Week

## The Week at Home

THE treaties are being debated in the Senate. That part of the opposition which is not starkly opposed to ratification is holding out for reservations which shall explicitly define our rights under the clauses of the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon, embodied in the German, Austrian, and Hungarian treaties, and which shall explicitly acknowledge corresponding obligations. It is expected that the treaties will be voted on by October 15.

### The Canal Tolls Bill

It is thought that the wish of the President, intimated to Republican leaders, that action on that Borah bill which proposes repeal of the Panama Canal Tolls Act, should be postponed until after the Washington Conference, will not be complied with; that a vote will be taken on October 10. We regret that there should be so little display of public interest in this important matter; we could wish there were a display of public passion where national honor is so much at stake. The press has failed of its function; the issue has not been made clear to the public.

### The Unemployment Conference

The National Conference on Unemployment began work on September 26. Committees were named at once, and on September 30 the Steering Committee was ready with its report digested from the reports of the several committees on emergency measures. The most important findings and recommendations embodied in the report are as follows:

"The problem of meeting the emergency of unemployment is primarily a community problem. The responsibility for leadership is with the mayor. . . . The basis of organization should be an emergency committee representing the various elements in the community. . . ." This committee should "coördinate and establish public employment agencies and register all those desiring work. It should coördinate the work of the various charitable institutions. . . ." "Every effort should be made to set on foot needed public construction—municipal, state, federal. . . ." "A Congressional appropriation for roads, together with State appropriations amounting to many tens of millions of dollars already made in expectation of and dependence on Federal aid, would make available a large amount of employment. . . . The greatest area for immediate relief of unemployment is in the construction industry, which has been artificially restricted during and since the war. We are short more than a million houses. The Senate Committee on Reconstruction and Production, in March of this year, estimated the total construction shortage in this country at between ten and twenty billion dollars. Considering all branches of the construction industries, more than two million people could be employed" if needed construction were undertaken. . . . As to restoration of business to normal, the one obvious means is coöperation to the end that prices may be reduced to correspond with present costs of manufacture. . . . "There are variously estimated from 3,500,000 to 5,500,000 unemployed, and there is a greater number dependent upon them." [The conferees are properly cautious about statistics.]

The conference adopted the report and adjourned to October 10, when it will set itself to framing fundamental measures aimed to forestall unemployment crises in future.

Admirable, the above; but we should like to know pre-

cisely how it is proposed to give immediate practical effect to these recommendations. Presumably so practical a man as Mr. Hoover will have looked to that.

### Other Matters

After all, compared with other countries, and considering that our unemployment problem is by way of being measurably solved, we are doing nicely, thank you: especially in New York, where the Giants and Yanks are about to battle for the championship of the world.

A defense is being feverishly organized to withstand an expected drive of blue-law forces. "Hudibras" would be edifying reading for all American legislators.

A report comes from New Orleans that some of the gold buried by that glorious buccaneer, Jean Lafitte, has been dug up. A number of eighteenth century coins have been circulating on Jefferson Island, and the islanders are very properly excited. We went down to the docks this morning to enjoy some choice diction and we heard that the smart clipper "Seagull" would clear on Thursday for New Orleans. We shall be aboard. Pieces of eight! Pieces of eight!

## The Plight of Austria

MR. Balfour discoursed to the League Assembly of the sad plight of Austria, and repeated the familiar statement that the plan of the League for putting Austria on her feet cannot be set going unless and until the United States Congress authorizes delay for twenty years or so in payment of Austria's indebtedness to the United States upon the account of food credits.

Now we think it a great shame that our Congress should delay so long to give Austria the desired assurance. But we fail to see why the League scheme for Austria's behoof should be held up on that account. It is admitted—Mr. Balfour says so—that it is of transcendent importance to



London Daily Express

What are we coming to?



Europe (including Britain) that the League scheme should be set in operation at once. The Austrian debt to the United States is, we understand, only some \$20,000,000. Surely somewhere in Europe that amount (in addition to the amounts already conditionally promised) can, if necessary, be procured for Austria in the form of a long-term loan. But who imagines it will be necessary? It is unthinkable that our Congress should press Austria for that debt; that the United States should show less generosity toward Austria than have Great Britain, France, Italy, and the other nations which have postponed for twenty years satisfaction of their claims against Austria. Start your scheme going, gentlemen of the League! You may safely count on the American Congress.

We suggest a drive for Austria's benefit. Some afternoon, in place of the usual debates, let Alma Gluck, Julia Culp, and others sing Mozart and Schubert (Austrians both) to the assembled Congress, and, when they are softened, let some informed and engaging fellow discourse to the Congress of Austria's contributions to science and art (matters of which some of our legislators perchance know little). By similar methods might it not be possible to interest some American billionaire? With less than a year's profits he could make the new Austria a going concern and become her patron saint (ultimately getting back his money).

### De Valera Accepts

LOYD George at last replied to de Valera. Said he in effect: "Let us forget all that has passed betwixt us; 'nor it nor no remembrance what it was.'" He thus concluded:

We send you a fresh invitation to a conference in London on October 11, where we can meet your delegates as the spokesmen of the people whom you represent, with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

To which de Valera replied, in the best because the simplest and briefest of the exchanges, accepting.

### The Truth About France

M. NOBLEMAIRE was a colonel in the French army during the war, and is now a delegate to the League Assembly. On Friday he made a speech to the Assembly which beautifully expresses what we believe to be the sentiments of most Frenchmen toward Germany and the problem of reduction of armaments. To the vast literature of calumny, false construction, and deliberate mendacity directed against them, the French have opposed little in self-defense. Their silence has often been misconstrued as a tacit confession of guilt. Doubtless many details of French policy have been ill-advised; it could not have been otherwise. But on the whole the French have behaved with astonishing clemency and restraint. The propaganda attributes to the entire French policy motives of malignancy, of chauvinism, of satisfaction of revenge. Many have been won over by this propaganda. Many others waver. We wish we might quote M. Noblemaire's speech in full. It should be read by everybody, and, so read, should confirm the wavering in their old faith in France, and win back those who have been persuaded against her. We quote briefly from the translation in the Sunday, October 2, New York Times:

Now, in France I can say that moral disarmament is a fact. All the French people desire to lay aside their armor when danger no longer threatens. The spirit is not the same as before the war. France has been baptized in the blood of her trenches and the tears of her firesides, and her sorrow gives a guarantee to my words.

In Germany there is a duel between the spirit of war and revenge and the spirit of work and peace. We can only feel secure when the German Republic is established on a solid foundation. But this is not yet done and in the meantime we must keep our weapons ready. Because of that people have not hesi-

tated to call France militaristic. I denounce that as a flagrant lie, as a base calumny. Is it our fault that we are forced to be the gendarmes of the treaty and to keep 200,000 men outside our borders? France is obliged to be military for the present, because she does not want a million and a half of her sons to have died for nothing.

No one desires peace more than we do, because no one has suffered as we have. But we feel that the existence of our country is at stake. . . . But I beg you to believe that when we feel secure no nation will be more ready to disarm than we shall be.

### Albania's Hope Deferred

THE League Assembly decided that, since the Council of Ambassadors was considering the questions at issue between Albania on the one hand and Greece and Yugoslavia on the other, it could do nothing beyond asking these bellicose nations to refrain from fighting and await in patience the decisions of the Council of Ambassadors. The Assembly resolved to advise the Albanians to accept the Council of Ambassadors' decisions, and voted to appoint a commission to fix the responsibility in case of further fighting. [One more of those useless commissions.] It seems to us that the Assembly acted very weakly. Albania has protested against determination of her fate by the Council of Ambassadors. She might accept in good part decisions by the Assembly adverse to her; she is likely to flout such decisions by the Council of Ambassadors. There is strong color for Albania's contention that the Council of Ambassadors lacks legal competence to act upon her affairs. While the logomachy proceeded in the Assembly, the Albanians, we are pleased to note, counterattacked the invading Yugoslavs with success.

### Developments in Germany

THE Rhine customs barrier erected by the Allies last March was abolished on September 30. Where will the anti-French propagandists find such another rope's-end for lambasting French policy?

The Reichstag convened on September 27. Chancellor Wirth has been furiously negotiating with a view to formation of a new coalition of parties strong enough surely to withstand the impending attack by the reactionaries. It is said that the leaders of the People's Party (the party of Big Business) have definitely consented to join and fully support the Government. But at what price? That is the all-important question; not answered by our press reports. It had been rumored that the People's Party would not support the Government save on condition of Wirth's resignation. The fact (for so it is definitely asserted) that they have abandoned this condition is reassuring. For Wirth has stood (presumably still stands) for reparation fulfillment and friendly relations with the Allies; he is more trusted by the Allies than is any other German leader. It is to be presumed that, in accepting Wirth, Stinnes, Stresemann & Co. accept these grand principles of his policy; that they will help him to find the gold for reparation payments. But only the other day, in his paper, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Hugo Stinnes, the most powerful man in the People's Party (we quote the Associated Press translation), asked himself the question: "How shall we meet further reparation obligations?" and answered thus: "Let us admit it soberly; in the long run they cannot be met. The events of the last few days prove that." And the Associated Press quotes Herr von Siemens as saying: "May the realization soon dawn on the world that we are not unwilling to pay but unable to pay." And who started that buzz of talk about a "reparation moratorium"? Some say it was these same gentlemen of the People's Party. Very likely; but they may have decided after all that it is to their true interest to support, at least for the present, Wirth's policy of fulfillment, rather than see the Government default (as it must do without their help). If so, they should set themselves at once to the problem of checking the fall of the paper mark, now



less than one cent in value. One lends more than a casual ear to the suggestion that this dismal plight of the mark has been promoted by a sinister group who see in bankruptcy and the consequent fall of the Government a desperate opportunity for the Reaction; but a sufficient explanation is found in the vice of speculation, which has developed to an unheard-of degree—speculation, which knows not reason or conscience or patriotism.

Supposing Wirth an honest man (as Briand on a memorable occasion declared him to be), one must pray for his success against the reactionaries of the German National Party, who at this session of the Reichstag, posing as champions of the liberties of the people, will attack his measures to suppress treasonable speech, publications, etc.; and who hope to bring him down in crashing ruin by their attacks on his taxation program.

[There is a new disquieting rumor that Wirth may be displaced as Chancellor and become Minister of Finance, a People's Party man to be Chancellor.]

The Reichstag has ratified the treaty with the United States.

## A Hero

BY a mighty and mysterious effort the Soviet authorities succeeded in getting enough seed grain to the Volga famine area for the winter planting; for planting a larger area than was planted last year. And, marvel of marvels, that mysterious creature, the Russian peasant, instead of seizing the grain to relieve the horrible hunger-pangs of himself and his family, and as a provision against the winter, planted it. The earth, they say, is already green with the sprouts. The singularly rapid distribution of the seed grain bodes well for prompt distribution of American relief supplies. American relief supplies are going forward in ever-increasing volume; but, according to the most conservative reports, those supplies cannot suffice much further than to save a considerable part of the children. What is the Soviet Government doing meanwhile? Certain information alleges that there is in all Russia a surplus of grain sufficient to save half the starving—if only it could be transported to them. Perhaps by a still mightier effort the Soviet authorities will partially solve that problem. But the winter draws on apace. Soon the Volga and its feeders will be frozen over, and distribution will be everywhere difficult, for many famine districts impossible. How



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service

Present indications are that Premier Lloyd George will not come to America in November

many are doomed? One falls back on the vision of the quite unconsciously heroic Russian peasant, who elected to plant and starve on.

The Soviet Government has given assurances that it will not put to death the erstwhile members of the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee (headed by Gorky) whom it imprisoned on the charge of conspiring its overthrow. We should like to know how they have been dealt with; whether tried by due process of law, and, if so, the result of such trial. It will be remembered that the majority of this committee (now abolished) were non-Bolshevist, and that the Red Government made a great fanfare about its magnanimity in the institution of such a committee.

Most of the photographs we have seen of Russian famine victims give little hint of horror; but there is one in the *New York Times* of Sunday, the 2nd (of mothers and children at Samara waiting to be fed by Mr. Hoover's agents) which carries complete conviction, which makes the heart bleed.

## The War in Anatolia

REPORTS of the briefest concerning the Anatolian business have come in this week. The Greeks seem to have fallen back on a line no great distance in advance of Eski-shehr. A Constantinople report announcing capture by the Turks of Eski-shehr is probably false. The latest report tells of defeat by the Greeks of Turkish attempts to cut the Greek lines of communication. Obviously the Greeks attempted too much. They may be able to hold the Eski-shehr line; they may not. We should like to have authentic details about the retreat, and information of the present state of Greek morale.

## A Little Budget from India

THE brothers Ali and several other prominent Moham-medan abettors of Saint Gandhi's campaign for non-coöperation with the British in India, have been committed for trial (as reported by the *New York Times*) "for supporting a resolution at the All-India Moslem Conference declaring it unlawful for Mohammedans to remain in the British army." We are very glad of this news. The brothers Ali have been lying and shuffling and intriguing long enough; it is time to deal roundly with them. However one may dislike Gandhi's program, one respects the man; he is sincere and honest. One does not respect the brothers Ali, whose alliance with Gandhi is interested and dishonest. Should India rid herself of the British *Raj*, the Mohammedans would turn and rend their countrymen of the ancient religion, as of old.

Dispatches had led us to think that the uprising of the Moplahs (the Mohammedan fanatics of Arab lineage in Malabar, southwest coast of British India) had been put down. Not so. The Moplahs are at it worse than ever; burning, laying waste, slaying the poor Dravidians, cutting communications, all in the name of Allah.

"The time is out of joint" in India; can Lord Reading set it right?

## The Achievement of Wu Pei-fu

SOME weeks ago we observed in *The Weekly Review*: "It is not entirely clear, but apparently Wu Pei-fu has gone over to Canton." Our information erred. He did not go, but remained loyal to the Peking Government. He debated the matter, how best to serve his country; and decided to remain with Peking. A decision of world-importance. How far his promotion from commander in Hu-nan Province to the post of inspector-general of the provinces of Hu-peh and Hu-nan may have swayed him, one cannot say; probably Wu Pei-fu could not himself say. He is a



Liberal or thinks he is; so much so that one doubts that that triumvirate of old Tories who hold sway in Peking (or did only the other day) are happy in the necessity of employing him.

However all that may be, Wu Pei-fu has met and defeated the southern armies sent against him. He has prevented extension northward of the Canton Republic (or, what may have been contemplated, formation of a federation of central provinces in intimate association with the Canton Republic); not only so, he has recovered the province of Hu-nan for Peking, and has sent the Sze-chuanese

country China, of what mighty achievements! A true international policy toward China must be framed against, and with sympathetic reference to, the secular background, with knowledge of the Chinese achievements in philosophy, painting, poetry, so many things; yes, in government, too, and economics, if one considers well.

Wu Pei-fu's exploits have immensely enhanced the prestige of the Peking Government; have, one may say, made it possible for the Washington Conference to frame a practicable policy toward China.

## The League Assembly 'Resolutes'

PERHAPS the most important act of the Assembly during the past week was voting a resolution "empowering" the Council to summon an international conference on the world economic situation. [We understand that the economic congress soon to meet in Brussels will consider certain limited subjects only.] Mr. Balfour remarked to the Assembly that action looking to straightening out the economic tangle, especially as regards exchange, is more important just now than action looking to reduction of armaments.

There is this difficulty, however, about the project of such a conference—that participation by the United States cannot be counted on; and without such participation, what use? It would be as reasonable to have an international conference on art, without participation by France; on *Schrecklichkeit*, without participation by Germany; on mendacity, without participation by Moscow; or on assassination, without participation by Spain. Mr. Winston Churchill has expressed a hope that the Washington Conference will discuss world economic questions. Others, taking up the idea, propose that, having disposed of the Far East and armament problems, the Washington Conference resolve itself into an economic conference; or that it be at once succeeded by an economic conference of different personnel.—Not a bad idea.

On Friday the Temporary Committee on Reduction of Armaments submitted to the Assembly the following proposals, which were unanimously adopted by the Assembly:

That there be prepared for consideration by the next Assembly a general plan of disarmament.

That there be obtained from the Governments, upon questionnaires, precise information as to their armaments.

That means be devised for preventing the use of poison gas.

That a world-wide propaganda for disarmament be set afoot.

[The above being work for the Permanent Commission on the Reduction of Armaments.]

That an international conference on the manufacture of arms be summoned (presumably by the Council).

That a letter of good wishes be sent to the Washington Conference.

Excellent proposals, especially the last. The Washington Conference will, we trust, find nearer and surer ways to the objects contemplated by the other proposals.

## Miscellaneous

THE Irish problem and the unemployment problem (the latter no less than the former) prevent Lloyd George's presence at the Washington Conference.

The Peking Government refuses to negotiate directly with Japan over Shantung. We believe that Peking does wisely and we hope that the Washington Conference will undertake to procure justice for China. The Shantung matter will be a test case for the conference. China dislikes the blandishments as much as the threats of Japan, and perhaps prefers the bully to the suitor.

HENRY W. BUNN



Darling in the New York Tribune.

Not that any one thinks they need a chaperon, but for fear they might get lonesome

(the most important enemy contingent) flying to I-chang and beyond, to the region of the Yang-tze gorges.

Speaking of the Yang-tze gorges, we are reminded of the poem that Po Chü-i, the Chinese Horace, wrote on a day in A. D. 818, when he was being towed up the 300-mile stretch of Yang-tze rapids from I-chang to Chang-chou, of which place he had been appointed governor. [We use the exquisite translation by Arthur Waley.]

Above, a mountain ten thousand feet high:  
Below, a river a thousand fathoms deep.  
A strip of green, walled by cliffs of stone.  
At Chü-t'ang a straight cleft yawns:  
At Yen-yü islands block the stream.  
Long before night the walls are black with dusk;  
Without wind white waves rise.  
The big rocks are like a flat sword:  
The little rocks resemble ivory tusks.

\* \* \*

We are stuck fast and cannot move a step.  
How much the less, three hundred miles?  
Frail and slender, the twisted-bamboo rope:  
Weak, the dangerous hold of the towers' feet.  
A single slip—the whole convoy lost:  
And my life hangs on this thread!  
I have heard a saying "He that has an upright heart  
Shall walk scathless through the lands of Man and Mo."  
How can I believe that since the world began  
In every shipwreck none have drowned but rogues?

We have seen very good descriptions of the magnificent scenery of the Yang-tze gorges and thrilling accounts of the trip up the rapids; or so they seemed till we read Po Chü-i, who obliterated them with his magic. What a vast





# EDITORIAL



## The Philippines in the Conference

AMERICA'S island empire in the Pacific can no more be divorced from the problem of establishing a peaceful *modus vivendi* in the Orient than can China or Siberia. It constitutes a factor in the situation that cannot be lightly waved aside as a *fait accompli*—as some Japanese statesmen seem inclined to do with certain issues which they would like to settle privately so as not to have them considered at the Washington Conference. Heretofore the Philippine problem has been chiefly one of domestic politics, of warm discussion between those who would have us retain the Islands and those in favor of granting the Filipinos immediate independence. It must now be considered in its wider international aspect.

The purely American phase of the issue of Philippine independence is now fairly clear. It is chiefly a matter of national responsibility and honor. Our record of achievement in the Philippines from 1898—when an accident of history placed in our hands the destinies of ten million people—to 1913, is one of which we may well be proud. President McKinley declared our policy fairly in his message to Congress in 1899, when he said:

We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster trade and industry and agriculture, and in every way in our power, to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to advance.

The policy thus outlined by McKinley, and followed by Roosevelt and Taft, resulted in the building up of a splendid non-partisan administration which in ten short years, in the face of the greatest difficulties, made a record of accomplishment in the advancement of a primitive people unequalled in human history.

Soon after his inauguration, President Wilson appointed as Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, a man unfitted by character and ability for such a post. Narrow of vision and ignorant of the people among whom he had come and of the Orient generally, he entered upon his duties with the preconceived idea of replacing Americans with Filipinos as rapidly as possible. In a few short months he had broken the splendid organization and ruined the service. This was the opportunity of the Filipino politicians. A small but aggressive minority, undeniably clever and equally unscrupulous, secured control of the "Filipinized" government. Graft and official corruption became the order of the day, and the result has been to postpone the day of possible independence.

President Harding has taken hold of the Philippine problem with energy and good sense. A thorough investigation by the two ablest men available for the purpose, Gen. Leonard Wood and Mr. Cameron Forbes, has been followed by the appointment of the former as Governor-General. This is an indication that there is no

intention of shirking our responsibilities towards the Filipinos, and that an earnest attempt will be made to repair the damage wrought by eight years of mistaken policy. Further, it enables us to come to the Conference with a definite policy as to Philippine independence.

With the summoning of the Washington Conference, the international aspect of our occupation of the Philippines takes on a new importance. It is no longer merely a question of our relations to the Filipinos, but one of the bearing of these relations upon peace and war in the Orient. There is no disputing the fact that our position in the Philippines would be a particularly vulnerable one in case of hostilities with Japan, a situation which was made very clear in Bywater's "Sea Power in the Pacific." Some of our naval authorities even advocate the voluntary abandonment of the islands at once, arguing that they constitute a strategic weakness and that it would be better to relinquish them now rather than have them taken from us later, when considerations of national honor would force us to recover them at an enormous cost of life and treasure. Others, bearing in mind our obligations to the Filipinos, believe that by a proper development of the new possibilities of air and submarine defense we can render our position there invulnerable. But these, it seems to us, are narrow, and even, in some respects, superficial views of the situation. It is easy to see what would happen to the Philippines if we were to withdraw at once. Even the most sanguine would not expect the Filipinos to maintain an honest and efficient government with impartial courts and a strong and sagacious policy. Conservative capital would withdraw and highly speculative, fly-by-night capital would come in. Then the whole drama of the weak, backward nation and the foreign exploiter would be enacted over again, leading inevitably to intervention, probably by Japan. Instead of averting war by our act of abnegation we should more likely precipitate it.

Granted that for a number of years to come we have responsibilities that we cannot shirk, good sense demands that we take proper measures to secure the islands against military attack; but even the best of military measures may prove a provocation rather than a safeguard, and cause war instead of averting it.

The wise course, we believe, lies rather in another direction. We are proposing to the other Pacific Powers a policy of fair play and equal opportunity in China; it would enormously strengthen our position if we were to offer the same in the Philippines. So long as we maintain discriminatory tariffs there or in any way interfere with freedom of commercial and industrial opportunity, so long as we regard the Philippines as in any sense a colony to be administered for our special benefit, all our protestations of devotion to the open-door policy will ring false. No material benefits derived from taking advantage of our trusteeship over the islands can possibly compensate for the danger of war in the Pacific.



On the other hand, it is fortunate that in the Philippines we have a splendid opportunity to prove to the world our sincerity and good faith. Let us come into the Conference prepared to set an example of disinterested devotion to the principle of the Open Door before we ask a corresponding sacrifice of special interests on the part of the others.

## Mr. Fordney's Happy Thought

WHILE others are looking about in holes and corners for means of putting an end to unemployment Mr. Fordney goes, straight as a shot, for the big thing. We are importing foreign goods, he tells us, at the rate of about \$300,000,000 a month, and he exposes the tremendous folly of the proceeding in this simple and straightforward fashion:

Most of these goods could be made here. There is not a manufactured article produced in the United States in which the labor cost is less than 90 per cent. of the total cost—following the raw material from start to finish.

Now, if that is true of the \$300,000,000 that we are sending abroad each month to buy foreign-made goods, \$250,000,000 is going out from the people of the United States to employ German, French, English, Japanese and Chinese labor, while our own workers walk the streets in idleness.

But Mr. Fordney ought to carry his happy thought further. To stop importing foreign goods would of course help; but that should be only a beginning. A far more serious cause of unemployment in our States is the bad habit they have of importing from each other what each might perfectly well produce for itself. Massachusetts, for example, could set thousands of her people at work making automobiles if she stopped importing them from Michigan, and Michigan in like manner could get busy making shoes which she now fatuously imports from Massachusetts. Evidently the cure for unemployment is as easy as rolling off a log—unless there is something wrong about Mr. Fordney's reasoning.

A man may be a protectionist without being an ass, but the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee is doing his level best to convince people that the terms are synonymous.

## A Fall from Grace

TO the radical gudgeonry of America some time ago there wasn't anything more thrilling or soul-satisfying than the fulminations of Mr. Linn A. E. Gale. Mr. Gale, a draft evader from the United States, had established himself in Mexico City in July, 1918, and had thereupon begun the issue of a rip-roaring radical monthly, *Gale's*, devoted to Bolshevism, Carranza and the denunciation of Wall Street. The periodical had few readers in Mexico, but across the line it attained a considerable circulation. It was the real Tabasco, and the radical boobery likes its pabulum "hot i' the mouth," as Sir Toby liked his ginger. *Gale's* came over in bundles, the copies were zealously passed around to avid purchasers, and its appeals for funds met, for a time, with generous response. Several times we had the pleasure of calling attention to this interesting periodical. Though it clamored for Bolshevism, it did not disdain to accept aid from the bourgeois Mexican Government. This fact, slowly penetrating to the consciousness of the boobery, doubtless caused some misgivings, but all qualms appeared to be quieted by the periodical's in-

creasing fervor of revolutionism. With the fall of Carranza, however, came hard times. Obregon was unsympathetic, and a gentle hint that the editor would like to coöperate with the new administration went unregarded. Later, Obregon sought to get rid of him by sending him to Guatemala. The sister republic, however, refused to accept him, and thereupon by some means, official, semi-official or otherwise, he was transported across the Rio Grande into Texas. Mr. Gale is at present immured on Governor's Island, where he awaits court-martial. But to the radical world his name is now Ichabod: his glory has departed. His attorney has announced that "Mr. Gale has renounced his former political beliefs and convictions" and that "at no time in the future will he engage in radical activities."

## Philanthropy and the Radical

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for September gave its leading place to a long and brilliant article by Mrs. Cornelia J. Cannon, entitled "Philanthropic Doubts." Her thesis is not essentially different from that oldest and most trite of objections to philanthropic activity which the Socialists never tire of asserting. We want justice, they say, not charity; we want to extirpate the diseases of society, not assuage their hurt by a little salve applied here and there. Mrs. Cannon nowhere speaks of justice, but only of "democracy" and "brotherhood"; she nowhere speaks of extirpating the wrongs of the existing order, but only of dealing with them "fundamentally." But what we are asked to swallow is really the Socialist pill, sugar-coated though it be with an attractive covering of democratic sentiment.

Now, Mrs. Cannon is perfectly sincere, and has no intention whatever of misleading anybody. But she begins by misleading herself. In the first place, she misleads herself as to the facts; she sees what she wishes to see. The barrage behind which she launches her general attack on the organizations carried on by private benevolence is an allegation as to the present situation, prospects, and character of these organizations which will not stand examination. "The apparently solid support of these societies," she says, "has shown signs of giving way"; she recurs to this point again and again, asserting that the public is "refusing any longer to support private charities on the present scale," that there is "a general refusal on the part of the public to back the philanthropists." On all this it should suffice to quote what is said by Mr. Edward T. Devine, in the *Survey* for September 16. Mr. Devine is as high an authority as there is on this subject, and he says:

The evidence for all this is not presented; and the facts appear indeed to be quite the opposite. More and not less is now given for philanthropic purposes than in the past, remote or recent. Our greatest foundations are of very recent origin. In many cities, great sums are gathering—as in the Boston Permanent Charity—to be devoted to any philanthropic purposes which the trustees approve.

And, in spite of the very sympathetic and appreciative attitude of Mr. Devine toward Mrs. Cannon's general position, he finds equally unfounded her sweeping assertions as to the wrong-headedness and other evil qualities of the philanthropic organizations, though he admits—and rightly admits—that some of Mrs. Cannon's suggestions and criticisms are excellent.

But Mrs. Cannon's condemnation, and her proposal



of reform, rests on something more deep-seated and more important than any question either of the favor which philanthropic efforts actually enjoy or of the special faults which they display. She regards not only the money, but the energy, expended by private individuals upon the promotion of philanthropic ends as, in the main, not only wasted but worse; for she thinks that the good that these endeavors accomplish is utterly trifling in comparison with the harm they do by blocking the way to a more thoroughgoing solution of the problems of society. The radical, she says, though "his methods may be clumsy and his solution crude," is "trying to think more fundamentally" than the philanthropist. The philanthropists "have offered us no fundamental basis for the work of human improvement"; they are "the great menders and patchers-up of society, not the surgeons who cut deep into the festering sore and scrape the bone." Turning away, then, both from what she regards as the crudity of the radical and the futility of the philanthropists, she desires that "our private institutions for the service of our fellow men should be taken over by the state," and holds that this could be made a success by exercising the energy now devoted to those institutions "in cultivating the social outlook of our public officers and in increasing the scientific and humanitarian character of our public institutions."

In all this there is an element of truth; but along with that element of truth there is a profound and mischievous error. Mrs. Cannon's proposal may be neither crude nor futile; but if she imagines she has been "thinking fundamentally," she deceives herself as grossly as she does in her view of the surface facts. A single example may serve in some degree to indicate the nature of her error: Philanthropic persons, she complains, "are supporting attractive homes for the aged poor, while wages are too low to allow a worker to save for the future." Does Mrs. Cannon imagine for a moment that any diversion of the energy—or the money—spent on homes for the aged poor would solve the problem of wages? Has she been "thinking fundamentally" of the nature of the economic forces which determine the rate of wages? The radical, she justly says, "tries to think fundamentally"; but has she herself tried? What would the radical think of her proposal to solve the social problem by "increasing the scientific and humanitarian character of our community institutions"? Would he not be sure to reject it with scorn as but a larger poultice covering the same festering sore?

The trouble with semi-radical thinkers of the type of which Mrs. Cannon, precisely because of her manifest talent, is an excellent example, is that they assume that no betterment is worth while unless it is "fundamental," and yet they have nothing fundamental to offer. The straightout radical is in an infinitely stronger position; he is for a fundamental change which, from his standpoint, would solve the problem, however false or obnoxious the solution may be pronounced by the conservative. Such pseudo-fundamental solutions as this of Mrs. Cannon's have almost all of the demerit, and almost none of the merit, of the Socialist proposals. To make the care of distress of all kinds—the provision of all those things which are now supplied by volunteer philanthropy—the duty of the state would establish

public obligations of unlimited extent, and would subvert in an incalculable degree the spirit of self-dependence on the part of all the less fortunate classes of society; and yet it would leave the inequalities of the existing order essentially untouched. No one who thinks fundamentally could possibly regard such a state of things as anything but a stepping stone—and a most uncomfortable one at that—to a system of thoroughgoing collectivism. So long as we are not prepared to welcome such a system, there will continue to be abundant need for wise private effort to mitigate the evils which surround us. Mrs. Cannon's eloquent plea that there should be a constant endeavor to increase the efficacy of public institutions of social service, taken in itself, is altogether commendable; the pity is that she should have coupled it with a wrong-headed assault upon existing private associations, which, without deceiving themselves as to the nature or limits of their work, are, in their own day and generation, conferring incalculable benefits upon mankind.

## To Lessen Unemployment

PRACTICAL good sense marked the first week's sessions of the Unemployment Conference at Washington. Mr. Hoover's shrewd wisdom was shown at the outset in the suppression of the "labor liquidation" issue that some of the delegates seemed bent on raising. That wage reductions have been seriously unequal as between various industries, and in not a few cases have been too slight for the necessary economic readjustment, will hardly be questioned by the economist. Ultimately, this issue will have to be squarely met, but its injection into the Conference would have assured division and antagonism where concord and coöperation are all-important. The most hopeful feature of the Conference, so far, is the evidence that the members are intent upon concrete realizable plans for increasing employment. In the aggregate, the possibilities in the cordial coöperation of all those who can dispose of additional employment, even if it be but for a single worker, are adequate for temporary relief at least. The distribution of specific tasks to the various committees of the Conference shows that the whole area of the problem has been covered, and there is reasonable hope that out of this systematic study will emerge measures with some degree of continuing remedial effect.

## Nansen the Innocent

DR. Nansen appealed in vain to the Assembly to ask the Governments to extend credits to a total of \$25,000,000 for Russian relief. The committee appointed to consider the request had sounded the Governments; and not one sou would they advance. Why? Because, so they said, they could not afford it. Dr. Nansen and Lord Robert Cecil poured scorn on this excuse. The real reasons came out in the course of the discussion. Nansen's scheme called for indirect loans to the Moscow Government; the money to be expended for relief supplies under the direction of the loaning Governments. But here is the hitch. The supplies, under the Nansen agreement with Moscow, would be distributed by Soviet agents.

The Governments are not willing to trust the distribution of supplies to Moscow; they fear that the sup-



plies might not reach the sufferers, and that, should they reach the sufferers, the Red authorities would get the credit from the peasants and so be strengthened. In the end it would be more cruel to help Bolshevism than to let millions die of the present famine. The ultimate effect of such misdirected charity would be even greater loss of life than that immediately threatened. The force of this view is obvious; but the Governments sought to escape from the avowal of it by a transparent falsehood. Nansen is a fine fellow, but his credulity and naiveté have blocked European relief for Russia.

## City Traction Fundamentals

THE plan for the reordering of New York City's notorious rapid transit muddle, made public last week by Governor Miller's Commission, was at once recognized by competent persons as a remarkably able and singularly straightforward treatment of a very difficult problem. Whether the scheme is the best attainable for the specific situation in Greater New York, it is too soon to say. But the definite principles on which the Transit Commission has based its plan may well be commended to the attention of the citizens and officials of every municipality. These fundamentals, while clearly expressed, are not categorically listed in the Commission's report, and it is therefore worth while to separate them from the details of the local problem, and present them by themselves. In logical order they are these:

1. Unification of all the transit facilities of a municipality.
2. Municipal ownership of all transit facilities.
3. Private operation by a company (or companies) leasing from the municipality for a restricted period, subject to recapture of the leases by the municipality on specified terms.
4. Joint and equal control of finance, and general supervision of the whole system, by the municipality and the operating company.
5. Interest and sinking fund of the municipality's investment in the transit facilities to be paid out of operating profits.
6. Securities limited to bonds of fixed dividend rate, not exceeding in total face value the value of the physical property as appraised on the basis of its earning capacity.
7. Fares based on the cost of operation plus maintenance of a contingent reserve fund: fares to be lowered or raised automatically as the reserve fund exceeds or falls below prescribed limits.
8. Incentive to efficient and economical operation: equal sharing by the entire operating personnel and by the bonds of the operating company, of earned surplus above the reserve fund up to a specified small percentage.

How these principles promise, in the Transit Commission's judgment, to abolish the evils attached to some existing (and probably to future) municipal transit entanglements may be suggested in a rapid summary. Unification underlies all the others: only by unification can the use of the total of transit facilities be shaped (as should be the case) solely by the requirements of the public convenience. Municipal ownership, besides the greater credit facilities it affords, is the surest basis of effective control. Private operation is more efficient than public operation; while the leasing provision does away with franchises, holding companies, and other mischievous complexities, and gives the municipality a remedy in case of incurably bad management. Repayment of the municipality's investment and interest out of profits takes the cost of transit facilities out of the tax rate and puts it where it belongs, namely on the users of the transit system. Profits sufficient to meet these charges are assured under the fares and

reserve fund provisions. Limitation of securities to bonds of restricted dividend rate, together with the valuation basis, excludes all "water," and tends to limit the speculative possibilities of the securities. Fares are put on a scientific cost basis which excludes the fictions of both politicians and financiers. The provision for incentive to efficient and economical operation—a decided innovation in this field—explains itself. We commend all this to the scrutiny of the many whom it concerns.

## The League Debating Society

IMMEDIATE practical results are not to be expected from the League Assembly proposals towards reduction of armaments. But we are not among those who think that, because the League debates are apt to conclude in nothing more obviously practical than resolutions, pious hopes, protests, requests and commissions, they are useless. The Assembly and Council may have discovered themselves to be scarcely more than debating societies; but as such they may be found more practically effective than if they were to try to realize the functions originally conceived for them. The debaters represent the greater part of the planet and include many first-rate men. The subjects of debate are of first importance and are subjects that peculiarly require an airing. They are getting it. From the debates may fairly be deduced for the first time the prevailing world opinion on these subjects. The League representatives, exploring, fail to discover solutions for international problems. The effort is not in vain; they put good minds upon the quest, and the solution may yet be found. Thinking to have discovered solutions in certain cases, they themselves do not possess, nor can they as yet indicate, means by which to give practical effect to their theoretical solutions. Only a debating society, you say. Well, as such it may be the only practicable mundane instrument of the invisible world-state adumbrated by Socrates.

## Senator Borah's Obsession

STATESMEN who are wrestling with the difficulties of this most difficult time may well be filled with envy when they contemplate the mental condition of the irrepressible Senator from Idaho. His creed is so simple that he never has to hesitate, or to weigh conflicting considerations. He wants to have nothing whatever to do with Europe, and that's the end on't. So long as he was only fighting the League there was nothing abnormal about this attitude. Anyone who held that the vast and undefined commitments which it involved were dangerous to the nation might naturally enough take the position that the only safe plan was to have nothing whatever to do with it. But the idea that, after having played a decisive part in the European war, we must wash our hands of all responsibility for its consequences is on a wholly different footing. It is Mr. Borah's privilege to make it his hobby; but when he talks about the Administration "deceiving" the country on the subject, it is only necessary to point out that Mr. Harding gave no countenance to such an idea either in his enunciations of policy during the campaign or in his utterances since, but on the contrary has repeatedly asserted the nation's duty in the work of world settlement.



# Drama

## "The White-Headed Boy" and Other Plays

"The White-Headed Boy." By Lennox Robinson. Henry Miller's Theatre.

"Launcelot and Elaine." By Edwin Milton Royle. Greenwich Village Theatre.

"Only 38." By A. E. Thomas. Cort Theatre.

MR. Robinson's "White-Headed Boy" is one of those rare plays which should hold both the few and the many. The few and the many may rejoice in their brief fellowship; it should humanize them both. The play is a comic transcript of the raciest Irish manners in a middle-class household in Ballycolman. The family has stunted itself to provide a career for the youngest son Denis, the expected prodigy who turns out prodigal. When he fails for the third time to pass his medical examinations at Trinity College, the family revolt, and threaten to despatch him penniless to Canada. To blind the public they describe his prospects as dazzling, and the father of the young girl whose hand Denis had felt himself bound to relinquish threatens a suit for breach of promise. The family employ every art to prevent this suit: they offer bribes; an aunt consents to marry the chafed but amorous litigant; and Denis secretly marries the girl. It is difficult to sue a married man for breach of promise to his own wife. Even a man who has failed in three examinations at Trinity, can see that. Canada is finally averted; the aunt finds a job for Denis as manager of her coöperative store.

It will be seen that the story as story is not felicitous; it is at once far-fetched and flat, and the far-fetched is the last thing that may venture to be flat. Why travel if not for excitement? Mr. Robinson apparently hesitated between manners and plot, and fell at last into a half-plot which outsped nature without overtaking art. But the story is a secondary matter; the primary thing is the energy and pungency of the reproduction of character and manners.

Mr. Robinson's picture is vividly real without being—to the spectator at least—unmixedly real. At every point the family is salient. We imagine Irish life to be dispersed; this family is a compact unit in a serried whole. Its members are natural antagonists; they insult each other even in cold blood and sometimes with unruffled good nature. Yet against the critical or aggressive world they form a phalanx. They are given to piety, and their self-respect is huge; but they lie and bribe without scruple, and the old mother, forgetting that it is the business of old mothers in plays to incarnate all the virtues, embezzles her daughter's money to bribe an aggressor to spare her son. Throughout the play these people are in straits, in alarms, in fevers, yet their lustihood in pain lends the play the quality of a revel. The richness, the savor, the exuberance of their dispositions seem the very excess and wantonness of individuality, yet this excess is particularly clear in the extremes to which they push their fear of opinion and their subservience to the conventional.

In the characters I find it hard to separate the contributions of Mr. Robinson from those of the Irish Players. Denis is beautifully drawn. Here is a character which the vulgar craftsman would have found it a joy to decorate or a sport to disfigure; Mr. Robinson and Mr. Arthur Shields have kept him in that suspense between good and evil, between wit and folly, in which nature and the subtlest artists move. I liked Denis even better than the brilliant and sumptuous extravagance of Aunt Ellen, in which Maire O'Neill makes herself so suddenly unforgettable. Mr. Sydney Morgan's George immersed us in reality; in the quieter moments of John Duffy, Mr. Arthur Sinclair was little short of inspired; when he rose to energy he sank to

burlesque. Excellent as it was, the acting could not fairly be called perfect. Even Maire O'Neill is capable of a plain blunder. She and George are hoodwinking Duffy, and when George tells a superlative lie she rocks to and fro in an ecstasy of appreciation which threatens to inform Duffy of the facts. But such matters are details. "The White-Headed Boy" is an occasion for thanks and rejoicing.

All lovers of romantic plays should visit Mr. Royle's "Launcelot and Elaine" at the Greenwich Village theatre. I advise with some confidence because I rarely like romantic plays, and Mr. Royle's version of Tennyson's idyll gave me a gracious and serene, if not a vivid pleasure. Idylls are not quarries for playwrights, and Mr. Royle's agreeable and tasteful work cannot be called inherently dramatic. It is written in unarrested, but also unarresting, blank verse which borrows trustingly from Tennyson. I think these appropriations blameless on the score of taste or morals, but I do not like them myself for the simple but conclusive reason that they make me think of Tennyson and Royle when I ought to think of Guinevere and Launcelot. But the story was touching, and the settings were romantically beautiful. At one time a girl left a white lily in a castle court, where it gleamed amid old stones. There were people about, but they shrank into nullity. A lily and a castle—romance completes and outsoars itself in the loveliness of such a combination. I cared less for the barge scene. Charming at first, it became instantly wearisome. Why should love be worldly, be spectacular, in death?

Mr. Royle made his play the occasion for introducing his daughters, Selena and Josephine, to the public in the parts of Guinevere and Elaine. The acting of both these young women was quickened by an elasticity of spirit piercing in the one case the sophistications of a queen and the other the restraints of virginity. Miss Josephine Royle's Elaine in particular was far more interesting than Tennyson's, because it added to shyness and hush a secret fellowship with life, a spring, a jet, that gave significance to its extinction. Miss Elsie Esmond wisely added to the Tennysonian Vivien high spirits a gift which somehow shortened the interval between that singular personage and humanity. Launcelot, the great tragic figure, in whom romance transcends itself without disowning itself, is a part in which talent might fail without dishonor. It is a sort of knighthood for Mr. Pedro de Cordoba that he should have risen at times to the full stature of his model.

"Only 38" is quite without importance, but highly enjoyable. Like "Years of Discretion" and, more remotely, like Barrie's "Rosalind" and "Quality Street," it is a story of recovered youth, and will captivate all persons who are youthful enough to prefer gayety to standards. The drama is taken from a short story by Walter Prichard Eaton, and in its leisurely movement and scant coherence it publishes its origin (no blame to Mr. Eaton is implied). A widow who has lost her youth by marriage with a clergyman regains it by marriage with a professor. (The gifts of professors in this point have been hitherto slighted by an unobservant world.) She has two children, boy and girl, of collegiate age, and Mr. Thomas had only to choose between two good effects in making them either dashing young collegians, or austere critics of their sprightly mother. Unfortunately Mr. Thomas could not make up his mind. The part of an elderly rustic, the widow's father, is almost superfluous, but in the able hands of Mr. Percy Poilock makes itself indispensable. The transformation is absurd of course, but one glance at Mary Ryan turns the absurd into the unquestionable. And Mary Ryan is so delectably wilful, and appropriates her daughter's young man with a malice so angelic, and the professor in Mr. Harry C. Browne's version is so charmingly unlike a professor, and things in general are so deliciously accommodating that, if there is much to forgive in the play, there is even more to make forgiveness easy.

O. W. FIRKINS



# Music

## The Real and the Unreal Titta Ruffo

By Charles Henry Meltzer

IT is safe to say that no one will replace Caruso at the Metropolitan. For there is none living who has just his value as a star of opera; and it is better that he should not be replaced. The greatest voice may do the greatest harm to art. If I am well informed, as I believe I am, the Metropolitan will, for some time to come, pay more attention than in recent years to opera, *qua* opera, than to stars. But there will always be some singers of the Metropolitan whose "personalities" no plan or rule will down. The Mary Gardens and Carusos of the stage cannot be levelled. They are outside the ranks because they are themselves. All are not equal on the operatic boards.

If all singers merely sang the notes set down for them we might lose something of the joy of lyric drama. The ideal company, I think, should be anonymous. It would be cruel, though, to rob the poor interpreters of Verdi or of Wagner of the ephemeral fame for which they strive and pray. Within bounds, they are entitled to their laurels. It is all a pretty question of proportion.

If any artist at the Metropolitan next season is brought into the limelight on his merits the chances are it will be Titta Ruffo. He is a baritone, however, not a tenor. And it is hard to make an idol of a singer doomed by the tradition of the operatic stage to interpret characters which, as a rule, are wicked. Yet there have always been a few unusual baritones with whom the tenors of their day have had to count. Among them have been the admired Maurel, Antonio Scotti, and at last our Titta Ruffo.

It is Punch's secret that, for many years, the Metropolitan looked coldly on this artist. He was supposed to be a little bit too "personal." Perhaps Dame Rumor did the singer an injustice. He is much more modest than he has been painted. I have been seeing a good deal of him in Rome and he has talked about himself with charming frankness. Not like too many artists I have known. But with simplicity and, I believe, sincerity. He is immensely pleased at having been engaged by the stage manager of our chief lyric theatre. His one desire is to acquit himself with honor in all the rôles which will be given him to interpret. He has, of course, a sense of his own worth. But he seems anxious to correct the false impression that he exaggerates his proper place in opera.

He spoke to me with deference of Maurel, to whom he bows as an interpreter and teacher. And he protested that he knew how brief and fleeting was the fame of every

singer, compared with that of the composer and the poet. This Titta Ruffo largely taught himself. At the beginning of his enviable career he had his ups and downs, rebuffs and snubs, like others. But he fought on until at last he made his mark.

"Once, in Milan," said he, "I had been asked to sing, on trial, to a manager and an invited group of friends. To my consternation when I reached the theatre, I saw, among those who had come to judge my voice, two great composers—Boito and Franchetti. I protested that it would not be quite fair to let my engagement or rejection be decided by the opinion of such masters.

"I shall be called upon to sing before the public," I objected to the manager. 'Boito and Franchetti are above the people who will make or mar me.'

"Boito and Franchetti thereupon rose and left the house, declaring that they understood my feelings. And, I am glad to say, I stood the test so well that I secured the engagement, which to me meant everything."

Titta Ruffo has since then become a favorite in Europe and in North and South America. His repertory is much more extended than one might suppose from his continual repetition in American, to suit his managers, of three or four great parts. Besides Hamlet, Rigoletto, and di Luna, he knows a dozen or more rôles in which he hopes some day he may be heard. To give him a new chance of popularity he will appear next season in at least "Ernani."

He has had a tendency, so far, in his interpretation of this rôle or that to give his temperamental qualities unbridled liberty at certain points. This has

delighted, and will always thrill, the masses. But it has more than once not pleased judicious listeners. His Hamlet is exuberantly Italian. It is not a Hamlet that Shakespeareans can approve of. He has been hampered, to be sure, by Ambroise Thomas and an inept librettist. Yet it might help to some extent if he would check his fondness for excess in emphasis. The most popular, maybe, of all the songs he sings is Hamlet's noisy and preposterous "Brindisi." It is an insult to all Anglo-Saxon audiences. Yet Titta Ruffo somehow makes it irresistible.

Some day, who knows, we may hear Titta Ruffo in that too-long-neglected master work, "Don Giovanni." But for a time he will go back to the old standbys, to well-worn "Rigoletto," "Trovatore," and "Don Carlos."

Rome, September 1



Titta Ruffo as Rigoletto—one of the rôles which he has sung oftenest in this country



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

WORKING NORTH FROM PATAGONIA,  
by Harry A. Franck. Century.

*Mr. Franck earned his way from the Argentine, through Brazil, the Guianas, and Venezuela.*

URNS ABOUT TOWN, by Robert Cortes Holliday. Doran.

*Mr. Holliday's travels are nearer home—New York, Philadelphia, and Washington—but not less amusing than Mr. Franck's.*

THE LAND OF HAUNTED CASTLES,  
by Robert J. Casey. Century.

*The land is Luxemburg, and the book is one to remember for an attractive and readable gift.*

MAYFAIR AND MONTMARTRE, by Ralph Nevill. Dutton.

*The sobrieties and gayeties of both London and Paris, showing that there was fun even in the reign of Victoria the Good.*

THE lean, summer season is ended, and the incoming books show that one of the busy times for the publisher has begun. For the next eight or ten weeks it will be impossible even to name on this page more than a small number of the books which will be offered in the shops. I should like to repeat, to the readers of THE INDEPENDENT, that the most delicious literary burlesque of the year is "Dr. Walter E. Traprock's" volume called "The Cruise of the Kawa" (Putnam's). It is not only amusing in itself, in its text, form, and pictorial decorations, but its publication will curb the absurdities of the South Sea school of writers, who were rapidly transforming the islands of the Pacific from an earthly Paradise into the most author-ridden section of the globe.

You will need to have followed the footsteps of the White Queen, and have practiced half an hour a day believing impossible things, if you wish to feel secure about some of the psychical adventures in Julius Chambers's "News Hunting on Three Continents" (Kernerley). But the story of the woman with the ounce of arsenic, the comical tale of the "fisher of men," the Hawkins murder, the mystery of Andrew Hornitay, and a number of other chapters, are very much more to my taste. The book, as a whole, is decidedly to my taste—the chapter about the Hawkins case is one of the deftest stories of the operations of a newspaper office I have ever seen. Mr. Chambers, who died before the publication of his book, is widely known for his long connection with the Brooklyn Eagle, and to old newspaper men as a managing editor of the New York Herald and of the World, and as the first editor of the Paris Herald.

Harry A. Franck's "Working North from Patagonia" (Century) is a big book, rather a heavy book, with over six hundred pages, which will furnish reading to many of the author's devoted admirers for weeks, if not months, to come. They will find it none too long, and its price—not high, as book-prices are today—none too great for the pleasure of working slowly through the South American countries with so human and humorous a traveler. Mr. Franck has helped discredit the old-fashioned, pompous book of travel; his style is simple, familiar, it never interrupts your enjoyment of the narrative.

He writes of the elevator as it is used in Buenos Aires: It "is on a par with the telephone. Nor is it reassuring to the timid, for on the ground-floor cage there is almost certain to be a conspicuous sign to the effect that, 'As there exists a stairway, persons riding in the elevator do so at their own peril.' Buenos Aires has not quite shaken off the suspicion of a diabolical nature in all such new-fangled contraptions. A man was killed by an elevator in an office building during my days in the capital; the entire elevator-shaft had been gutted by municipal order and three policemen were still stationed at the foot of it, apparently to prevent anyone from climbing the shaft instead of using the stairway."

The tone of melancholy and pessimism which is noticeable in Havelock Ellis's "Impressions and Comments, Second Series, 1914-1920" (Houghton Mifflin) inspires respect, not only because of its source, but for its method of expression. The smart, young type of fault-finder and grumbler with everything in the universe is usually merely irritating. He abuses everybody and decries every human institution, not as the result of any mental processes of his own, but because he knows that it is the cheapest and easiest way to win the appearance of intellectual distinction. Dr. Ellis, on the other hand, expresses the opinions of a mature mind, of a scholar watching the world in its most frightful struggle, and undergoing personal sorrows at the same time. During the six years he enters in his note-books his reflections upon a hundred subjects—as great as the war and its ending, as small as a mouse gnawing in the wall, or as sea-gulls lighting in the bay.

Some unusual comments upon Poe are made in the essay about him in A. Clutton-Brock's "More Essays on Books" (Dutton). As with many English and Continental writers, Mr. Clutton-Brock thinks Poe and Whitman the Americans most worth consideration. He says that "The Raven" and "The Bells" are only "fit to be recited at penny readings." (This is unjust to "The Raven," but is it not roughly true of the other poem?) He politely rebuked an American professor who thought that these, with "Ulalume" and "Annabel Lee," were Poe's four

masterpieces. Mr. Clutton-Brock favors "The Sleeper," and apparently no other. Among the short stories, he passes over "The Black Cat," "The Gold Beetle" (as "The Gold Bug" is called in England, out of deference to English sensitiveness), "The Pit and the Pendulum" and "The Mystery of Marie Roget," in favor of "The Power of Words," with a possible mild commendation for "The Ms. Found in a Bottle."

"Great Sea Stories" (Brentano's), edited by Joseph Lewis French has the limitation of all anthologies and collections: the final selection represents not wholly what its editor would choose in an ideal world, but what the restriction of copyright and generosity of author or publisher permit. It includes therefore great, but not necessarily the greatest, sea stories. Kingsley, Marryat, Cooper, and Melville are represented—the last by the capture of the great white whale from "Moby Dick." Living writers who are included are David Bone, Stacpoole, and Masefield. The editor, Mr. French, has compiled other books, among them "Great Ghost Stories." The soundness of his judgment is attested by the fact that he believes that the most remarkable ghost story ever written is "The Upper Berth" by Marion Crawford.

It is possible to commend Robert C. Holliday's "Turns About Town" (Doran) almost without reserve, as his best book of essays. His chapter "Literary Lives" (really a review of the Supplement to the "Dictionary of National Biography") begins in a place removed not more than fifty feet in a bee-line from my own inkstand and blotter; the experience of his friend who "misfits at a murder trial" partly recounts and partly forecasts some adventures of my own. I wonder if every reader will find in the book as many neighborly and pleasant pages? Mr. Holliday maintains exactly the right attitude of respect toward the great ones of the earth—Mr. Chesterton and President Harding, for examples—when he talks with them. Yet he does not lose his power of observation and his ability to notice what is whimsical or funny. His sketches of Washington celebrities, of the President and his Cabinet, may very well survive to inform and entertain some reader eighty years hence, when more pretentious and formal descriptions have perished. I wish Mr. Holliday did not think it necessary, once in a while, to lapse into the speech of the comic stripe—"gotta" and "sorta" and "yep!" American essayists seem to think that unless they do something of the kind they will appear to take themselves too seriously. These vulgarities (and the deliberate misuse of the word "like") are quite different from an occasional and vigorous use of a slang phrase. They strengthen the belief in Mr. Mencken's fallacious contention that rusticians, gutter-phrases, and outrages upon grammar make up an "American" language.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Versatile Hands

CARTER AND OTHER PEOPLE. By Don Marquis. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

THE VILLA OF THE PEACOCK: AND OTHER STORIES. By Richard Dehan. New York: George H. Doran Company.

THE PATH OF THE KING. By John Buchan. New York: George H. Doran Company.

DON Marquis does everything, and it would be too much to demand that he do everything superlatively well. If America were to hold a literary pentathlon he would be very much in the running for the championship. He is an "all-round" performer rather than a record-breaker in any special event. Hence it is more easy than sensible to speak of his short stories as the tales of a columnist, or of his essays as the by-product of a poet, or of his sober verse as the second thought of a satirist,—or of anything he does as precisely and unmistakably *his* species of thing. The touch and flavor of his humor is his own, modestly unique: his special vehicle of the moment seems often a matter of experiment. No stunt is beyond him, nor are we ever quite sure that he has surpassed the stunt. As a story-writer, he is at his best not with a merry humor but with a sardonic humor. He is not good at realistic vernacular, whether in the Irishism of "McDermott," the hobo vein of "The Professor's Awakening," or the plain United States of most of the rest of these tales. But he is very clever at inventing and working up a situation as far as cleverness can serve. He has a punch, and he knows how to get on without it. He commands the personnel of the popular yarn; the down-and-out, the wicked deacon, the polite crook, the noble-hearted idiot, the virtuous prostitute. He can do you a tale of ironic horror, as in "The Locked Box" and "Behind the Curtain," or of pathos, as in "Carter" or "Looney the Mutt," or of broad comedy, as in "Never Say Die" and "The Professor's Awakening." In all these one is aware, not disagreeably, of echoes, from Poe to Stevenson and from Stevenson to Irvin Cobb. "Old Man Murtrie" most unmistakably sets free what I take to be a true Marquisian vein of ironic fantasy.

I think of "Richard Dehan" also as a performer rather than a creator, as a most versatile entertainer, with all the tricks of the trade at her finger's ends. This is quite frankly and honorably her rôle. The Kingdom of Donda in "The Villa of the Peacock" is a Zenda unconcealed. She says to us, "Come, let us take the old back-drop, the old costumes and situations properties, and see what a skilful twist will do for them. Presuppose a virtuous crown prince and a wicked son of a sardine merchant, involve them with a girl and an anarchist plot, and then observe with what a fresh twist I make all these old matters 'come alive' once

more." And so on. "Dorotéa et Cie" is the romance of the Prince in disguise, whose nobility shows through his incognito: Soviet Russia and a pseudo-scientific interest culminating in the phenomenon of a radio-active corpse afford the necessary touches of novelty. "The Slug's Courtship" is a piece of rustic farce-comedy, very British ("Up to the tap o' th' Pure Drop," said Trudgett, pulling Susy forward, "where I looks in for th' pint o' four-arf as I 'as arter dinner"), and medium dull. "The Adventures of an Automobile" is of the genus of "The Autobiography of a Penny," ingenious and amusing enough in its slightly labored way. "The Silver Birch" is a pretty Frenchy fantasy of youth and innocence fulfilling their destiny under the half-tender, half-ironical eyes of age. In "Countess and Couturière" the irony comes to the surface. Perhaps "The Formula of Brantin" is the most serious tale in the group, but here also the action is based on a situation or an idea rather than on imaginative vision. In short, this is the book of a storyteller who demands and deserves the full applause due to a skilful professional entertainer happy in her work.

John Buchan is a romancer of a more sober method. "The Path of the King" is not a novel, but a series of stories linked together by the golden thread of an admirable "idea." We have had quite recently a similar linking of the generations at the hands of several novelists; but Mr. Buchan's idea differs as widely from the romantic individualism of Mr. Blackmore as from the diffused mysticism of Miss Johnston. This is the romance of kingship, a divine spark which we are to imagine passed on not by the pomp of regular succession, but obscurely and deviously through the ages. "It is not for nothing that a great man leaves posterity. But who is more likely to inherit the fire—the elder son with his flesh-pots or the younger son with his fortune to find? Just think of it! All the younger sons of younger sons back through all the generations! We none of us know our ancestors beyond a little way. We all of us may have kings' blood in our veins. The dago who blacked my boots at Vancouver may be descended by curious byways from Julius Cæsar." From this conception the story-teller develops a series of narratives which call for not only an extraordinary versatility of touch, but genuine imaginative power. The ring of the old Norse king that passes down at apparent random symbolizes the royal spark which takes, undying, an equally uneven course; but always, at need, quickens and shows its gleam for a moment, for the good of men. Mr. Buchan is bold enough to present Lincoln as the final inheritor. The boy Lincoln loses the ring so strangely cherished by his mother Nancy. The world has no further need of that symbol: he is to be "the last of the Kings." There is more

than ingenuity in this book: a vein of true creative fancy.

H. W. BOYNTON

## The Breakdown of Communism

THE ECONOMICS OF COMMUNISM. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RUSSIA'S EXPERIMENT. By Leo Pasvolsky. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.25.

MUCH has been written from various points of view about the Communist experiment in Russia, yet Mr. Pasvolsky has made an important contribution to the discussion of the subject by giving a concise and well-balanced account of the chief phases of the movement, with valuable statistical information derived exclusively from Soviet sources, together with a significant interpretation and estimate of the situation as it was at the end of last year.

The extraordinary and almost incomprehensible behavior of the Russian Communists from the *coup d'état* of November 7, 1917, to the present time may best be understood in the light of Marxian theory as modified by the speculations of Lenin, Bukharin, and other Russian Socialists of the left wing. Apart from the question as to whether Russia was "ripe" for the social revolution, which naturally went into the background after the fateful leap had been taken, the succeeding period is regarded as a time of transition between the capitalism that was and the perfect communism that is to be. In this intermediate stage, the task of the Communist party, to their way of thinking, was to continue the disintegration begun by the collapse of the old régime, while trying to preserve and strengthen the internal cohesion within the ranks of the proletariat as the basis of the final triumph of communism.

But, as Mr. Pasvolsky shows, the disintegration which the Communists had regarded with such complacency, and had purposely accelerated, went so far as to intensify the food crisis, to reduce the output of the factories, to break down trade and transportation, to impair the morale of the industrial workers, and even to drive them to the country districts in search of food. The Soviet Government strove to arrest the process of destruction by many compromises, but without avail, and the collapse of capitalism, so long expected and desired, resolved itself into a contraction of production threatening the life of millions of the people and making communism itself impossible. Communism, in the last analysis, is an effort to obtain an ideal system of distribution; but in Russia, at least, it has broken down the system of production, without which there is little to distribute. So, at the present time, the Soviet Government is face to face with its fundamental economic dilemma—communism or production—which the author formulates thus: "Communism is impossible without the application of



compulsion in the economic life of the country; but economic production is impossible with the application of such compulsion."

Certainly, the attempt to bring the peasants into line by fixing maximum prices of food, by confiscation of agricultural products, by "committees of poverty," by food detachments, or even by terror of the Revolutionary Tribunal, was an utter failure, and produced results the very opposite of those intended. The destruction of agricultural production, which has so greatly aggravated the effects of the drought, is directly traceable to Soviet control and compulsion. Similarly, the state monopoly of trade and commerce could not provide the people with the necessities of life, and there grew up outside of the state agencies a widespread illicit trade, or "speculatsia," driving food supplies from the country through smugglers, or "bag-men," and manufactured goods from the Government factories and stores through laborers, officials, soldiers, policemen, and other thieves. Then, too, the factories could not be supplied with the necessary number of laborers, as wages were so low and prices so high that the workers fled to the country in search of food—and this in spite of the militarization of labor and the infliction of drastic penalties.

The author gives many interesting figures showing the continuous falling off in industrial production after the Communists took control. The number of disabled locomotives, normally not over 20 per cent. of the total number, was 27.4 per cent. in November, 1917; 47.8 per cent. in December, 1918; and 59.2 per cent. in February, 1920. In 1917 there were 17,012 locomotives in running order; in 1920 only 3,969. In 1916 the average time for minor repairs was 30 days; in 1919 it was more than 76 days. In the first half of 1918 the receipts of the railway system showed a deficit of 3,352,000,000 rubles; in 1920 the deficit was 51,266,000,000 rubles, chiefly made up by the issue of paper money. In the Moscow coal basin the average number of workmen in the first six months of 1919 was 5,440, and the output was about 10,000 poods; in 1920 the workmen numbered 14,200 and the output was reduced to about 8,000 poods. In October, 1916, the shipments of grain from the Government of Tambov were 2,800,000 poods, and in November of that year they were 2,750,000 poods; but in September, 1917, they were 2,750,000 poods; in October, 1,600,000 poods; in November, 120,000 poods, and in January, 1918, only 30,000 poods. In public finance, too, there was utter breakdown, for in the second half of 1919 no less than 89 per cent. of all the expenses of the Soviet Government were covered by issues of paper money.

One of the most striking features of the Soviet régime is the drift back toward capitalism. In the factories the Government itself has restored piece-work, premiums, penalties, and other features of capitalistic management.

Indeed, it is stated on good authority that most of the nationalized and state-owned factories are either at a standstill, or else are barely functioning at all; while privately owned enterprises are flourishing under the guise of "kustari," or cottage industries, and coöperative enterprises. Unquestionably, the "kustari" of the villages have revived, and the peasants are now obtaining such textiles and other manufactured goods as they can procure from this source. The peasants have the land and will never consent to any real socialization. Most of the trade is now carried on by speculators, bag-men, and other illicit traders. Then, too, there is an enormous and venal body of officials, worse than any known under the old régime. One out of every two adults in Petrograd is either a Government official or a soldier, and the plague of officialdom is even worse in Moscow, the capital.

In view of all this disorganization, disorder, and halting return to capitalism, one wonders why the Soviet Government does not permit freedom of trade, which would greatly relieve the situation. The author's answer to this question is well worth quoting:

Because its formal control over the apparatus of distribution constitutes today the only thing that really remains of the whole stock of communistic principles and methods used in the Russian experiment. To give this up means to acknowledge the final fiasco of the whole experiment. It means a complete return to capitalistic methods, only in conditions infinitely inferior to what they were before the experiment, because of the destruction and impairment of productive forces, material and human.

J. E. LE ROSSIGNOL

## The Record of a Vanishing World

A HUNDRED YEARS IN THE HIGHLANDS.  
By Osgood Hanbury Mackenzie of Inverewe. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. \$5.75.

THIS book is the record of a vanishing world. The author, born in 1842, covers with his own recollections some seventy years, and carries his description back to the beginning of the nineteenth century by the aid of extracts from the manuscript volumes of Highland memories left by his uncle, Dr. John Mackenzie. The author's father, Sir Francis Mackenzie, was the fifth baronet and twelfth laird of Gairloch, on the west coast of Ross-shire, and the family has held the Gairloch estates for over five hundred years. We have thus to do with the occupations and sentiments of a typical family of the Highland gentry, surrounded by their own clansmen, and, though not without contacts with England and the continent, finding their main satisfactions in their own place and among their own kind.

Neither Mr. Osgood Mackenzie nor his uncle makes any pretensions to being a "writing man," and the volume is obviously enough the work of amateurs; yet candor and enthusiasm go far to take the place of artistic skill,

and the result is a picture full of vivid and often amazing detail. Shooting and fishing do indeed occupy a large part of the book, as they filled a large part of the life of the lairds, but, as one goes on, it becomes evident that this life was neither empty nor monotonous. Mr. Mackenzie is intensely interested in natural history, partly as scientist, partly as sportsman, and his book contains much curious lore on the flora and fauna of the West Highlands. His fishing yarns tax one's credulity—as of the catching of four lake trout weighing in all fifty-one pounds, not to speak of the one that escaped, weighing twenty-five.

But the best chapters are those dealing with the Highlanders themselves. One gathers a fairly definite notion of their life, extraordinarily isolated in a region without roads or wheeled vehicles, of their folklore and superstitions, often thoroughly pagan, yet mixed with a stubborn free-kirk orthodoxy and a Sabbatarianism rigid beyond belief; of their love of smuggled whisky; of their sheep-stealing and pipe-playing, and, above all, of their loyalty to their chief and his family. One episode is worth re-telling, not only as an example of feudal sentiment surviving into the nineteenth century, but as a thing beautiful in itself. Lady Mackenzie had died in childbirth at Gairloch, and it was decided to bury her at Beaulieu Priory, on the east coast, some seventy miles away, though there was no road across that could be traveled by wheels. Dr. Mackenzie called for volunteers from the parish, and a thousand offered. Five hundred were picked and divided into four companies of a hundred and twenty-five each, one company being composed of men all over six feet. Then in groups of eight, relaying one another, they carried their dead lady shoulder high across Scotland, group succeeding group in perfect silence and with the smoothness and precision of a well-drilled army. They went from Gairloch to Conon, sixty-five miles, in two days, though they were mostly seafaring men, unaccustomed to walking. Pack horses carried their food, and they received neither money nor whisky. To this last fact the doctor ascribes that he was able to prevent fighting and bloodshed when men from other estates joined them on the march and wished to share the burden and the honor.

This story alone will make it clear why I have called the book the record of a vanishing world.

W. A. NEILSON

THE first volume of Prof. H. N. Fowler's Plato in the Loeb Library (Putnams), containing the Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phædo, and Cratylus, did not please us overmuch. The translation was correct enough, but it lacked savor; the exquisite grace which marks the personal and biographical parts of those dialogues was somehow missed in the English, and in place of literature we had only a useful "trot" for sophomores. Mr. Fowler, we think, is much more fortunate in the second volume, now issued, which embraces



the Theaetetus and Sophist. These dialogues, particularly the former, have dramatic qualities which Mr. Fowler has succeeded fairly well in catching, while they lack those subtle psychological turns which eluded him before. Precision rather than charm of language is of the first importance in the two great argumentative works now rendered, and this precision of language Mr. Fowler has evidently made his first object. We could, were this the proper place, note a few passages in which he seems to us to have missed the exact meaning of the Greek, but in general he has been notably successful in an extremely difficult task. Two other new volumes of the Loeb Library are to be mentioned, Sallust by Prof. J. C. Rolfe of the University of Pennsylvania, and the first three books of Quintilian by Prof. H. E. Butler of London University. Both of these, so far as we have been able to examine them, are well done. We wish the gentlemen who write so volubly on education these days, might be persuaded to read the first book of Quintilian's Institutes; it might even stiffen their brains a little if they tried to read the Latin.

The British Museum has recently come into possession of the letters, rather mysteriously preserved, which passed between Swift and Miss Vanhomrigh, and A. Martin Freeman has given a reprint of them under the title of "Vanessa and her correspondence with Jonathan Swift" (Houghton Mifflin). For the reader's comfort Mr. Freeman has modernized the spelling and punctuation, but otherwise he has reproduced the manuscript faithfully, including one or two letters and a few other passages which are not in the great edition of Swift's correspondence edited by Dr. Elrington Ball. The poem "Cadenus and Vanessa," Esther's will, and other documents added at the end of the book, make the evidence for the history of that strange and tragic friendship as complete as we are ever likely to have it. In his careful introduction Mr. Freeman goes over the facts and theories, but himself comes to no firm conclusion as to what happened and what the Dean really felt, and in so refraining he is wise, for

What success Vanessa met  
Is to the world a secret yet.

So far as the present reviewer, for whom Swift's problematic character has always had a special fascination, can offer any suggestion, it would be in two sentences from the correspondence. One is from Vanessa: "Your thoughts, which no human creature is capable of guessing at, because never any one living thought like you"; the other is from Swift himself: "The wisest men of all ages have thought it the best course to seize the minutes as they fly, and to make every innocent action an amusement." Was Swift merely a baffled epicurean, who found pleasure the most insignificant thing in a world which became to him "every day more silly and insignificant"?



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## God's World

**O** WORLD, I cannot hold thee close enough!  
Thy winds, thy wide, grey skies!  
Thy mists, that roll and rise!  
Thy woods, this autumn day, that ache and sag  
And all but cry with colour. That gaunt crag  
To crush! To lift the lean of that black bluff!  
World, World, I cannot get thee close enough!

**L**ONG have I known a glory in it all,  
But never knew I this;  
Here such a passion is  
As stretcheth me apart,—Lord, I do fear  
Thou'st made the world too beautiful this year;  
My soul is all but out of me,—let fall  
No burning leaf; prithee, let no bird call.  
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## The Industrial Trend

**A** SIDE from the complex of industrial and economic matters centering on the President's Unemployment Conference, two features in the present trend of industry are of chief importance—the strike votes of the railroad workers of the country, and the situation and prospects of the coal miners and coal consumers.

Apparently all the various organizations of railroad workers will authorize strikes against the reductions in wages ordered by the Railroad Labor Board and now in effect. The shop crafts belonging to the American Federation of Labor completed their ballot in favor of a strike some weeks ago. The trainmen to the number of about 186,000 (including brakemen, baggagemen, and yard employees) have just authorized a strike. The votes of the engineers, firemen, and conductors are now being counted, with apparent certainty of a similar result. It seems unlikely, however, that any important strikes will occur with the approval of the leaders of the organizations. Authority for walkouts may seem useful as a means of influencing the Labor Board's action on pending questions; and in the case of the shop crafts, this is clearly the position of the leaders. But the present is evidently a bad time to increase unemployment by even a partial suspension of communications; and it is safe to assume that the railroad labor leaders are aware of this.

The convention of the United Mine Workers, still in session at Indianapolis as these lines are written, has been marked by several features—one of them external to the convention—that are of interest to the country at large. The first of these features, the matter of new wage-scales to replace the scales now in effect, but expiring at the end of next March, holds strike possibilities that the public will appreciate without extended explanation. The leaders of the mine workers have shown in the convention a determination to keep this issue out of present controversy, laying it over to negotiations with the operators to be taken up in midwinter.

Abandonment of the idea of government ownership or regulation of coal mines—"nationalization" in any sense—was announced by President Lewis in these words:

"It has long been the conviction of our members that some form of government ownership or defined regulation must come to pass before certain of the evils afflicting the mining industry could be eliminated. We have consulted eminent authorities and find that Federal regulation, to bring about either government ownership or governmental regulation of the mines is practically an impossibility under our present Federal Constitution. The title to the coal seams is vested in the several state of the Union, and regulatory statutes may not be enacted by the United States Congress."

The third internal feature of the miners' convention was the sharp struggle between the "conservatives,"



represented by President Lewis and his administration, and the "radicals," led by Frank Farrington of the Illinois miners and Alexander Howatt, president of the Kansas district. Howatt, who is under jail sentence for his defiance of the Kansas Industrial Court, ordered two strikes in Kansas in defiance of the national officers. President Lewis appealed to the convention for a vote requiring Howatt to end the strikes, and the convention so voted. Howatt is reported as saying that he would not obey the convention. The incident throws light on the frequent charge, referred to by President Lewis in his appeal to the convention, that the Mine Workers do not live up to their contracts.

Possibly more important than any of these internal features was the filing of two injunction suits against the Mine Workers in the Federal District Courts at Huntington, W. Va., and at Indianapolis. In these suits the Borderland Coal Corporation and its numerous subsidiary companies operating in the non-union fields of West Virginia and eastern Kentucky ask that the Mine Workers be enjoined from further unionizing activity, and also that the organization be dissolved as an offender against the Sherman anti-trust act. News of these suits was received by the union officials with notably outspoken pessimism. It was admitted before the delegates to the convention that the injunction asked for would probably be granted.

In truth, the legal position of the United Mine Workers may reasonably enough alarm the leaders. In the absence of details of the injunction suits, it may be assumed that the prohibition sought against unionizing activities is based on individual contracts between the complaining coal company and its non-union employees. If such be the case, this part of it will be simply a repetition of the famous Hitchman Coal Co. case, in which the Supreme Court confirmed an injunction forbidding the Mine Workers to try to unionize miners under individual contract with the operators not to join the union. The doctrine of the Hitchman case has been followed by the courts of many states in other industrial disputes, and an injunction from Federal District Courts seems inevitable.

Dissolution of the organization may not be beyond probability if the Supreme Court should decide against the Mine Workers in the Coronado Coal case now before the court on appeal. This case hangs on the destruction of certain Arkansas coal companies by the Mine Workers. The national organization was fined an aggregate of about \$300,000 on the ground that the offence was intended to exclude non-union mined coal from interstate commerce, and was therefore in violation of the Sherman act. The Indianapolis indictments of last year hinged on the same point. A decision in the Coronado case holding the Mine Workers liable under the Sherman act would measurably pave the way for dissolution.

B. B.

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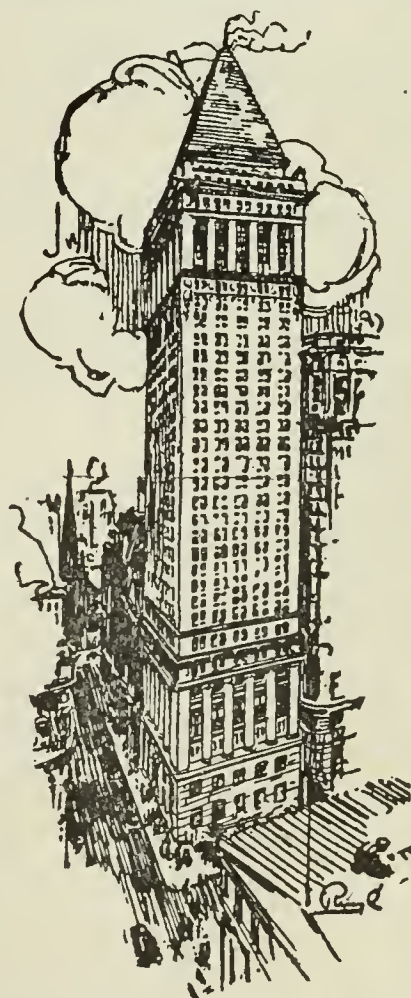
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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English Literature and Composition

By **FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.**,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

#### I. Questions on Literature.

1. Read the reviews entitled "Drama," "Music," "New Books and Old" and "Book Reviews."
2. Why is it usually true that 'Idylls are not quarries for playwrights'? What is an "Idyll"? In what sense are Tennyson's "Idylls of the King" "Idylls"? Are Tennyson's Idylls of the King dramatic or undramatic in nature?
3. Prepare suggestions for a play based on Tennyson's "Lancelot and Elaine" or on any other of Tennyson's "Idylls of the King." Which of Tennyson's "Idylls of the King" provides best material for a play?
4. Explain exactly what the writer means when he says that the Elaine of the play is far more interesting than Tennyson's Elaine.
5. Explain exactly what the writer means when he calls Lancelot "the great tragic figure in which romance transcends itself."
6. Explain the following expressions: "The story as story is not felicitous"; "It is far-fetched and flat"; "Mr. Robinson apparently hesitated between manners and plot"; "Vividly real without being unmixedly real"; "When he rose to energy he sank to burlesque"; "Inherently dramatic."
7. What, according to the writer of "Drama," are the characteristics of a good play?
8. What criticism of everyday English is made in the last section of "New Books and Old"?
9. Give evidence that will support or oppose the statement that "Rusticisms, gutter-phrases and outrages upon grammar make up an 'American' language."
10. What characteristics of Poe and Whitman lead European writers to call them "The Americans most worth consideration"?
11. Give your reasons for agreeing, or for disagreeing, with Mr. Clutton-Brock's criticisms of Poe's "The Raven," "The Bells," "Ulalume," "Annabel Lee" and "The Sleeper."
12. Summarize any one of the short stories by Edgar Allan Poe, mentioned in "New Books and Old." Which of the stories that are named do you like best? What are the good characteristics of the story that you like best?
13. What books written by "Kingsley, Marryat, Cooper, and Melville" are interesting for young people? If you have read a book by any of these writers tell about the book in detail.
14. "The most remarkable ghost story ever written is 'The Upper Berth' by Marion Crawford." Read the story, and then tell whether you agree with the criticism. In what respects is the story remarkable?
15. "The most delicious literary burlesque of the year is 'Dr. Walter E. Traprock's' volume called 'The Cruise of the Kawa.'" What is a "literary burlesque"? Name some famous literary burlesques. Tell something concerning Thackeray's "Rebecca and Rowena" and "Punch's Prize Novelists."
16. Explain the following criticisms: "Mr. Franck has helped discredit the old-fashioned, pompous book of travel; his style is simple, familiar, it never interrupts your enjoyment of the narrative." Tell how you can apply the criticism to your own work in writing compositions.
17. "The translation lacked savor. . . . In place of literature we had only a useful 'trot' for sophomores." What does the criticism suggest concerning the characteristics of a good translation? What principles should guide a pupil in translating Latin, Greek, French, German, or Spanish into English?
18. "We wish the gentlemen who write so volubly on education might be persuaded to read the first book of Quintilian's Institutes; it might even stiffen their brains a little if they tried to read the Latin." Consult any history of education, and prepare a report concerning what Quintilian said about the teaching of rhetoric. Consult any encyclopedia for information concerning the life of Quintilian.
19. Who was Dean Swift? What famous books did he write? What was his purpose in writing these books? What has recently brought Swift to the attention of students of literature?

### History, Civics and Economics

By **ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.**,  
Former Principal of the High School  
of Commerce, New York

#### I. The Isthmian Canal—Past, Present and Future. Panama Tolls and National Honor.

1. Before reading this article look up in your textbook all references to the history of the Isthmian Canal. Does this history justify our Government in granting toll exemption to American coastwise trade?
  2. Under what circumstances was the Clayton-Bulwer treaty signed? The Hay-Pauncefote treaty?
  3. Give a brief summary of the history of the attempts to build a canal across the Isthmus and of the history of the final building of the canal.
  4. Do the facts brought out in this article justify the editorial note which introduces it? If so why does the controversy go on as it does?
- #### II. The Philippines in the Conference.
1. What issues are some Japanese statesmen tending to waive aside as *faits accomplis*?
  2. What is "our record of achievement in the Philippines from 1898"?
  3. Summarize the "international aspects" of the Philippine problem.
- #### III. Aspects of Radicalism—The Radical and the Philanthropist. The Break-down of Communism.
1. In what way is the "change" of "the straightout radical" more fundamental than the proposal of Mrs. Cannon?
  2. Are there in your community any striking examples of the evil of present philanthropic effort?
  3. The extraordinary and almost incomprehensible behavior of the Russian Communists . . . may best be understood in the light of Marxian theory as modified by the speculations of Lenin, etc. What are the chief articles of the Marxian theory? What modifications do the Russian Communists suggest?
  4. What practical difficulties are the Russian Communists experiencing in the application of their theories?
- #### IV. The European Situation—The Truth About France. Developments In Germany. The Plight of Austria.
1. What is the relation between the present French military policy and the threatened "moratorium" of German reparations?
  2. Why are payments from Austria deferred for twenty years while payments from Germany are demanded at once?
  3. How far are the people of the United States interested in these questions?
- #### V. The Economics of Unemployment—Unemployment—The Views of a Sociologist. The Industrial Trend. The Week at Home.
1. In "The Week at Home" occurs the following quotation: "The problem of unemployment is primarily a community problem." Does this agree with the theory developed by Professor Giddings?
  2. Discuss briefly the industrial development of modern times under the following headings: (1) The Domestic System, (2) The Industrial Revolution, (3) The Factory System, (4) The New Capitalism. In view of this development do you feel that Professor Giddings' recommendation (last paragraph of his article) is practicable?
  3. In view of present widespread unemployment how do you account for the number of strikes and threatened strikes referred to in "The Industrial Trend"?
- #### VI. The Municipal Railway Problem—Municipal Traction Fundamentals.
1. "But the definite principles on which the Transit Commission has based its plan may well be commended to the attention of . . . every municipality." What are the chief traction problems in your community? How many of the eight recommendations are applicable to the local situation?
  2. What difficulties stand in the way of (1) "unification of all the transit facilities," (2) "municipal ownership," "fares based on the cost of operation."
  3. How far has your community gone in the settlement of its transit problem?



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

October 15, 1921



### The Hoover' Touch

How All Hands Can Help to Create Employment

By Benjamin Baker

NO observer of the Washington Unemployment Conference who is close enough to sense its inner currents will fail to be impressed with Mr. Hoover's genius for shaping a great undertaking to practical ends. When the Conference, with its body of advisory experts, was announced, the public felt little confidence that any substantial relief could result. The facts of the extent of unemployment were in dispute. Responsibility for it was variously laid on labor's refusal to "liquidate"; on the manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers, who were said to be unwilling to forgo profits on inflated costs; on the tax burden; on the paralysis of the railroads; on world conditions—or on any combinations of these and other elements that suited the disposition of the individual critic. In advance of the Conference it seemed certain that there would be a sharp split between labor and the employers, and those who knew the devastating effects of a fight for "principle" feared an initial paralysis of the whole movement.

Mr. Hoover forestalled this evident possibility by almost bluntly telling the delegates that they were to deal not with theories, but with the conditions that confronted the country. Naturally, Mr. Hoover knew that theories could not, and should not, be permanently kept out of the discussion. And he did not want them excluded—he merely wanted them removed from a position of obstruction. He knew quite well that neither labor nor the employers were wholly right. He also knew that if he could get them to work together toward practical ends, the softening effects of co-operation would open the way for the logic of the facts to coerce the extremists of both parties. This is good engineering—to bring into activity the forces and conditions that will give the results you want. Mr. Hoover can do this sort of thing in the supremely difficult engineering field of human interest and emotion.

To assign the task of immediate relief to the various communities of the country may seem, now that the step has been taken, an almost absurdly obvious course; but apparently it required the assembling of the Conference to discover the fact. Excess of discussion and recrimination, the everlasting line-up on "principle," had put both employers and workers in the attitude of a crowd watching a fire—full of criticism of the firemen, but with no consciousness of any individual responsibility for the outcome. The Con-

ference said to the States, the cities, the employers whose plants are grouped here and there in the communities of the country—"You can find new work if you will; you can spread the work you have over more men. Take your share of the load and carry it." One of the beauties of the obvious is that every man who has it disclosed to him adopts it with the ardor of a sole discoverer, an original inventor. Employment is scattered all over the country, cheek by jowl with unemployment; put them together, said the Conference, and don't fuss too much about theoretical economies and efficiencies.

But this is only the first step of the Conference. Permanent remedial measures against unemployment are essential, and there is large promise that the Conference will lead to agreement on what some of the larger measures are, on how they should be made effective, and—most important of all—who is to make them effective. Agreement here will be less complete and less prompt than in regard to temporary relief: but here again the persuasive logic of the obvious is ready to work. Many of the individual employers and labor leaders who will ultimately succumb to it do not yet recognize this particular area of the obvious; but, all unconsciously, many of them are headed for enlightenment and acceptance.

For illustration: it has long been "obvious" to some business and economic minds that a manufacturer who lowers his prices grudgingly in response to altered conditions, hanging on to each remnant of inflated price that he can extract from reluctant buyers, is damaging not only the general situation, but his own interests. To some minds he seems as foolish as the small boy doomed to a bath, who knows he must get wet all over, but nevertheless dabbles the water with his toes in futile and embarrassed postponement.

There are cheering indications from the Conference committee of manufacturers that the common sense of going in with a plunge, and coming out refreshed and invigorated by the shock, is making its way in minds weary of the present impasse. "Put your prices down to the basis of present costs, and consumers will be able to buy." If manufacturers can be persuaded to do this, it is argued that they will start the fall of the traditional row of bricks. There seems to be reason in the idea. The manufacturer who takes this course can command the support of public opin-



ion against the wholesaler, the retailer—even against the labor organization—that refuses to get in line.

Note again, in this connection, the shrewdness of Mr. Hoover's engineering. A paraffine candle will break clean under a sharp blow: but with warmth and slow, continued pressure you can shape it at will without a break. In the Conference, warmth is represented by coöperation. Despite sundry opinions to the contrary, the delegates of both labor and the employers are basically human, with social instincts that respond to the spirit of coöperation for a common purpose. Some of them were inclined to strike the candle a sharp blow with the club of "labor liquidation," but Mr. Hoover wisely intervened. Not sparks, but steady, melting warmth was his requirement, and for pressure he justly relied on our intellectual savior, the "obvious." The pressure from this source is clearly evident to anyone

who is in touch with the various Conference committees.

That this pressure may continue for a considerable time, effecting a measurable reconstruction of industrial and commercial practice, is one of the most hopeful probabilities of the Conference. The public should recall, what the delegates will not be allowed to forget, the recent reports of the Federated Engineers (also under Mr. Hoover's inspiration) on Waste in Industry. It has been made evident that many manufacturers, by proper shaping of their production and sales policies, can largely free their businesses of the seasonal slackness which is one serious cause of unemployment. The Conference includes a number of manufacturers who have accomplished this feat. Their experience reveals not individual successes here and there, but an effective method embracing the whole industrial problem.

## Macao: Relic of Portugal's Past Greatness

The Basis of Portugal's Claim to Representation at the Conference

By Charles Hodges

*With photographs by the author*

**M**ACAO, slumbering at the mouth of the Canton river just across from Hong Kong, Great Britain's overshadowing clearing-house of the Eastern seas, stands a decayed monument to Portuguese empire in the brave days of her past greatness. No longer do hundreds of ships make Macao a haven for China trade from the four corners of the world. Relic of galleon and clipper ship, it remains only as a reminder of a once-great commerce. Now only the Chinese junks and a daily steamer from Hong Kong, forty miles away, keep up the pretence of existence with a scanty transit trade.

The impressive approach, with a wooded eminence dotted with villas and crowned with the battlements of ancient forts, can deceive but for a moment. The inner harbor reveals a drab third-rate cruiser with drooping awnings, a few Portuguese guard boats, a clutter of Chinese junks, and Macao itself, sprawling along the leeward side of the peninsula amid barren encircling hills. An easy-going dredge in the foreground is working spasmodically in the silted-up fairway.

The landing and bund, with the babble of runners, rickshaw men, hawkers, and guides, were noisily Chinese, but the town itself seemed somehow North African rather than

Oriental. There was a suggestion of the Old World, a Latin touch in the Romanesque stone houses with their balustraded terraces, their long, shuttered windows, their arcaded galleries. Easily forgotten were the narrow, evil-smelling Chinese alleys cutting across the precisely cobbled roadways when one visioned the hey-day of this one-time centre of Portugal's imperial mandate over the East.

Macao, now the pathetic "Monte Carlo of the Orient," with its licensed gambling houses, its lottery, opium dens, and sing-song girls, was once the only door to the wealth of Cathay, being crowded with merchants from distant lands. The Portuguese, pioneers in Chinese trade from the time Albuquerque captured Malacca in 1511, monopolized dealings with Canton in the sixteenth century. Macao was occupied permanently by the Portuguese captains of industry in

*The ancient fort of St. Thiago da Barra, a monument to Portugal's past empire*

1557, following the expulsion of their traders and ships from Ning-Po and Foo-Chow farther north. The occupation was allowed by the Ming Dynasty on payment of an annual rental, and "factories" grew up for the storage of goods, merchants settled there, and the bustling Macao, pictured by Camoens in his epic poem of Portuguese greatness in the Indies, "The Lusiads," made history. In the opening years of the seventeenth century the Dutch made a vain attempt to seize this key to China's restricted trade; in the eighteenth the English followed with an eye single to business; in the first half of the nineteenth the English and Americans generally made this their final point of departure. It was always the door to the Canton trade and more than once a refuge to traders driven from Chinese soil in the First and Second Foreign Wars.

But with the British development of Hong Kong, spoils of the Opium War of 1842-43, Macao's doom was sealed. Portugal's decline from being a World Power, the inability to meet Hong Kong's competition, the failure to develop modern communications with the hinterland of Canton, and



*An Old-World street in Macao*



the disadvantages of an antiquated harbor reduced Macao to a mere pin-prick on the map of the East ignored by commerce and almost forgotten by world politics.

As Portugal's position weakened, her relations with China over Macao grew strained. In 1848 the Portuguese refused to pay the Viceroy at Canton the annual rental of 500 taels, expelled the Chinese magistracy that ruled the native population, and forcibly ended the dual control acquiesced in from 1587. Finally in 1887, after three centuries of what our diplomats call a "fait accompli," a treaty was concluded, recognizing Portugal's pioneer occupation of Chinese soil.

Macao slept until the eve of the Great War. Then the new forces at work throughout China again fired the ambition of the Portuguese. In 1912 dredging was begun to counter the choking of the harbor. In 1915 the Macao Government purchased additional equipment and undertook the project of maintaining a four-mile channel forty-five yards wide and eleven feet deep. Then world politics once more turned the spotlight upon the place, for it was rumored that Japan was negotiating for the acquisition of this neglected foothold, forty miles from Hong Kong, under the very nose of her British ally. There seemed to be substantiation of this in Japanese efforts to develop public works and to expedite the harbor development. It is needless to say that this



*Macao's peaceful inner harbor, where ambition reawakened on the eve of the Great War*



*Gambling houses hold the place of importance in the "Monte Carlo of the Orient"*

caused a buzz of excitement in South China, where the Japanese are most disliked and most distrusted.

Now comes Portugal and asks a place at the Washington Conference on the strength of this remnant of her pioneer interest and one-time predominance in the Far East. Her presence will serve to remind us of the intricate history of the foreign penetration of China and of the

conflicts of interest engendered thereby. Portugal's claims exemplify *in petto* the claims of the greater Powers that came later and in a similar manner occupied other vantage points in China—the French at Kwang-Chow-Wan; the British at Wei-Hai-Wei; the Japanese at Dairen, and again at Kiao-Chao in Shantung. But

times have changed and with them mayhap morals. True, the penetration of China at the end of the nineteenth century differs from that at the end of the sixteenth less in fact than in manner, but the present day calls loudly for new standards of international conduct, a call that can not fail to be heard at Washington. Macao, indeed, may well point a lesson to those who come together charged with the onerous task of saving China from dissolution and of saving from war those who covet her riches.

## Dante After Six Hundred Years

By Frank Jewett Mather Jr.

*Author of "The Portraits of Dante" (Princeton University Press)*

THE only sort of immortality which is not a sheer assertion of faith is that of genius. Its causes are mysterious, but they must rest on some sort of appeal that is valid for all times and places. We meet in Dante's case the paradox that the world which unites in celebrating the sixth centenary of his death has largely ceased to share his opinions. We venerate him not because of his dearest convictions, but in spite of them. In most of his thinking posterity finds him wrong. He was wrong in supposing that the weal and unity of Italy depended on her rule by an all-powerful emperor. To this political will-o'-the-wisp he devoted a book, "Concerning the Monarchy." Before and after Dante, Italy tried imperial rule to her hurt. Again, the frameworks of his Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven were shown to be so many delusions by the discoveries of Copernicus and Kepler. Today rather few orthodox Christians would accept his relentless vision of an eternal torture-house where the sinful suffer endless pains and humiliations.

As compared with such rival poets as Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, Milton, and Goethe he seems local and circumscribed, lacking universality. He loves the specific and even the minute. His afterworld is largely peopled by mere nobodies of the times whom he happened to observe. This lack of universality dimmed his fame during those ages of academic decorum, the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

turies. His permanent fame begins about a hundred years ago with the romantic movement and the revaluation of the purely emotional element in poetry. One may say that only one work of his, the "New Life," has obviously that universal appeal which we expect of great poetry. It is the gospel of young love. Yet it is a mere youthful episode in Dante's career, and he himself apologized for it in his great moral and philosophical treatise, "The Banquet." In short, Dante's fame, which rests solidly on the "Divine Comedy," is of a different order from that of poets whose confident and generous humanity has passed easily down the ages, being applicable to all times.

Of our few world-poets Dante is the only one who is in the broadest sense a philosopher and system-maker. His mind required absolute order. Even that exquisitely visionary book, the "Vita Nuova," is framed in mathematical ratios of prose and verse, whereas his afterworld is as carefully defined and delimited as any topographical survey. To remedy the immemorial woes of Italy, he has a rigid scheme: Let the Pope rule in the spiritual, the Emperor in the temporal sphere. In this love of order and wish to bring all the universe under a system, he merely follows such great schoolmen as St. Thomas Aquinas. Human knowledge in the thirteenth century looked small enough to be reduced to a few errorless formulas.

Perhaps the reason why Dante is remembered to-day



while his scholastic teachers are forgotten is chiefly his high visibility. He accepted the logic of Catholic orthodoxy and embodied it. Feeling life to be a brief span which gets meaning only from two sorts of immortalities, he explored these immortalities respectively to their murkiest depths and most resplendent heights. Thus he made plastic and tangible the most coherent body of religious thinking which the world has seen. But before he fixed his gaze on the other world, and the eternal values, he had lived abundantly in this world and had tested broadly its transient and provisional values.

Dante Alighieri was born in 1265, of solid bourgeois stock. His father was a lawyer, the family originally of knightly estate, but reduced in the vicissitudes of growing republicanism at Florence. Dante's future accomplishments tell us that he must have been well educated. The first event in his life occurred in his ninth year, when he saw the girl Beatrice pass clothed in a most noble color, a sub-



Photograph from Vander Weyde

*The famous head of Dante in the Museum at Naples*

dued crimson. Thenceforth love had utter mastery over him. Nine years later he had a strange dream of her. She rested in the arms of the God of Love, who offered her Dante's heart to eat. Of this Dante made a sonnet, asking his fellow poets to interpret the strange vision. Many of them endeavored to read the riddle of the dream, and Dante's best friend, Guido Cavalcanti, declared in an answering sonnet that it expressed fear lest his lady should die and the endeavor of Love to keep her alive through the noblest of nutriment, a true lover's heart. This sonnet of Guido's seems to me the surest evidence that a real Beatrice is in question and not a moral or philosophical abstraction. And if this be so, then Boccaccio's tradition, drawn from the sons of those who should have known that Dante's lady was Beatrice Portinari, becomes entirely credible.

The sonnets and canzoni which some years later were collected and accompanied by a prose text in the "Vita Nuova" brought Dante fame as a lyrical poet. They seemed

the consummation of that "sweet new style" which Guido Guinizelli had, while investing it with greater seriousness and subtlety, distilled from the conceits of the Troubadors.

The "Vita Nuova," which the English-speaking reader may best savor in Rossetti's translation, has remained the breviary of youthful and idealistic love. It is compounded of the poet's ecstasies and despairs, while Beatrice herself is an occasional and vague apparition. The events are her salute, which purifies and humbles, or her withholding it, which brings most horrible dejection. She appears among other maidens, and her supernal loveliness is enhanced. One of her companions dies, and the poet sees with afright the shadow of death fall towards his lady: "It needs be that the most gentle Beatrice some day shall die." At times he argues the case against his unrewarded servitude and sets its rare, keen joys against its frequent anguish, returning always to the reward that can not be taken away—the love itself.

Beatrice dies, and his soul is like a deserted city. He staggers on sustained by memories. There is a moment when a fair and compassionate lady pales for love of him, and threatens to efface Beatrice, to whom in an impulse of remorse and rapture he returns at the end, promising to fill the universe with her sweetness, writing of her what was never yet written of woman.

On Holy Thursday of Easter week in the year 1300 Dante had a vision of the eternal world in which Beatrice was to play a part nearly divine. He was then thirty-five years old. Twenty-one more years of travail and humiliation were ahead before the final fever relaxed the hand that had just penned the last lines of the *Paradiso*.

Ill-fated political ambitions raised Dante to the Florentine priorate in 1300. For the peace of the city he voted the exile of the Blacks—the papal party. This act, coupled with his known imperial sympathies, made him an exile under penalty of death at the stake. For years he wandered about Italy, advocating the hopeless cause of the Emperor, finding only time to complete his imperialist tract, "De Monarchia," to begin his great encyclopedic work on morals and philosophy, "The Convito," and his book on style in the vernacular, "De Vulgari Eloquio." The patronage of considerate tyrants, Can Grande of Verona and Guido da Polenta of Ravenna, finally gave him leisure to fulfil his promise to Beatrice.

The "Divina Commedia" was written between 1314 and 1321 and not fully published at Dante's death. Into it he packed all his previous thinking and experience. In its outer form we find his love of system and order. It is composed in triple rhyme, there are three main parts, each part, regarding the first canto as introductory, has thirty-three cantos. Hell sinks its huge funnel to the centre of the earth in precisely nine narrowing circular terraces where as many mortal sins are eternally punished. The lofty mountain of Purgatory, again, has just nine ascending terraces and precincts for purgation and forgetfulness of sin. Nine too are the starry spheres of Paradise. Thus the great poem is throughout based on the mystical numbers of Beatrice and the Trinity.

Such mathematical formality, however, escapes notice because of the extraordinary variety of mood and incident wreathed upon this rigid frame. For hours of reading one has the company of Dante himself, wrathful at times, often bewildered and frightened, again rising to ecstatic understandings of new and beautiful lore. His guide Virgil, too, embodiment of kindly worldly wisdom, is present for two-thirds of the poem. Beatrice as personification of divine enlightenment, theology, dominates the last third. Besides such constant companions, and others, like the poet Statius and Dante's ancestor Cacciaguida, or Francesca telling of her fateful love, or Ugolino recounting the agony of his last tortures—besides such figures as hold the stage for minutes, hundreds flash into view for mere seconds, yet



unforgettably, so vivid is their aspect, so betraying their sparse words. No other long poem is so richly and variously peopled, in no other are the characters so visible. Similarly the background is most various. In the *Inferno* one senses a dark and arid region of volcanic sort. The great winds gnaw at it, fire and smoke and reek rise from its floor. The rivers are of filth and slime; the few trees brittle thorn bushes. As you sink to the lowest pit where the traitors are, the fires are dead and the infernal king, Lucifer, lives caught in a glacier. The scenery of the *Purgatorio*, on the contrary, is that of a joyous mountainside with a trembling sea in sight all around. Its summit is an actual park, an earthly Paradise traversed by the gentle river of Lethe, where even memory of old sin is washed away. In the *Paradise* there is no scenery, but instead a joyous sense of hovering amid vast bright spaces in which celestial forms deploy in symmetrical patterns, like wild-fowl on earth, or group more steadily in the form of gigantic refulgent flowers. This

mere inventory may suggest the greatness of the poem in reconciling the literary problem of the one and the many—the utmost severity and coherence of form combined with the greatest variety and richness of details.

The “*Divine Comedy*” is in the form of a vision, though its vivid concreteness often makes even a careful reader forget the fact. And the form offered certain advantages which other epics lack. Dante himself and his various guides, from Virgil to Beatrice, are always in the picture, as commentators and sometimes as actors. We are not merely told how things look in the world to come; we see with the pitiful or scornful or enraptured eyes of the most august of pilgrims and feel with their feelings; we know the person or scene from the effect on an observer. Much of the visible effect comes from our confidence that Dante actually sees what he describes. We are as ready to believe as certain simple women of his time were ready to believe that his crinkled beard had lately been singed in Hell. No other epic poet has equal power of visualization. The most authentic portrait of Dante, that of the Palatine manuscript, though it rests on a rude and unperceptive original by a mediocre painter, Taddeo Caddi, at least suggests the hungriness of the poet’s eye. He strains impatiently to see more clearly.

The people of Dante are sketched in a few strong indications. Farinata degli Uberti, traitor-patriot of Florence, glares from his burning tomb

With breast and brow thrust out—

As though he held the hell about him in contempt.

The picture of pride is unforgettable. We have the miracle of a portrait without features created by a single action and a single state of mind.

Above all poets Dante possessed that power which he himself describes in the treatise “*Concerning the Vulgar Tongue*” of making ordinary words mean more and other than they usually do. It is a quality of direct and definite attack which we like to think modern. No other Italian has attained this swift and potent touch except Machiavelli in his best prose and Carducci in his best verse. To



Photograph from Vander Weyde

An illustration of Dante's “*Inferno*,” drawn by Gustave Doré. Virgil is shown explaining to Dante what it all means. Men have become trees, and in the foreground is the wretched figure of Pietro della Vigna, half-man and half-tree. Pietro had committed suicide

find a conciseness equally graphic we must go back to the great intellectual poets of Greece and Rome, to Æschylus and Lucretius.

Where other poets of equal power had a perfected style and language ready to their hand, Dante in order to create his effects had almost to create a new language. The rude Italian vernacular had only lately been refined to serve the ends of lyrical poetry. But the “sweet new style,” of which Dante himself had shown himself a master in the “*Vita Nuova*,” had at best a feminine fluency and softness. In Dante's hands it becomes as hard and clear-cut as granite. Profuseness yields to Spartan strength and brevity, and all this without sacrifice of passion and variety. We have the paradox of a flexible hardness.

When I think of the dense yet impassioned eloquence of Dante, I seem to see again that massive boulder of rose quartz which rises from Emerson's grave. It stands flinty and glittering in the greensward, but from its heart comes softly an ineffable and delicate glow, passion from discipline. There is something like it in the music of Bach, where emotion swells and moves in the precise and mathematical order of a fugue.

Here are only poor hints of the reasons why Dante lives after six hundred years, when so much that he believed is either moribund or dead. Yet even as a philosopher and moralist Dante may still have much to teach us. In particular a too tolerant and morally relaxed age might profit greatly could it regain his clear sense of sin, while an era that increasingly transfers all moral and political values to the side of material prosperity has something to learn from Dante's passion for the values that are spiritual and eternal. But such issues need not be labored, for if men can be induced to read the poet, and they are reading him more than ever, they can not escape the impress of the philosopher and moralist. And the least philosophical of us may well ponder that definition of philosophy given by Dante in the “*Convito*,” namely, “To live lovingly with truth is philosophy.”



# In Praise of Ants

Solomon's Admonition Taken Too Seriously

By Philo M. Buck Jr.

BIOLOGISTS and even some sociologists are never weary of contrasting the exquisite orderliness of an ant hill with the capricious disorder of most human institutions. Not content with successfully assigning each member of the community his specific duty, the ant has gone farther to assure the individual, if not the craftsman's joy in creative work, at least a decidedly uneasy conscience if the work be not adequately performed. Witness the twinges the poor laborer only too evidently feels if a benign providence, in the shape of a meddling human hand, relieves him of the responsibility of transporting a dead fly, thrice his frail size. Imagine a member of the dockyard's union similarly grieved in conscience.

A socialized state with a perfectly socialized conscience. Queens, without the queenly function of ruling. Workers, with no reward for their toil but more work. Warriors, with no incentive to fight save *pro bono publico*, and the assurance of a noble deed worthily done. Males, to live a short, inglorious life, only that there may be new generations to take the place of the old. And, above all, a perfect division of labor—no aspirations for new fields where individual capacity may be satisfied. Bootblack, porter, herdsman, nurse, soldier, slave, each with his separate duties and all working with an eye single to the good of the community. An edifying picture!

Indeed, so far has the state been socialized, biologists tell us that there is, properly speaking, no individual. It is a union more intimate than that of the organs in the human body, for even a wise man has been known to soothe his nose with tobacco or his palate with plum pudding, in full awareness of coming sleepless hours and shattered nerves. We are not such stuff as ants are made of. For, when the colony is attacked, the workers, though weak and defenseless, scorn individual flight, but rush to the nest to save the children and cattle. Nor do their enemies, as lesser breeds might do, eat the defenseless young they capture, or slay them out of hand. They rear them as slaves, and slaves they remain. When a torrent drowns out a nest, it is not a question of *saute qui peut*, with leaves and twigs as life rafts. But as though they had practised it all their lives, they form a living ball, with queen and young in the centre, workers on the periphery, and float down the stream until the ship of state has found a new Ararat. And the unlucky workers who float below are given a chance to come up for air, while others take their places. It was not in vain that the wisest of monarchs scorned not the wisdom of ants.

There is perfect conservation of energy, no waste motion, apparently no recreations, not even the elsewhere necessary balm of sleep. The queen's romance is brief, and on its conclusion she divests herself of wings, and ceases even to partake of food—a more than Spartan loyalty to social ideals—and becomes a mere egg-laying machine, continuously at work. The males, their work done, pass into ant Nirvana. The workers have no romance, for as soon as the carefully tended eggs hatch they at once begin a life of utterly prescribed work. If the state finds food in abundance and multiplies beyond comfort, there is the founding of new colonies with new excavations and new work.

Imagine the reception a walking delegate would receive were he on a sunshiny afternoon to stroll into an ant colony, with his message of an eight-hour day. Imagine a capitalist or a king of industry dropping in to interrupt

the ceaseless egg-laying of a queen, to discuss the prerogatives of royalty and the sanctity of property. Imagine a propagandist approaching the politically insignificant males with the doctrine of sex equality. For here is a state of utter complacency, the complacency of a perfectly geared and well-oiled machine, whose only enemies, like wind and weather, are forces beyond its control.

But by the same token the aforesaid wise monarch might well have been thinking of ants when he complained there was nothing new under the sun. For ants today are the same as their ancestors untold generations ago in the pliocene age. In the days when their hills were demolished by dinosaur or megatherium they excavated and built with the same careful precision they exhibit on my lawn today. They have retreated from continental ice pack, only to come back after a hundred thousand years to take up housekeeping in the same apartments and under the same rules. There is something inexorable, yet monotonous, about ants. Even a flood or an earthquake, a volcano or a glacier, can teach them nothing more than they already know. They are the professionals of life. There is no try about them, no amateurishness or openmindedness. They know what they know in spite of cataclysm or precession of the equinoxes. They have seen the order of the universe change from reptile to mammal, from anthropoid ape to man, but they in sublime self-satisfaction have remained what they were—ants. What they have been, they are.

Yet even the most callow of the unschooled may in a moment of recklessness picture to himself the undergraduate days of even the most wise and eminent. And there must have been a time when even an ant could afford to pay his registration fees in the school of experience. But, and this is the significant thing about the ant, he graduated, *maxima cum laude* to be sure, and fully equipped to battle for life under the most varied environment. He was made free of this earth from ice pack to ice pack, and from continent to remotest isle. So complete has been his education that he has never again felt the call of the school bell. He has achieved perfection.

And here again the biologist comes forward with his explanation—the moment that a species begins to specialize progress ceases. With specialization, to be sure, comes the answer to innumerable practical questions of life: security, getting a living, order and rest in a state, individual responsibility in the large—all these problems, to whose solution so much of life is devoted, are considerations of trifling import, if specialization and division of labor be finally achieved. The gospel according to ants would be interesting reading and instructive, were it available. It would have an interesting chapter of beatitudes, different from ours. But ants have paid for this gospel and for their specialization. Like some human societies of the past, they seem to have arrived at a point beyond which there is neither desire nor power to go. Their history has been written, what now remains is endless and monotonous repetition.

It would be interesting to skip an aeon or two and take a glance at the next geologic age—a brief glance might be all we could endure. Will a new openminded amateur at life in that day, a million or more years from now, with his home somewhere between Neptune and Mercury, be writing monographs on the marvelously ingenious and highly specialized *homo sapiens*? Will he, as we today, stand amazed before the perfection of the machine this almost intelligent creature man has made for his life and the life of his community? Will he, as we today, draw analogies from the perfection of human institutions, marvel at their stability—and their monotony? Will he, when he adds to his Scriptures a new Book of Wisdom, chide as of old a king chided, but with a difference: "Go to the man, thou sociologist, consider his ways and be wise"?



# History Teaches . . .

By Hendrik van Loon





# The Story of the Week

## The Week at Home

### Unemployment

THE appeal of the President to Governors and Mayors to address themselves to the task of carrying out the recommendations of the National Conference on Unemployment, adopting the scheme of organization suggested, has found eager response. Throughout the country the work is under way. If things work out according to plan Mr. Hoover will have again strikingly demonstrated his constructive genius. We shall not have to hang our heads because, whereas granaries are bursting with their foison and everywhere there are almost disgusting displays of luxury, millions lack for food and shelter, are mortally touched in their pride, are converted from happy citizens into enemies of the state; and not because we would have it so, but because imagination (in a man of place) was required to suggest an adequate remedial plan. There are many men of genius, but they are not often found in Government, where they can bring their plans to bear at the right time. Britain and other nations in like plight will be watching the experiment.

### A Question of Honor

On Monday, the 10th, the Senate will vote on Senator Borah's bill which would exempt American coastwise shipping from payment of tolls at the Panama Canal. In our opinion passage of the bill would be insolent, as arrogating to ourselves the right to enforce our own constructions of agreements with nations with which we have arbitration treaties; it would be dishonorable, or at any rate not nicely

honorable (we see no difference); finally, it would be completely at variance with the aims set forth by our Government in summoning the Washington Conference, and would go far to defeat those aims. Passage of the bill by the Senate only, even if it should fail to get by the House, would, we think, be a terrible blow to the Washington Conference. We have an arbitration treaty with Britain. The question at issue should be adjusted by diplomacy or decided by a court of arbitration. We simply cannot see it any other way.

### The Foreign Debts

Secretary Mellon urges prompt action on the Foreign Debt Refunding Bill; we hope he will get it. Generous action on the foreign war debts would greatly improve the international economic situation, and by the same token the prospects of the Washington Conference.

### A New World, My Masters!

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont has given the organization of the National Woman's party \$146,000 for purchase of land and buildings within the shadow of the Capitol. A new world, my masters! Women are agitating for a Constitutional amendment which should annihilate any discriminations, political, etc., against women, which may still exist.

### Sad Plight of Our Merchant Marine

Only 420 of the 1,464 steel ships controlled by the Shipping Board are in service; so slack is the demand for tonnage, at so low an ebb is our present foreign trade. The ships out of service will lie at their moorings, a continuous expense for upkeep rather than a means of profit.

### This "Wondrous, Wondrous Age"

The total money value of the industrial output of the United States during 1920 has been computed by the Census' Bureau as approximately \$63,000,000,000. Attendant figures are interesting: 9,103,000 wage earners; 289,768 manufacturing establishments, with a total capitalization of approximately \$44,500,000,000.

### An Example of Consistency

A certain gentleman of Indiana who gained much *kudos* in his native state as a lecturer, especially with a lecture entitled "Why Worry?", committed suicide the other day because of financial difficulties, leaving a wife and five children—to worry.

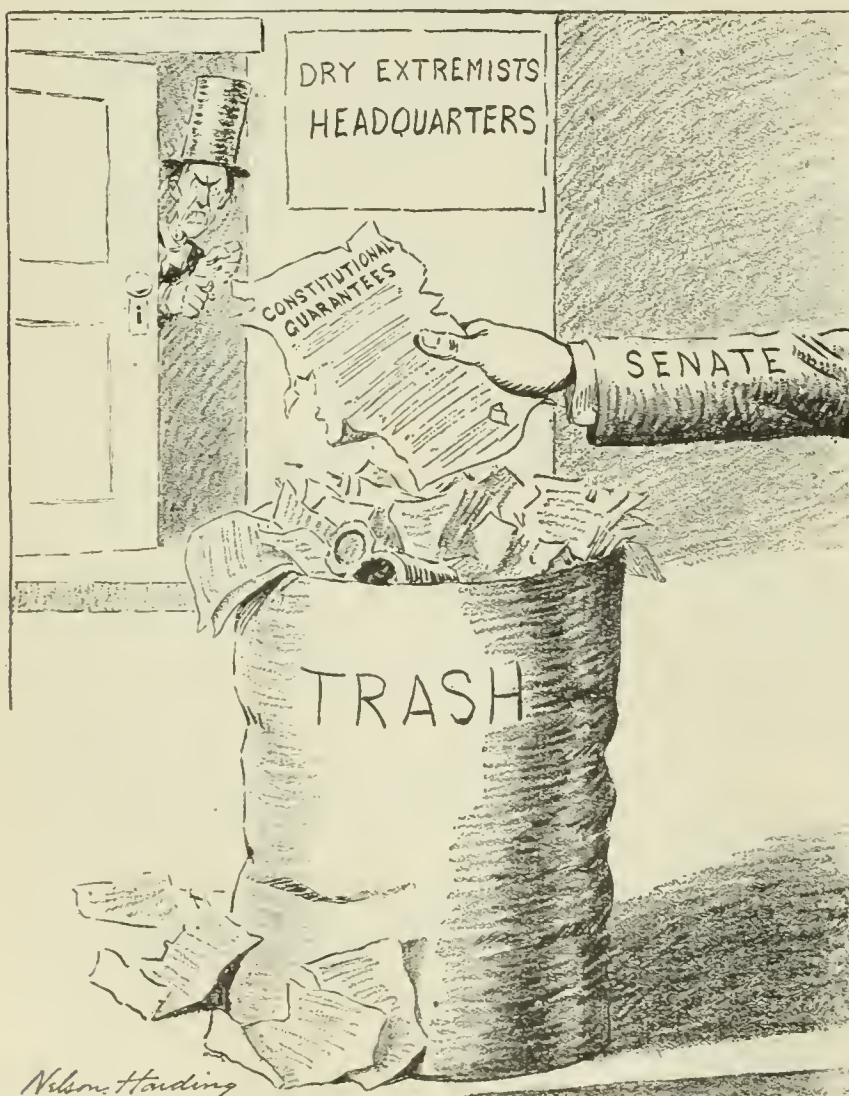
## The British Empire

THE Irish delegates to the conference concerning Ireland have arrived in London.

The job of reducing to complete subjection the insurgent Moplahs of Malabar promises to be a long and nasty one; mostly jungle-work, for which the trusted Ghurkas are being largely used. Of Gandhi's campaign for non-coöperation with the British in India, we have little authentic information; it is impossible to say whether upon the whole it progresses or recedes.

From Winnipeg comes an account of crops covering thousands of acres in western Canada rotting because harvesters could not be procured except at exorbitant wages. Alas! when so many millions are starving in Russia.

Lloyd George has a respite of Irish worries, yet still he may not rest. The unemployment situation will not let him sleep.



Nelson Harding  
Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Salvaging another scrap of paper



## An Important Agreement

A VERY important agreement drawn up by Dr. Rathenau, German Minister of Reconstruction, and M. Loucheur, French Minister of the Liberated Regions, is now being debated by the French Parliament and the German Reichstag. Ratification by both legislatures seems assured. The agreement provides for deliveries by Germany to France during the next five years of materials, manufactured articles, etc., to the value of seven billion gold marks; in lieu of the gold marks. Sundry provisions are calculated to smooth the process of reparation by Germany, of reconstruction by France, and to oil the machinery of communication. The arrangement should go far to forestall German bankruptcy, and its institution will be quite the most reassuring event since the armistice. 'Tis informed by a spirit of compromise. Strange it has attracted so little notice; it must sadden the defamers of France.

## That Upper Silesian Question

IT is rumored that the League Council will have its solution for the Upper Silesian question ready on Thursday, the 13th. A member of the Council is quoted as saying that it will please both sides. Fine, fine; but our spiritual home is Missouri. We need to be shown; seeing is believing. Well, suppose the decision does not turn out to be pleasing. What then? During the past weeks of calm in Upper Silesia the permanent residents of German and Polish blood (the rows there have been kicked up largely by non-permanent residents) have been talking things over with each other. And they have discovered that they are primarily Upper Silesians, and only secondarily Poles or Germans; that they passionately love their little country and are passionately opposed to a division of it; that what they want above all is the substance of autonomy, and, if they can be permanently secure of that, the question of nominal political affiliation, whether with Germany or Poland, doesn't so much matter. Such an arrangement, however, [virtual autonomy but federation with Germany or Poland], would be "tickle" to make and still more "tickle" to maintain. Well, then, if autonomy's the thing, why not complete autonomy, why not independence (with guarantees of the open door)? But, alas, Upper Silesia is a veritable arsenal of the raw materials of war, so that until the millennium its independence must needs be precarious. So, from whatever angle you view the Upper Silesian question, it is *some* question. Let us hope the League Council have found a way.

## The Burgenland

THE Council of Ambassadors told the Hungarian Government to clear all armed Hungarians, regulars and irregulars, out of the Burgenland before a date now passed. The Hungarian Government has withdrawn its regular troops, and has formally turned over the Burgenland to an Interallied Commission of Control, but declares itself powerless to control the irregular bands. That is true enough, now that the regulars are out of the district. But, one may ask, should not the regular troops, before evacuating, have dealt with the bandits? The answer is that it is not probable that the regulars, sympathizing as they do completely with the irregulars, would have obeyed orders to act against the latter. Moreover, it is not at all certain that, had they obeyed such orders, they would have been successful.

The Burgenland should long ago have been turned over to Austria, as required by the Treaty of Trianon. Since Austria, thanks to the Allies, had no army deserving the name, and since the Allies had permitted Hungary to develop a formidable army, it was up to the Allies to oust the Hungarians; it is still up to the Allies. The Interallied Commission of Control are at Odenburg, with no troops to enforce their orders, while the insolent Hungarian bands roam the country, terrorizing the people and laying them

under contribution. The ultimatum of the Council of Ambassadors threatened "consequences" if it were not complied with. What was meant by "consequences"? Many thought a mandate would be given to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, or Italy, or to two or all of these powers, to clear the Burgenland of Hungarians. But there seems to be a little difficulty about such a mandate. It is rumored that Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are eager to have a "corridor," to include the Burgenland, joining them; and that Italy, therefore, thinks it would be wickedly putting temptation in their way to offer either or both the mandate. Italy, of course, would take on all the Slavs in creation rather than see such a



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service

*Keep it quiet until the company goes*

corridor established. Perhaps in return Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have their little reasons for not wishing Italy to have the mandate. Yet all three hate Hungary as the devil hates holy water.

At all events there is the preposterous situation: bands of Hungarian fire-eaters infesting the Burgenland and flouting *à la mode* the Allies, who do nothing pursuant to their threats, while poor Austria is deprived of her own and quite unjustly humiliated.

[And now comes a report that the Allies have asked Italy (herself a much interested Ally) to arbitrate between the Allies and Austria on the one side and Hungary on the other. This is too much.]

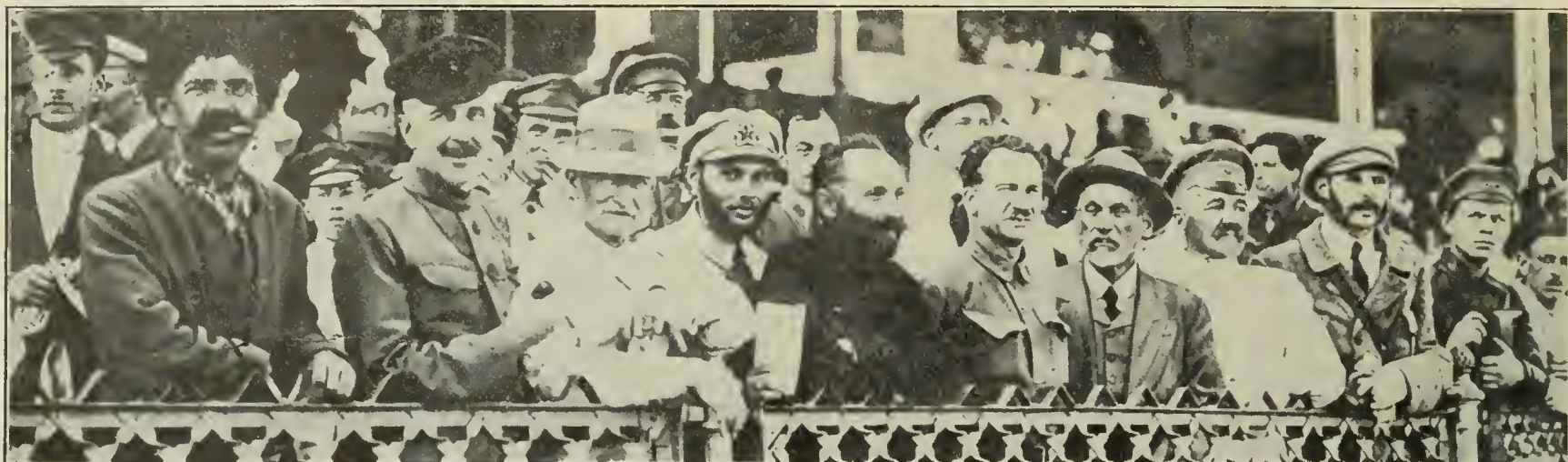
## The Millennium Lags

MR. Charles H. Sherrill, returning to Paris from a trip to the Balkans, reports very heavy mobilizations in Rumania; explained, he says, by the fact of martial law in Bessarabia and Transylvania. Troops were also very much in evidence in Serbia; explained by troubles in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Belgrade he found a large number of Russian White officers, including 450 (?) generals, and a good many men formerly of Wrangel's army and now absorbed into the Serbian gendarmerie.

From Belgrade comes a report that several classes may be called to the colors because of the trouble with Albania and Hungarian concentrations.

The millennium lags.





International

*Contrasts in Soviet Russia—a jolly crowd at the Moscow horse races, held for the benefit of famine victims. Third from the right, in a white suit, is General Brusilov*

## The Polish Ultimatum

ARE the Poles politically inept? They seem to have done well with their domestic problems of reconstruction, but in their foreign policy they have exhibited so little restraint and common sense that one must have grave doubts about their political future. Their behavior toward Lithuania seems to us to have been marked throughout by the extreme of unreason, if not by perfidy and viciousness. They flouted the League Council's recent proposals for a settlement with Lithuania. Their attempt to recover the 1792 boundaries of Poland was one of the most ill-considered enterprises ever undertaken, and would have resulted in the complete conquest and Bolshevization of Poland but for the genius of the French General Weygand, who turned the tables and pressed the Russians so hard in their retreat that they were fain to make a truce. Whence finally the Treaty of Riga, one of the most unjust and absurd treaties ever made. Poland did not recover the 1792 boundaries, to be sure, but she annexed a large area predominantly Russian in population. She is certain to lose that area some day; even we, who detest the Moscow Government, would hardly blame it for starting a war whose sole object should be to recover that area. Under the Treaty of Riga, Moscow engaged to pay Poland 30,000,000 gold rubles—no very extraordinary sum. But Moscow did not "come across" with the rubles, alleging as reason that Poland had been harboring within her borders General Boris Savinkov and other anti-Bolshevist Russian leaders, and had winked at, if not encouraged, their anti-Bolshevist plots and plans of invasion. [It was reported very recently that Savinkov and the others most obnoxious to Moscow had left Poland.]

In September the Warsaw Government sent an ultimatum to Moscow, requiring payment of the aforementioned rubles, restoration of certain railway rolling stock also promised under the Riga Treaty, and satisfaction in respect of other unfulfilled clauses of the treaty, by October 1; else Warsaw would break off diplomatic relations.

Insistence at this time (when rolling stock is so much needed in Russia to relieve the famine situation) on restoration of rolling stock could not engage world sympathy. And as to the rubles, Russia is probably almost if not absolutely "broke." Moreover, if she has any rubles, she needs them for famine relief. Poland could get no sympathy on that head.

What ails Poland, anyway? To be sure, Poland too is "broke," and needs the rubles; but at any rate Poland is this year producing enough food to supply her necessities. The claims for rolling stock and rubles were probably in themselves just; one's objection is to the time and manner of their assertion.

Well, diplomatic relations were not broken off, after all, and the war-cloud, if there was one, has been dissipated.

Warsaw and Moscow have patched up some sort of agreement, whose nature we do not know; except that, we understand, Moscow is to pay, by instalments, the equivalent of the rubles in raw materials, and that satisfaction is given upon other matters of complaint.

That Poland should agree to a composition is gratifying. But we suspect that France and Britain put a flea in her ear. We doubt she has come to her senses completely. We should like to know what is happening in Poland. The recent resignation of M. Witos, the peasant Premier, disturbed us. Can it be that the big landlords, descendants of those nobles whose incomparable ineptitude lost Poland her liberty, were responsible for the Polish ultimatum? If they are in control, the Polish Republic is pointed toward disaster.

It is a great pity that Poland, whose revival as an independent state was one of the most satisfactory results of the war, should, by the character of her foreign policy, have alienated so much of the warm sympathy once felt for her.

## 'Tis Pity

THE International Commission of Relief for Russia (child of the Supreme Council) is meeting again at Brussels, with eighteen nations represented. Hitherto it has displayed an almost incredible inertia. While it talks, Kalinin, head of the Russian Central Committee for Famine Relief, declares that reports just arrived from the provinces show that the famine area is increasing. He estimates the total number of starving as 25,000,000. At the same time *Le Matin* of Paris discloses that French Bolsheviks have recently received from Moscow fourteen million francs for propaganda purposes. Might not this money be more properly applied to famine relief? asks *Le Matin* pertinently. If the report is correct, 'tis pity. Also "it is a pity," as Nansen says, "that with Argentina burning her spare grain in furnaces, American wheat rotting in granaries, and Canada's bins bulging with 2,000,000 or more tons of corn more than she can use, these Russian millions should die of starvation." Yes, 'tis pity; 'tis great pity that many things are as they are.

Litvinov, replying to the recently made British charges of Bolshevik violations of the Russo-British trade agreement, says that "the British Foreign Office was misled by a gang of professional forgers and swindlers." It seems to us that the rejoinder, though strong, is a trifle vague.

We reported last week that, through a mighty effort of the Soviet authorities, a greater area had been planted with winter seed grain in the famine region than was planted last year. Our information seems to have been incorrect. The area planted is less, but even at the lowest estimate it represents an extraordinary last-moment effort of the Soviet authorities.



## Makhno

**M**AKHNO, the Ukrainian Green or peasant leader, has taken refuge from the pursuing Reds, in Bessarabia. This Makhno is a strange fellow, about whom, as about Napoleon in his lifetime, a cycle of legends has formed. He is only five feet tall, but with the shoulders of Ajax and the arms of a gorilla. One doubts that Makhno has any political principles. You could never tell at evening on which side he might be found fighting in the morning. Mostly he has fought for his own fist, for plunder. A kind of Robin Hood this Makhno, who has robbed the rich to give to the poor; not without a rustic sense of humor—at any rate, the sight of a rich man thoroughly pilled always tickled him mightily. He probably has little military talent, though he has been reported as commanding 60,000 men. Moscow demands that Rumania turn him over; she would take particular pleasure in his execution. We hope Rumania will do no such thing. The movies cry out for Makhno.

## The Shantung Controversy

**T**HE Tokyo Government offered to negotiate the Shantung matter direct with China, and with the offer transmitted certain formal proposals to serve as the basis of negotiation. In its note rejecting the offer the Chinese Government carefully analyzes the Japanese proposals, and in language of an elegant incisiveness worthy of the French shows that they traverse Chinese sovereignty and integrity and are impertinent, evasive and insincere. The Japanese, we hear, are "chagrined"; naturally. It is said that, despite the almost contemptuous character of the Chinese note, the Washington Government yet hopes that the Shantung matter may be settled before the Washington Conference; it would be so nice to have that embarrassing question out of the way.

## The Glory That Was China

**A**T the most flattering, the popular attitude toward China is one of good-humored patronage; such an attitude is due to ignorance. We could wish that before the Washington Conference this ignorance might be replaced by knowledge and appreciation; that so the popular voice might clamor for decisions concerning China just and recognizing of China's true greatness and dignity. Four centuries before Christ the poet Ch'ü Yüan wrote one of the most beautiful poems now in existence, called "The Great Summons," which poem contains the following bit of political idealism [we use Mr. Waley's translation]:

The roads that lead to Ch'ü  
Shall teem with travellers as thick as clouds.  
A thousand miles away.  
For the Five Orders of Nobility  
Shall summon sages to assist the King  
And with godlike discrimination choose  
The wise in council; by their aid to probe  
The hidden discontents of humble men  
And help the lonely poor.

\*\*\*

Fields, villages and lanes  
Shall throng with happy men;  
Good rule protect the people and make known  
The King's benevolence to all the land;  
Stern discipline prepare  
Their natures for the soft caress of Art.  
Like the sun shining over the four seas  
Shall be the reputation of our King;  
His deeds, matched only in Heaven, shall repair  
The wrongs endured by every tribe of men—  
Northward to Yu and southward to Annam,  
To the Sheep's Gut Mountain and the Eastern Seas.

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At the first ray of dawn already is hung  
The shooting-target, where with bow in hand  
And arrows under arm,  
Each archer does obeisance to each,  
Willing to yield his rights of precedence.

The sentiment about "humble men" is quite modern, is it not? And the lines

Stern discipline prepare

Their natures for the soft caress of Art

are worthy of Plato. And how charming the hint of chivalry and exquisite manner in the last five lines!

The glory that was China shines through those lines. We feel quite sure that that glory has not entirely withered; we think it may revive in splendor under happier conditions, such conditions as may be produced through wise decisions of the Washington Conference.

## The Red Cross in Constantinople

**I**N an interesting letter to the *New York Times* some weeks ago Mr. Henry S. Huntington stated from first-hand knowledge the number of destitute Russian refugees in Constantinople (mostly of the *intelligentsia*) to be about 30,000. A pleasant statement; for other statements have given the number as very much larger. Mr. Huntington pleaded for continuance of American Red Cross help (report had it that all such help was to be discontinued on October 1), for without it, he said, a great part of these people would starve. American Red Cross help has now been withdrawn.

## Miscellaneous

**A** HITCH is reported in the negotiations at Dairen between representatives of Japan and of the Far Eastern Republic. It looks as though Japan would not have a Siberian *fait accompli* ready against the opening of the Washington Conference.

There is a report of fighting between Greeks and Turks near Eskishehr and near Afium Karahissar. Are the Greeks still retreating? We should like details.

The League Assembly ended its session on October 5.


HENRY W. BUNN




Darling in New York Tribune.

Of course our neighbor won't mind our borrowing a few things  
for our party





# EDITORIAL



## How Binding Is a Platform Pledge?

A RIGHT decision on the Panama tolls issue is important in a degree which it would be hard to overstate. It would be of capital importance in any case, involving as it does a question of national honor. It is of peculiar and extraordinary importance at this time, when our country has invited to a conference fraught with most momentous possibilities the representatives of the leading nations of the world. If ever there was a time when the soiling of our name by even a breath of dishonor would be a calamity, this is such a time.

In the face of this situation, it is stated, and there is every reason to believe it to be true, that a number of Republican Senators, while themselves not at all desirous to enact toll-exemption for American ships, feel bound to vote for it because "they regard themselves as pledged by the party platform" to that course.

That this is a fundamentally false view of the duty of a legislator a little reflection ought to convince any thinking man. The degree in which the various planks in a party platform should be regarded as binding on the members of that party, or on those whom they send to represent them in public office, must be judged in view of all the facts concerning the particular matter involved. The platform is drawn up in its final shape in the course of a few hours of hurried discussion in committee—indeed often without any discussion at all. In the midst of excitement and confusion something has got to be put together that will enable the Convention to close up its business with as little friction as possible. Almost never is any plank considered by the Convention itself.

In spite of all this, certain planks in the platform must be regarded as imposing a very real obligation upon the party. It goes before the country in the campaign upon certain promises which the whole nation recognizes as part of a deliberate programme to which it is pledged. Every man of sense recognizes what these are and acts accordingly. But as regards a host of other points covered in the platform, every possible degree of weight may attach to them, all the way from a genuine moral obligation to practically zero. Were this not the case, the country would be placed in the absurd position of having questions of the utmost difficulty and importance settled not by open discussion, not by the deliberate judgment of responsible legislators, but by a decision arrived at in ten minutes' hasty talk among a dozen men gathered together at a midnight meeting of a Convention committee. This would indeed be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the party system. No Senator and no Representative can absolve himself from responsibility for doing what is right and what is wise about such a question as this of the Panama tolls by the plea that his hands are tied in any such ridiculous fashion.

We state all this so emphatically because the principle is one of cardinal importance, and ought to be honestly and clearly apprehended. In the particular instance now in hand, however, a great deal less would suffice. For it happens that the Panama tolls plank is not even on its face a "pledge," for it reads as follows:

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass through the Panama Canal without paying toll.

Here then is a mere recommendation, not a pledge; one of a hundred things touched upon in the platform, and turned over as part of the scrap-bag which our platforms usually are; no emphasis, no solemnity, no promise, a mere prospect. No person who has any sense of the nature of responsible government could possibly hold that the mere recommendation of a hasty party gathering on a question like this, which played practically no part whatever in the campaign, but which is calculated to play an enormously important part in our international relations, could have the force of a sacred edict in determining the conduct of the nation's law-makers.

## Conference Prospects

PRESIDENT Harding and Secretary Hughes may well be gratified at the increasing interest with which the world at large is viewing the approaching Conference on the Limitation of Armament at Washington and the deep earnestness with which the Powers most concerned hope for a successful outcome.

Especially significant are the expressions to be heard in Australia and New Zealand. There is no doubt that the Dominion Premiers felt some chagrin that we did not accede to the suggestion for a preliminary meeting, following the Imperial Conference in London, and with some reason, for Ambassador Harvey seems to have given them assurances in regard to it in which he exceeded his authority. In some quarters, also, the suggestion was made that the Dominions be asked to send their own delegates, independently of Great Britain, which might have been gratifying to the Premiers, though tactless and impolitic. Now, however, after a slight display of temper on the part of Premier Hughes, the vital importance of the Conference to the overseas Dominions seems to be fully realized and a fine spirit of hopeful coöperation is being displayed. The fact is that the question of naval protection for Australia and New Zealand and the share of the vast expense to be borne by the Dominions themselves was one of the most important issues at the London Conference. The Washington Conference looms large to them as a possible means of saving them from this heavy burden, which, it is understood, would be one-quarter of the amount expended.

England is looking forward to the Conference with an interest no less earnest. It may be that at first the British Government viewed the proposal somewhat



lightly, but that day has passed. There is now no thought of participation as a junket, or of appointment to the delegation as political decoration. It is indicated that the Dominions will be well represented and that Mr. Lloyd George will make every effort to be present, even if for but a brief time, to show how deeply concerned is his Government. It has been hinted in the press that it is the intention of the British delegation to bring before the Conference the question of the Allied indebtedness, but that seems clearly to have been an unfounded rumor. While this is a matter of the utmost importance, and one that presses down upon the European situation like an incubus, it would be most unfortunate to inject it into a discussion of issues already sufficiently complicated. Nothing could more surely lead to failure than to attempt to make the Conference a clearing-house for all the troubles of Europe.

In Japan there is to be noted an encouraging friendliness toward the Conference, a greater readiness to accept it in good faith. The tone of the Japanese press was at first decidedly captious and critical, reflecting a suspicion that America was forming a coalition to thwart her legitimate ambitions. Sober second thought and a realization that a race in naval armament with America, with or without war, spells ruin, have altered this tone very considerably. A due regard for Japanese pride and a sympathetic consideration of her serious problem may bring her completely into line. An unfortunate contrast to what is so much to be desired is the feeling aroused by the anti-Japanese campaign waged by many papers in this country.

Another serious danger against which we must be on guard is that presented by the enterprising and energetic newspaper writer who is bound to dish up for the public some daily sensation or gossip. He knows little of history or international relations, and cares less. With a little scrappy reading, and with the reportorial instinct strongly developed, he can keep the columns of his paper hot with rumors, with suspicions, with deductions. To him it matters not a whit that he may be sowing the most poisonous of dragon's teeth. In these days before the Conference he is not, indeed, so dangerous, but when the delegates are assembled at Washington and serious work has begun, his power for harm will be great. Against his capacity for mischief both our guests and the public must be forewarned.

## Some Things That Are Not Pleasant

HAVING just dashed through the pages of the least sensational of our great dailies for a total impression of the week's domestic news, we shall attempt to convey our resulting state of mind:

As a nation, we have the faults of our qualities. As we surpass other nations in wealth, so-called "standard of living," numbers of drug-stores, moving picture theatres, cheap magazines and the like, so we far surpass other nations in the number of our murders, robberies, etc. In murders, hold-ups, suicides, malodorous scandals, automobile accidents (so-called), and such-like activities the week's performance is well up to our usual standard; the guild of moving-picture artists deserves especial mention for recent exploits. We are a nation of optimists, and on the whole that is well, but it would

do us a world of good to think a hundred times as much as we do about the things of which we have reason to be ashamed.

## "Liberalism" in the Colleges

WHEN President Thomas of Bryn Mawr makes a public address on a large question, she can be counted on to say something forceful and impressive. Her address at the Founder's Day celebration at Mount Holyoke College a few days ago displayed her customary vigor and incisiveness, and is sure to have a wide hearing. Whether it will do good or harm is therefore a question worthy of serious discussion.

With what President Thomas has to say about the general question of freedom of teaching we are in most hearty agreement. Her denunciation of the Lusk law as an example of wrong-headed legislation is justified, and while we do not agree with her estimate of the danger of like legislation being enacted "any day in any and every State," it is but natural that her indignation should carry her away in that regard. The whole series of anti-Socialist measures put through the New York Legislature—especially the ousting of the Socialist members—was an offence against the principles that ought to guide a free people; but it should not be forgotten that they got their impetus at a time of abnormal excitement over revolutionary danger, and that they were vigorously opposed by a most impressive array of eminent conservatives, among whom Mr. Hughes bore the most conspicuous part. Miss Thomas cannot be too emphatic in her condemnation of the spirit which would proscribe the dissemination of unwelcome opinions, and make our institutions of learning the vehicle of conservative propaganda; though here, too, in creating the impression that that spirit is dominant in our colleges and universities she is, we are sure, very far away from the facts.

But Miss Thomas does not confine herself to an affirmation of the principles of freedom or to a protest against conservative propaganda. In a few brief sentences she disposes of the whole existing structure of college education; and she indicates with equal assurance the nature of the change to which it ought to be subjected. Let us hear:

Most of our apparatus of teaching—lectures, recitations, old-time text books—really belongs in the scrap heap, especially our text books. Not only our text books but we teachers and we college executives are no longer vital in the eyes of our students. The profound interests to which they vibrate, their currents of passionate thought, sweep by in secret channels unknown to us.

To this state of things the colleges must adapt themselves; they must realize that "the material on which we operate—the boys and girls in the schools and the students in our colleges—has been transformed under our hands into something entirely new and strange." Nor does Miss Thomas shirk the task of explicitly indicating what the colleges must do in order to meet the requirements of this thing "entirely new and strange" into which our students have been "transformed." A shining example is ready to her hand:

Wells's "Outline of History" furnishes an illustration of what I mean. It is history of a wholly new kind and makes a world-wide appeal to the younger generation. Its inaccuracies, if there are any that are avoidable in so vast an undertaking, do not matter at all in comparison to its gripping qualities.



What Miss Thomas—and she is but one of a host of up-to-the-minute educational reformers—wishes to substitute for the outworn methods of the past may therefore be fairly judged by a consideration of the nature of Mr. Wells's book.

For this purpose we shall avail ourselves of one of the most thorough-going reviews that have appeared of "The Outline of History"—a review, moreover, replete with admiration of its remarkable qualities. For Mr. Wells's "unusual powers of imagination," for his capacity to write "superlatively well," for his power of holding the attention of the reader, for his extraordinary feat in presenting the story of prehistoric man, and of man's forerunners, in a way at once scientific and thrilling, the reviewer has unqualified admiration. Far different is it with Mr. Wells's treatment of the history of the past two thousand years. Is this—as Miss Thomas nonchalantly assumes—because of his occasional inaccuracies? Not at all. "Although he makes comparatively few downright errors," says the reviewer, "his story of the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages, and Modern Times is tragically disappointing in view of the hopes he has raised in the earlier sections." Let us look at a few of the specifications:

The various periods and countries are badly integrated, and the reader loses sight completely of the great path that humanity has traveled since its appearance on the earth.

Book V is the history of the Roman Empire. As may be expected, the children of Mars fare badly at the hands of the anti-militarist Mr. Wells. . . . The Roman Empire was "a colossally ignorant and unimaginative empire." It foresaw nothing. It had no conception of statecraft. . . . Even though one may dislike the Romans, the fact nevertheless remains that, during a period of six centuries, they did unify the Western world and did create a world polity—that thing so much desired by Mr. Wells; they did create the system of private law upon which modern jurisprudence is largely based; they did create an administrative system which functions to this day in Latin Europe.

He gives us no evidence of being aware of the vast social changes that were taking place during the fourth and fifth centuries, the silent economic massacre of the lower middle classes, the sinking of the free laborers to a condition of serfdom, the race suicide—phenomena that surely offer some explanation for the decay of the Roman world.

So deeply hostile is Mr. Wells to Christianity that when he does say something nice about it he says something which is erroneous.

And where do we find these criticisms? In the columns of some mossback journal like *The Weekly Review*? No, the review from which we have been quoting appeared in the *Nation*, as an eight-page article under the title "Mr. Wells Discovers the Past." The article was from the pen of Dr. J. S. Schapiro, a professor whose radicalism does not submerge his learning or his regard for the truth; and it was accompanied by footnotes written by two of the *Nation's* editors. The last of these gave the character of Wells's book in eight words: "It is one of the great English pamphlets."

A great "pamphlet" it certainly is; and the word may well serve to define the issue between our colleges on the one hand and the up-to-the-minute reformers on the other. Is the latest thrilling pamphlet—however brilliant in nature and however expanded in size—to furnish the groundwork of the education of our young men and women? Is it to be the chief concern of the colleges to feed the minds of our "new and strange" young people with stuff which they will "turn to like famished kittens" and "lap up like new milk," as Miss Thomas tells us has happened with Wells's "Outline"?

Is their desire for a delightful thrill to be gratified at the cost of the sense of intellectual responsibility, to say nothing of the habit of sober study and painstaking thought? The notion that, either in history or in any other subject, a propagandist pamphlet that brushes aside all difficulties—that presents everything from the simplified standpoint of a facile writer exploiting a pet theory—can give to students that intellectual equipment which is the prime purpose of the colleges is worthy rather of some happy-thought journalist than of a representative of learning or culture.

To any one imbued with the essentials of a liberal education, this is so obvious that one wonders how a notion so crude can be seriously entertained by any person of ability. But the explanation is not far to seek. What troubles the people who are so distressed about the alleged narrow-mindedness of our colleges and universities is not that they are committed to one side of present-day controversies but that they are not committed to the other side. Miss Thomas, for example, honestly thinks that all she is concerned about is that the professors should teach the truth as they see it; but what she really desires is that they should teach the truth as *she* sees it. She swallows Wells at a gulp; and because others are less ready to perform that feat she jumps to the conclusion that they are either stupid or coerced. But if some magnificent "pamphlet" were to appear which presented the history of civilization as a continuous exhibit of the blessings of private property and the splendid potentialities of the existing order, what an outcry would she make if that were to be adopted as the groundwork of the history courses in our colleges! The up-to-the-minute educational reformers live in an atmosphere of inverted orthodoxy; whatever is new is right, whatever is old is wrong. That is their creed; and they are just as anxious to make it uncomfortable for any professor who does not act upon *their* creed as is the most narrow-minded college trustee with *his* creed. In the meanwhile, our colleges and universities go on, and we trust will continue to go on, with their eyes fixed on the upbuilding of their students' minds, the enlargement of their outlook, the training of their faculties, and not upon their subjection to any propaganda, either conservative or radical.

## Pertinax Reconsiders

A MOST encouraging change of sentiment concerning the Washington Conference is to be observed in France. The *Echo de Paris* is to a considerable degree the echo of the French Foreign Office, and its leading contributor on international politics, who writes under the name of "Pertinax," quite generally reflects official opinion. Not long since Pertinax was inclined to treat the Conference lightly as a good-natured attempt on the part of President Harding to make good his election promises, but one likely to result only in a futile discussion of Pacific problems—a subject not of immediate interest to France. Pertinax now admits that he was in error and realizes to what an extent the peace of the world, and therefore the opportunity for France to recover, depends upon the successful outcome of that meeting. He is impressed with the danger of an impending struggle arising out of the conflict of American, British, and Japanese interests in the Far



East, and recalls how different might have been the results if in 1912 London, Berlin, and Paris, calling in other states, had undertaken to settle the outstanding differences and conflicts by negotiation. We can understand that to France the military rather than the naval side of disarmament looms large and that her first concern is the matter of German reparations and her own future safety. We ourselves have obligations toward her that have been sadly neglected, but her best hope lies, not in injecting these problems into the Conference and thereby complicating its task, but in assisting to solve the immediate problems of the Conference. The success of the Washington Conference would afford the best assurance of the resolution of her own difficulties.

## A Mongolian Fancy

A DISPATCH from Moscow avers that General Baron Ungern-Sternberg has been captured and, with some sixty of his officers, tried by court-martial and executed. This Ungern-Sternberg took over from Semenov a part of the latter's collection of Buriats, Mongolians, Russian adventurers and the like, and apparently received accessions of similar sort. For many months past he has been operating (apparently from the northern edge of Mongolia as a base) against the Far Eastern Republic, fighting the republic's troops and Muscovite detachments sent to their aid. He has also been more or less active (to what extent and with what ends in view it is impossible to state) in Mongolia. Dispatches have magnified, minimized, and distorted his operations. Today he would be shown in full feather, all conquering; the next day he had moulted every plume and was done for. Only a little while back Chicherin issued a manifesto, declaring that he was going to keep Muscovite troops in Mongolia till they had "liquidated" the Baron and made Mongolia safe for Bolshevism.

Few countries interest us more than does Mongolia. O Semenov, once more, where art thou? We cannot persuade ourselves that Bolshevism is conformable to what we like to think of as the proud genius of the Mongolians. Proud genius? Yes. The Mongolian slumber is indeed profound; but we seem to hear the giant mutter in his sleep and turn upon his side; we can almost fancy him shaking his matted locks and leaping upon his feet, panting for action.

In 1206 Mongolia seemed about as much asleep as now she seems. Jenghiz Khan had just made good his possession of a little patrimony on the banks of the Onon, when suddenly he conceived the idea of Empire. In 1241 his grandson Batu rode into Pest and Cracow. Under Kublai (1258-94) the Mongolian Empire stretched from the Black Sea to the Pacific, from the Siberian tundras to Burma. And observe that the troops of Jenghiz were the *best appointed* in the world; his tactics the best, his strategy incomparable. This Mongolian race has displayed genius of the highest order; and not only military genius, as in Sabutai Bahadur, Hulagu, and a host of other generals of the dynasty of Jenghiz, but genius for statesmanship as well, as in Kublai. Kublai was not only one of the most powerful rulers the world has known, but also a clement and tolerant ruler, with a passion for learning

and for every kind of improvement. Since the fall of the dynasty of Jenghiz there have been stirrings from time to time. As late as the end of the seventeenth century the Krim Tartars, a mere outlying remnant of the Golden Horde, played the deuce with the Russians.

Yet, after all this beautiful speculation, that report from Moscow, alleging Ungern-Sternberg's capture and death, may be, like so many reports from Mongolia and the Baikal region, exaggerated.

## Children Under Bolshevism

FOR a considerable time the last defensive stand of the pro-Bolsheviks has been the assertion that "Well, anyhow, the Soviet Government takes good care of its children." In February came Lunacharsky's statement, which revealed the fact that the children in the Government homes were "crowded into unsuitable buildings, sleeping four on one bed, shivering in the cold, without a change of underwear, eaten by vermin, starved and deprived of the opportunity to learn." Other official statements of the time or later pointed out the increasing lack of care of the children, and the growth of theft and prostitution. Venereal diseases among children in the cities were shown to have reached amazing proportions. Now comes Mary Heaton Vorse, in a cable dispatch to the Universal Service, printed in the Hearst papers of October 3, which says that "the relief officials report that conditions are worse among Petrograd children than among any seen in any of the other European countries." It is a rather euphemistic way of stating what is known to be the terrible fact regarding the children of Petrograd, but it will do. The pro-Bolshevik journals will of course seek to minimize the importance of all this by pointing out that the lying capitalist press has now and then printed silly rumors from Reval or Helsingfors of Trotzky's flight or Lenin's assassination. This is good buncombe for the boobery; but among more sensible folk it is futile. The real truth about Russia is becoming known, in spite of the pro-Bolsheviks.

## A Fire Prevention Measure

WHILE the country is thinking about fire prevention, and the frightful waste which fires cause every year, it is a thousand pities that one simple means by which that waste could be greatly reduced gets no attention. The throwing down of lighted matches, cigars, or cigarettes ought to be made a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment. Any State that enacted such a law, and made it familiar to everybody by placards in street cars and other public places, would be sure to find results similar to those which attended the like procedure in the matter of spitting. The spitting that used to be so universal a nuisance disappeared as though by magic when this policy was adopted. Only a handful of people were ever actually fined; nothing but the publicity of the placards was required to produce the results. Most people are willing to exercise the slight self-control called for by such a regulation; all that they need is a clear consciousness that to do otherwise is to commit an offense against the criminal law.



# Upper Silesia: the Dilemma of the Powers

By John Firman Coar

[Under the title of "German Actualities," *The Weekly Review* has already published two of John Firman Coar's searching articles, based on his extensive investigations in Germany: the first, a general survey, appearing September 10; the second, on "What are the Sanctions?" on September 24. As readers of *The Independent* are perhaps not familiar with these preliminary articles, which, together with the succeeding ones, present a view at variance with commonly accepted opinion and likely to give offense, an explanation is in order. Professor Coar is a thorough scholar and competent observer. A professor of German and a loyal American, he gave up his professorship because of his hatred of Prussianism and his detestation of hyphenism, which he denounced in season and out of season throughout the war. He can not be accused of pro-German sympathies. We are convinced of his loyalty and sincerity, and because of his first-hand observation believe he deserves a hearing. We do not stand sponsor for his views and are not prepared to accept his conclusions, but we feel we are doing a real service in placing his material before our readers. Concerning his good faith we are inclined to recall the old Chinese saying that the friend that is not afraid to say unwelcome things is the friend that lasts.]

UNTIL Mr. Lloyd George warned the world that Upper Silesia was in the way of becoming the future Ireland of all Europe, Americans paid small heed to Article 88 of the Treaty of Versailles (Part III, Section VIII) and the Annex. Much less did we take the trouble to compare this Article with the corresponding article of the Treaty as originally drawn, or to note the difference between the boundary of Germany and Poland as delimited in the first and in the final draft of the Treaty (Part II, Article 27, 7). In the first draft, part of the boundary followed the line that separated the administrative districts of Middle and Upper Silesia, thereby assigning Upper Silesia in its entirety (excepting the southwestern corner, which was awarded to Czecho-Slovakia) to Poland. When the proposed separation of Upper Silesia from Germany became known, the Upper Silesians themselves registered an indignant protest. This drew attention to the proposed violation of the rights of small peoples, and resulted in the decision to submit the question of "Poland or Germany" to a plebiscite, and to regard "the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and the geographical and economic conditions of the locality" in determining the frontier line of Germany in Upper Silesia. The plebiscite was taken March 20, 1921. There were cast:

Votes in favor of union with Germany.....	707,488
Votes in favor of union with Poland.....	479,369
Votes declared invalid.....	3,874

Total votes.....	1,190,731
Majority in favor of union with Germany.....	228,119

The result of the vote was to be determined by communes according to the majority of votes in each commune. The communes of Upper Silesia voted as follows:

For union with Germany.....	683
For union with Poland.....	597

Total communes voting.....	1,280
Majority in favor of union with Germany.....	86

In the great majority of the communes that voted for union with Poland a much heavier vote (relatively) was cast in favor of union with Germany than was cast for union with Poland in the communes voting in favor of Germany.

Despite the foregoing results of the plebiscite the Supreme Council could not agree. France insisted on the division of Upper Silesia in favor of Poland, England on its division in favor of Germany. The problem was finally turned over for solution to the Council of the League of Nations, and has by this Council been referred to a special Commission. It is to be hoped that this Commission will reach a just decision speedily, and that the diplomatic chicanery which was responsible for the creation of an

The main arteries of transportation run north-west, in conformity with the geography of the region



Upper Silesian problem will not influence the Council of the League of Nations as it has influenced the Supreme Council. Diplomatic juggling will only make a bad matter worse, and continued delay in arriving at a right decision (not to say a wrong decision) will bring upon Upper Silesia political, economic, and social disintegration, and provide Europe with timber for another conflagration.

## The Political Aspect

Now, what are the facts as to Upper Silesia?

The political rights of Germany to and in Upper Silesia are quite as well founded historically as France's political rights to and in Alsace-Lorraine. The region was Germanized during the Migrations; was occupied thereafter by the Slavs; then became a bone of contention between Poland and Bohemia; was politically organized by the "Piasts," who, while recognizing Polish sovereignty, advanced the spread of German civilization and culture; was formally renounced, by King Kasimir of Poland, to the Crown of Bohemia (1335), together with which it passed later to the Crown of Hapsburg (1547); was brought under Prussian sovereignty by Frederick the Great, as a result of the Seven Years' War and the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763), and as part of the Kingdom of Prussia finally embodied in the German Empire (1870-71).



Even from this very condensed historical survey it appears that neither Poland nor Germany has any very convincing argument to put forward on the basis of *political* right. Had not the Dual Empire (Austria-Hungary) perished through the war, and were the point at issue whether Upper Silesia should belong to Poland, to Germany, or to Austria-Hungary, Poland's and Germany's political claims to the district would be completely overshadowed by Austria-Hungary's. In respect, therefore, to the political rights of Poland and Germany all we can reasonably assert is this: Upper Silesia has been Prussian territory for more than 150 years, and since Prussia became a state of the German Empire in 1870-71, and remains a state of this Empire despite the war, and under the new constitution, Upper Silesia should be regarded as German national territory unless Poland establishes a superior claim to it. It has not been Polish for nearly six hundred years.

The Social Aspect

In view of the outcome of the plebiscite it is hardly necessary to dwell on the unfairness of the plebiscite quite as much as the Germans still do. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the plebiscite was taken under conditions that favored the Poles. For one thing, Polish agitation was not prohibited, or if prohibited was not prevented, by the French occupying the district, whereas agitation in favor of Germany was not only prohibited, but suppressed. Moreover, there can be no question that intimidation of the German population was practised in districts where the "Polish" population was heavy, without much restraint on the part of the French. These facts are mentioned here only in substantiation of the assertion that the Upper Silesian population is between 73 per cent. and 76 per cent. German, rather than only 60 per cent. as indicated by the plebiscite. The customs of the people, including the so-called Polish inhabitants, are distinctly German, and, what is more, so is their habit of mind. It is, perhaps, an unfair argument to point to the prevalence of the German language, inasmuch as Prussian rule saw to it that here, as in Prussian Poland, the Prussian taskmaster did his duty. But it is fair to say that Upper Silesians are quite as German as, *e. g.*, New Mexicans are American. Indeed, Upper Silesia long since developed a feeling of social solidarity so strong that political autonomy, especially since the armistice, became an issue. Anti-Polish in their sentiments as well as anti-Prussian, the major part of the population desired, and still desires, union with the German Empire on the same basis as the other federal states. Partisan agitation has now inflamed racial and religious prejudices artificially. For it must not be assumed that all the votes cast in favor of union with Poland represent voters who can be called Poles. A certain percentage of these voters were Poles. They had immigrated into the region especially since its economic development began under the Prussian régime. But by far the greater percentage was of mixed origin, Slavs and Slovenes in the mining districts, Jews in the commercial centres. That part of the population which the outside world regarded (and perhaps still regards) as Poles is in fact less Polish than French-Canadians are French. Locally they are known as Water-Poles. They speak a *patois* of their own, which is as unintelligible to a Pole as the Polish language is unintelligible to them. But whereas the German-speaking population is, in the main, Roman Catholic, the Water-Poles are Polish Catholic. The pity of the thing is the social (not so much the political) antagonism which has been aroused by the agitation in favor of Polish sovereignty and which, even under the most favorable conditions, cannot subside for years to come. In addition, the "Polish" miner and laborer was led to believe that union with Poland would put him in possession of his German employer's property.

The Economic Aspect

The strongest argument is, however, the economic argument. It favors the continued union of Upper Silesia with Germany. The strength of this argument may be inferred from the social solidarity of Upper Silesia, which rested chiefly on the economic unity of the whole district.

The economic argument has three bearings, one on the welfare of Upper Silesia, another on the welfare of Germany, and a third on the welfare of Europe.

Topographically and hydrographically, Upper Silesia is a unit and as such a unit its economic life was developed. Any division of the region must therefore be economically detrimental to it. To attach approximately the eastern half to Poland and the western half to Germany would impair the economic life of the whole region even to a greater degree than the establishment of a frontier along the Connecticut River would injure the economic life of the New England States. On the other hand, the suggested division into three parts, viz.: the two southeastern districts (Pless and Rybnik) to Poland, the western and northern districts (Ratibor, Leobschütz, Kosel, Oberglogau, Oppeln, Rosenberg, and Kreuzberg) to Germany, and the central eastern districts (Kattowitz, Hindenburg, Gleiwitz, Königshütte, Beuthen, Karnowitz, Gross Strehlitz, and Lublinitz) to an interallied or mixed commission, completely disregards all economic reasoning. Upper Silesians keenly realize the economic unity of the region and it is perhaps not too much to say that they dread its division even more than they dread union with Poland.

Now, if it is plain that Upper Silesia ought not to be divided, then one of three courses must be taken. It must become as a unit either German, Polish, or autonomous territory. The following considerations would seem to be decisive:

(a) The main arteries of transportation (as a glance at the accompanying map will show) run northwest, in conformity with the geography of the region.

(b) The bulk of Upper Silesian trade (partly for the reason just given, partly for reasons to be stated) has been with Germany proper. In 1913, the value of Upper Silesian exports to all foreign countries was 460 million (gold) Marks, to the rest of Germany 596 million (gold) Marks. In the same period imports from foreign countries totaled 145 million (gold) Marks, and imports from the rest of Germany 310 million (gold) Marks. For example, of the 43.4 million (metric) tons of coal mined in Upper Silesia in 1913, there were exported:

To German-Austria.....	5.5 million (metric) tons			
" Bohemia.....	.8	"	"	"
" Hungary.....	2.8	"	"	"
" Galicia & Bukovina....	2.0	"	"	"
" Poland.....	1.4	"	"	"
" Russia.....	.5	"	"	"
Total .....	13.0	"	"	"
to the rest of Germany...	20.0	"	"	"
Consumed in the region...	10.4	"	"	"

(c) The wealth of Upper Silesia lies in its easily mined coal. Largely unsuited for coking, it is excellent for steaming and domestic purposes. Four million (metric) tons of Upper Silesian coal are used annually by the Government railways of eastern Germany, one million tons by the city of Berlin. But in obtaining this market Upper Silesian coal must meet the competition of English coal, which is favored by cheap ocean transportation and of which about 4 million tons are annually imported through the Baltic ports. Can Upper Silesian coal continue to compete if Upper Silesia is no longer German territory? And if entry into the German market is artificially (politically) impeded, how much chance is there to make good the former exports to Germany by increased exports to any of the foreign countries named above? (b)

(d) Upper Silesian industries are dependent on Germany for their market, for the bulk of their raw material (except coal and zinc), for their capital, for their technical and managerial staffs. Prior to the insurgent terrorism, 97 per cent. of the mining and industrial staff of the region were Germans.

Taking into consideration only these facts, with which we may well couple the questionable technical, administrative and organizing ability of the Poles, what is likely to be the economic fate of the region, in which there were employed (census of 1907)



alone in the mines, smelters, metal works, etc., 186,803 and in the chemical textile, paper, and building industries 78,356 workers, or a total of 253,159?

Equally fatal will be the results for Germany. Space permits of the discussion of but one item, that of coal. The following table will show how Germany's production has been affected by the Treaty. The figures include Upper Silesian coal, and are in million (metric) tons:

	Germany including lost territory 1913	Germany exclusive of lost territory 1913	1920
Mined .....	190.1	173.0	130.9
Excess of exports over imports .....	32.0	37.0	21.0*
Available supply....	158.1	136.0	109.9

\*Chiefly reparation deliveries.

Since about one-half of the 20 million tons exported from Upper Silesia went to German districts now alienated (Lower Silesia, Posen, etc.), the loss of Upper Silesia would mean to Germany today (a) the reduction of the available coal supply for home consumption to 99.9 million metric tons annually; (b) the reduction of her annual coal exports by an additional 23 million metric tons, a considerable item in view of her reparation payments; (c) the practical impossibility of fulfilling the reparation deliveries of coal as provided by the Treaty without fatally impairing her industrial life.

Even with Upper Silesian coal at her disposal Germany has extreme difficulty in meeting her most pressing domestic needs. The railways rarely have a week's (in some localities only a few days') supply of coal in sight. Last winter thousands of families in the larger cities of eastern Germany, including Berlin, had to be content with from two to three briquettes of coal daily, some with no coal at all. All public utilities (gas and electric lighting, tramways, heating of public buildings, etc.) are curtailed to a degree that would seem to us, even in war-time, unendurable. Despite the desperate and partially successful effort to increase the available supply of "brown coal" (in 1913: 95 million metric tons; in 1920: 113 million metric tons) and despite the astounding development of electrical power (in 1920 the Rhenish-Westphalian region was supplied with 1,260,000,000 k.w. current), Germany is today facing a domestic coal famine during the coming winter.

#### What Silesian Coal Means to Germany

In estimating the importance of Upper Silesian coal to Germany we must consider at least three factors.

(a) Coal deliveries under the Treaty. (Part VIII.) Until July, 1923, the minimum total called for is 23.4-27.4 million tons annually.

(b) The selection of only the highest grade of coal for reparation deliveries. The average value of the coal left for home consumption is thereby reduced 15-20 per cent., so that the present available supply, including Upper Silesian coal, (109.9 million tons in 1920), has a value of only 88-93 million tons of the standard of 1913.

(c) The necessity of exporting even larger quantities of coal than in pre-war times in exchange for iron and iron ore. The loss of Lorraine and the removal of Luxembourg from the German tariff zone deprive the Rhenish-Westphalian industries of an annual (free) supply of 3.4 million metric tons of iron ore and other millions of tons of pig iron. This amount must now be covered with exports of coal and such exports are well-nigh impossible under reparation deliveries.

In order to press home the very serious problem that either the loss of Upper Silesian coal or the inevitable impairment of the productiveness of the Upper Silesian coal mines under Polish or commission control would create in Germany, I append a table showing the distribution of Germany's available coal supply in 1920, in million (metric) tons.

Used in working mines, etc.....	18.4
Loss in coking.....	5.9
Gas, water, electric works.....	12.4
Government railways.....	15.6
	52.3
Shipping, industrial, agricultural, and domestic purposes .....	56.7
Privately owned railways, etc.....	.9
	109.9 million tons

Bearing in mind that the foregoing distribution was made on the basis of the most economical rationing, we may well ask: How can Germany sustain the loss of Upper Silesia?

#### Conclusions

I have no hesitation in asserting that if we Americans were up against a similar problem and were coincidentally expected to meet an annual reparation account which would stagger us even at the height of our prosperity, any good intentions we might have to satisfy the terms of an imposed treaty would disappear speedily. It is not a question whether Germany deserves the fate some of the Allies would mete out to her. It is simply, in the first instance, a question whether 60,000,000 people can continue to function as a social organism under economic conditions such as those Germany will face if Upper Silesia is not awarded to her. Let us see justice done, by all means, but let us not forget that justice to France, Belgium, England, and all the Allies, including ourselves, can never be done by impairing Germany's economic capacity, much less by thrusting her over the brink of economic ruin.

Lastly, it must by this time be apparent to every thoughtful reader that the disorganization of the economic life of Upper Silesia must seriously affect all Europe. Sweden is suffering today from the disturbance of her trade with Germany, and this disturbance is due in no small measure to the diminution of her exports of high grade ores, of which Upper Silesia took the great bulk. The tables of Upper Silesian exports, given in the foregoing, will alone show how vitally important this region is for the economic recovery of Europe, especially Central Europe. Upper Silesia is even today, merely in consequence of the threat to detach it from Germany, in a state of economic chaos. Actually detached it will fall into a state of political and social chaos as well. To foresee the results requires no profound insight and one may well agree with Mr. Lloyd George's pessimistic forecast.

## The Tide Goes Out

By Clement Wood

THE tide goes out. The snails  
Burrow into the sand,  
The hermits crawl to sea;  
The sodden seaweed trails  
On ridges of new land,  
Lying listlessly.

The stupid starfish hang  
Beneath the drying rocks  
Like leaves gone brown in June;  
The tart and turfy tang  
Of the warm land-breeze mocks;  
The beach is fouled and strewn.

Where the still shallows lie,  
Periwinkles, like beads  
Of jet, worn dull as lead,  
Feed on a crab. Nearby  
A small crab avidly feeds  
Upon another, dead.

The heavy horseshoes make  
For ell-grass shadows; dull  
And rooted is the boat.  
An eel, like a winged snake,  
Flickers away. A gull  
Creaks its discordant note.

Out—out—far out—  
There are unrest, commotion,  
Breakers that burst in spray,  
A wind that whips about,  
And the unending ocean  
Thundering away.



# Drama

## Comedies French and American

"Bluebeard's Eighth Wife." By Alfred Savoir; adapted by Charlton Andrews. Ritz Theatre.

"Thank You." By Winchell Smith and Tom Cushing. Longacre Theatre.

"The Spring." By George Cram Cook. Princess Theatre.

"BLUEBEARD'S Eighth Wife" is described on the programme of the Ritz Theatre as "Alfred Savoir's French farce." It is hardly that. It is neither French farce nor an authentic translation of M. Savoir's witty satire. The American version is, in the main, faithful and literal enough. But by the omission of certain fundamental and significant scenes and characters in the opening act, Mr. Charlton Andrews has tampered with M. Savoir's satirical values and has diluted the spirit of the piece. The incisive strokes of caricature have been wiped out. In place of amusing overemphasis and overstatement, the characterization becomes mild, tame, and devoid of the irony of the original. In these omissions, the translator seems to have dispensed with the very foundations of the satire. And despite the enormous popular success of the play, the result approaches the frankly vulgar, standardized, Broadway bedroom farce.

With an admirable economy of means and ideation, M. Savoir had generated a sentimental and thoroughly dramatic conflict between a representative of the new rich of America and one of the new poor of France. John Brown (translated as "Brandon") is the richest man in the world. He has the inveterate habit of marriage and divorce. He has had seven wives. When he tires of a wife, he awards her a generous alimony and gets rid of her. Nevertheless, he is a stern moralist. He now proposes to Monna de Briac, the aging daughter of an impecunious marquis, whom he discovers in a Biarritz hotel. The comedy deals with the conversion of this Bluebeard, by the beautiful and brilliant descendant of the great line of clever and sophisticated Frenchwomen, to a life of strict monogamy. This she accomplished first by accepting his offer, then holding him at a distance; next by flaunting in his face the innocuous young aristocrat she declares she shall wed after the inevitable divorce, and thus arousing an overwhelming jealousy; then by writing anonymous letters about herself to her desperate husband; and finally by permitting him to discover the seemingly irrefutable evidence of her factitious infidelity. In a word, she breaks his heart. So that in the end, at the very abyss of divorce, the Bluebeard is led to the confession that Monna shall be his last—as in truth she is his first—real wife.

The quality that gave pith and point and pungency to this little comedy, which so skillfully skirted the realm of sentiment, was the daring and intransigent caricature of the American billionaire, a caricature drawn without doubt from those misrepresentative Americans of Dinard, Deauville, and Cannes. Yet this caricature does not make him too absurd for respect. Monna really loves his strength and explosive directness. Contrast with this character the poverty-stricken marquis, practically in the employ of the fashionable seaside hotel, furnishing that aristocratic *eachet* that is so convertible into cash, and hopping about like a bellboy at the direction of the manager, and you may get some idea of the flavor of M. Savoir's satire.

Several factors seem to have conspired, in this American version, to the complete elimination of whatever this play possessed of distinction and wit. The blame is not to be placed entirely at the feet of the translator. It is true he has brought the piece down from the level of comedy to that of popular farce. The interpretation given it by Mr. William Harris, the producer of Mr. Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln" and "Mary Stuart," is similarly devoid of

distinction. To Miss Ina Claire is entrusted the central rôle of Monna, that clever, sophisticated, incisive Frenchwoman. Miss Claire, schooled in musical comedy, revue, and "The Gold Diggers," is young and pretty. She wears charming gowns. But she remains *jeune fille* instead of *femme du monde*. She possesses none of that hard, glittering brilliance of Charlotte Lysès, who in Paris made of Monna the true representative of a race of great women.

Of Edmund Breese, as the American Bluebeard, still less can be said. He misses the humor of Brandon, as he misses the strength. He makes of the rôle the typical stage millionaire, without whimsicality, without eccentricity, and without wit. The rest of the cast was satisfactory, but gave no inkling of the deeper social criticism latent in the piece.

Mr. Winchell Smith's recipe for popular success in the American theatre has served him so often and so effectively that it is finally becoming a bit too familiar. "Thank You," his new comedy, written with a new collaborator (Mr. Tom Cushing), exhibits all the earmarks of this method. Mr. Smith is the founder of what might be termed the *table d'hôte* school of playwriting. You know what the dramatic dinner is going to be—the hors d'œuvres, the entrée, the dessert. You do not take any chances. You have eaten the dinner before.

In the first act there is always poverty and nobility, closely correlated. There is always a prodigal son, redeemed by the process of working for his own living. Moral regeneration always brings with it, in these plays, great financial prosperity. Always, the third and last act is the dessert. Rewards and punishments are distributed. All the characters—even the villains—are submerged in a general wave of prosperity. There are pretty evening frocks, evening clothes for the men, a butler, a dinner party off stage. The forces of hypocrisy and hardheartedness are vanquished, and the good are made rich.

"Thank You" deals with the underpaid clergy. In this case a niece from Paris effects the transformation of the rectory, discovers a great preacher in her uncle, and leads him from rags to riches. In this she is aided and abetted by a ne'er-do-well son of a multi-millionaire, who takes up farming and sheds bad habits. It is easy thus to assume a condescending attitude towards these popular plays of Winchell Smith. The overwhelming fact remains that he succeeds in arousing and holding your interest, and, having aroused it, he does not let it droop. You may feel, like all passengers on a one-class boat, immeasurably superior to your artistic and intellectual surroundings. But in the end, if you are honest, you must express your gratitude to Mr. Smith and his collaborator for an evening of real amusement. In these days of desperate realism and depressing "uplift," this is a gift not lightly to be spurned.

In "The Spring," a weighty drama by George Cram Cook which the Provincetown Players have offered at the Princess, we find the very opposite of *table d'hôte* dramaturgy. It is experimental, and interesting as such, but often unpalatable. Mr. Cook is an architect who dumps on the scene all the materials of drama—the bricks, the mortar, the scaffolding, the blueprints for an imposing structure. But, having marshaled these materials for our inspection, he seems to have forgotten that a greater problem remained to be solved. That problem of building a play, of holding, of leading, of intensifying, and finally of satisfying our interest, the author of "The Spring" quite neglects. This is a lack the more significant because Mr. Cook is the leader of a group avowedly championing the new and untried; and that he is driven to the use of the most childish and naïve of melodramatic effects to sustain our interest affords an illustration of how the enemies of the "commercial" drama pick some of its discarded tricks.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER.



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

ESSAYS ON ENGLISH, by Brander Matthews. Scribner.

*Human and cheerful essays about our language, written and spoken.*

THE BOOK OF JACK LONDON, by Charmian London. Century.

*Two volumes about the author's short and adventurous life.*

A DICTIONARY OF SLANG AND COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH, by John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley. Dutton.

*Fun from A to Izzard.*

AND EVEN NOW, by Max Beer-bohm. Dutton.

*The American edition—and a right pretty one—of a book of essays, commended often but deservedly commended for their wit.*

THERE are, writes Brander Matthews, not a few words of foreign origin which have long been at home in English, which none the less retain "an alien aroma, vague but unmistakable." He is discussing the question, "What is Pure English?" in his new volume, "Essays on English" (Scribner). "One of these words is *rendezvous* and another is *bouquet*. As a noun *rendezvous* has been English for more than two centuries . . . and as a verb it has been English for only a little less than two centuries. And yet—and yet the doubt lingers whether it is really anglicized once for all, whether it is a word of good standing in English. For one thing, it parades its alien origin and it retains its foreign pronunciation. There clings to it still the flavor of the original tongue in which it came into being; and this flavor has a tendency to arrest attention. No doubt it is useful, since it can indicate a meeting appointed both as to time and as to place. In the sense of an hour fixed in advance, *rendezvous* has a synonym in a recently devised Americanism, *dates*: 'let us make a *date*.' One admirer of Alan Seeger's noble lyric has even been bold enough to regret that the American poet did not dare the Americanism—'I have a date with death!'"

It seems to me that it would have been fatal to the poem if Seeger had done this. *Date* still keeps too much of the specialized meaning which *rendezvous* often had in the old romances: that of an appointment on the sly with a girl.

In December, 1917, Quentin Roosevelt wrote from France to a member of his family: "I am commanding officer of what is called the Headquarters Detachment. It includes about six hundred cadets and forty officers. I have to see that cadet affairs work properly—that all the officers do their work—and most

of all, I am the one the colonel hops on if there's any complaint about the cadets. It is really no job for a flying lieutenant. In the first place, it takes all of my time, or rather should take all of it, to the exclusion of flying. And then, too, it is pretty hard to command and discipline thirty-nine other first lieutenants when you are of the same rank and only a few months sooner. I have been working nights on the thing trying to get it organized—then stealing a couple of hours off in the day to fly. . . . These little fast machines are delightful. You feel so at home in them, for there is just room in the cockpit for you and your controls, and not an inch more. And then they're so quick to act. . . . It's frightfully cold, now, though. Even in my teddy-bear—that's what they call those aviator suits—I freeze pretty generally, if I try any ceiling work. If its freezing down below it is some cold up about fifteen thousand. Aviation has considerably altered my views on religion. I don't see how the angels stand it." This is quoted from "Quentin Roosevelt, A Sketch with Letters" (Scribner), edited by Kermit Roosevelt.

There is a legend that a lady once said to Dr. Johnson: "Fie, Dr. Johnson, you have put naughty words in your dictionary!" and that he replied, "Fie, yourself, Madam, you have been looking them up!" Or, as Dr. Johnson was an Englishman, he probably said "looking them out." The process of putting naughty words in a dictionary has been reversed in John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley's "A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English" (Dutton). It is abridged from the seven-volume work, by the same authors, called "Slang and Its Analogues," which was printed for subscribers, 1890-1904. It is shorter, and, from the point of view of those who would make even the dictionary seemly and proper, it is sweeter. It is an interesting work, preceded by a list of dictionaries which have been used in its compilation, the first of them as early as 1440, and including such diverse sources as the "Bang-up Dictionary, or the Lounger and Sportsman's Vademecum" and "The Ladies' Lexicon and Parlour Companion." It is not up-to-date—no slang dictionary ever was or ever could be up-to-date. Even so elderly a slang word as "swank" is given, not with its modern meaning, but as a verb, "to work hard." "Flapper" is given, but its definition shows that the word has greatly increased in respectability; it was certainly an insult to call a girl a flapper in the year when Mr. Farmer reached that part of his dictionary. It is the way with slang, to gather repute, or, quite as likely, to lose it, as time goes by.

The new book may be kept where all can see it. Not so with the old, seven volume edition, now out of print and seldom offered for sale. That was as racy as speech itself, and as curious. Librarians kept it locked up, where it could corrupt no one but themselves,

for they are incorruptible. The great loss in the abridged edition is the extracts and examples from literature—the entry for "brick" in its slang usages, for instance, had citations from the "Ingoldsby Legends," from "Frank Fairleigh," from Thackeray, Thomas Hughes, and George Eliot. English literature had been searched from Chaucer and before to the present time.

From a review by Coningsby Dawson in "The New York Times Book Review and Magazine" of John Dos Passos's "Three Soldiers":

. . . I should be inclined to say that "Three Soldiers" tells not what men thought while they were in uniform, but what the least worthy of them think they thought, now that they're free to wag their tongues and have had time to brood over their grudges. . . . Mr. John Dos Passos seems to have either imagined or remembered every exceptional example of abuse of authority on the part of subordinates, and has pasted them together into a moving picture which he labels a novel. . . . The spirit of the book is all wrong. It implies that every man in uniform above the rank of private was a bully. . . . The men depicted in "Three Soldiers" got out of the war what they brought to it—low ideals and bitterness. They would have got the same out of life if there had been no war. . . . The book fails because of its unmanly intemperance both in language and in plot. . . . There are scenes in it which are tragic and powerful as a storm, but the intention of all this wealth of energy is dismal vituperation. . . . If the purpose . . . was to expose what he [the author] considered to be a nation-wide injustice, he seems to this reviewer to have achieved a nation-wide insult.

The review, from which these sentences are quoted, has come as near to irritating Mr. Heywood Brown of the *World* as anything could do, and he has replied to Mr. Dawson, and even returned again to the attack to quote the critic against himself. Yet it may safely be predicted that "Three Soldiers" will find its chief admirers among those whose political views lead them to see in Eugene Debs one of the real heroes of the war, and who are favorably disposed toward any book which attacks the army—any army. Is not Mr. Dos Passos really entangled in his own views about art? He spent, so it is authoritatively reported, some years in France during the war, driving an ambulance. Would he, in ordinary conversation, or in giving testimony, make any such report of conditions in the A. E. F. as he makes in his novel? You have but to read the book to answer that no sane man could do such a thing. But that form of sentimentalism which is called by its practitioners "realism," forces them to shut one eye, suppress much that is significant, and chronicle everything with a bias toward ugliness. The ambition to be called "the American Barbusse" has been too great a temptation for the author of "Three Soldiers."

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Chautauqua: A Chapter in American Culture

THE STORY OF CHAUTAUQUA. By Dr. Jesse L. Hurlbut. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

EVER since the inditing of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson's countrymen have been great hands at "improving themselves." The author of the Declaration, who was also the author of his own epitaph, made only two claims to lasting fame: one was the composition of his resounding thesis on democracy, and the other was the fathering of the University of Virginia, the first State university in which the principles of democratic citizenship were taught.

It was in the very decade of his death, however, that education took a turn more democratic than he had conceived, with the rapid upbuilding of the lyceum circuits. It was a serious attempt to bring some broad elements of education to the non-collegiate public. In the lyceum programmes there were entertainments, to be sure, and "head-line" lecturers, including the reformers like Sumner and Phillips, the travelogue men—Bayard Taylor in Oriental costume filling a hundred dates a winter at a hundred a night—and the literary dignitaries like Emerson, with fewer engagements and only half the fee. "I bet the American public," said Emerson, "fifty dollars a night that they won't come to hear me." But there were also lectures on astronomy, geology, and physiology, and on physics and chemistry with sparkings and explosions and strange smells that sent the audiences away a little relieved and highly edified. There is evidence to suggest that the experimenters thrived better than did the literary men. Lowell hated the ordeal and wrote with chill irony of the cold trains, and icy hotels, and Arctic audiences, and clammy reception committees who in greeting and farewell limply extended five cold fishtails for him to shake. Holmes fared hardly better, though he resented his hearers less, as his famous Autocrat characterization attests. By the time, though, of the founding of the *Atlantic* and the Autocrat papers, the gathering of the Civil War overshadowed most of such activities and there was a lull for the whole decade from 1860 on.

The seventies were eventful years in the United States. Aside from, or side by side with, the post-bellum resumption of normal life, and the concluding stages in the winning of the West, and the exciting developments that steam and electricity were forcing, all sorts of interesting things were happening in the intellectual life of the country. The modern periodical was in its first hey-day. The *Southern Literary Messenger* and the *Kniekerbocker* were gone, but the *Atlantic*, and *Harper's*, and the *Nation* were thriving, and

*Scribner's Monthly*, and the *Outlook* (then the *Christian Union*) and the old *American* were gradually making way. They were full of information about people and places and processes. The newspapers, on the other hand, had less news and more ideas than now, and displayed the greatest deference for the doings of the literati. Home libraries and books of universal knowledge cropped up with every harvest, and the lyceum was anew a happy hunting-ground for scores of communicative talkers. At the same time Harvard and Yale were burgeoning into genuine universities, California and Cornell and Johns Hopkins were coming up, and fresh-water colleges were being drilled for in every county. Over all the peace of New England Victorianism prevailed. And for rural thousands the country over, the chief form of really overflowing dissipation was the camp meeting—among no sect more markedly than among the Methodists.

Out of this complex came as pretty an example of mutation of species as Hugo de Vries ever cited. Here was an established method of assembling the orthodox; and here was a well developed tendency toward adult popular education. All that was needed for the genesis of something new was a formula for amalgamation, and a man, or men, to apply it. The men were John H. Vincent and Lewis Miller; the formula was that Sunday school teachers ought to have the rudiments of a general intelligence; the new species was the original Chautauqua, which has just completed its forty-eighth season.

Mr. Vincent for twenty years as a Methodist minister had been devising normal courses and lesson helps for Sunday School teachers, and was projecting a teachers' institute in some sizeable town. Lewis Miller, an Ohio manufacturer, a Sunday School enthusiast, and a camp-meeting patron, persuaded him to take his gathering into the woods. With some misgiving the first Sunday School Teachers' Assembly was convened at Fair Point, New York. Later the name was changed to that of the lake on which it bordered. And so in 1874 Chautauqua became a place, an idea, and a force.

Although at the outset the Assembly limited its courses to Bible Study and to Sunday School Methods, it was non-sectarian from the first; and as early as the third season a Scientific Conference was introduced in which even the dread subject of "Darwinism" was discussed by scientists as well as theologians. In 1878 the C. L. S. C.—the home reading course—was started. It was the best of times for just such an undertaking. The scheme thrived in itself—there were 8,000 enrollments in the first four-year class, and within ten years over 60,000 in the four classes then at work. And the project was healthy for the summer Assembly, because it led to the scheduling of more and more lectures of general

popular interest, and made the programmes comparable in scope to the contents of the best magazines of the day—a sort of composite of *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and the *Century*, with a liberal admixture of the *Christian Advocate*, the *Christian Union*, and the *Independent*. Naturally the reading circle soon developed a need for its own organ, and the *Chautauquan* was established. But the C. L. S. C. and the *Chautauquan* passed their prime with the passing of the century, not because the idea was not a good one or because they fell off in quality, but because the idea was so good that it was encroached on by the entire university extension movement until the original venture is now only the shadow of a past.

The year after the founding of the Reading Circle it was the turn of the schools side to develop; and this growth came with a six-weeks' session of a School of Languages—Hebrew, Oriental, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, French, and German, in 1879, and in 1880 with a group of courses in secular pedagogy. The Sauveur School of Languages had been carrying on somewhat amiably and feebly at Amherst for several summers, but this more conspicuous venture attracted wider attention, and roused the college world in general to remark that a six-weeks' unit was too short for any real accomplishment. The idea was *infra dig.* for any genuine institution of learning. But in 1883 William Rainey Harper joined the Chautauqua forces, from '88 to '98 he was principal of the schools; he was succeeded in the post by George E. Vincent for the next ten years; and before the two were through, the Summer School idea had been adopted all the way across the country from Harvard to the University of California.

Chautauqua had led the way here as it had in the case of the home reading idea, and here again the country followed; but with this difference, that there has been no crowding out of the summer schools. Others are larger today—notably at Columbia, Chicago, and California; but none has had a more consistent growth. The Chautauqua schools have avoided even the appearance of competition with the universities at points where extensive libraries or laboratories were needed, and give no degrees or pseudo-collegiate certificates. Yet the calibre of the work in the fundamentals is such that recent summers have seen an adult registration of close to 3000, with a children's enrollment of 1000 more in organized classes and clubs.

In the meanwhile the popular programme has become consistently substantial. More and more it has been the policy to secure for the Chautauqua platform men and women who have done things and written things, and to pass by the professional and Congressional dealers in facile platitudes. Whatever of good exists in university extension lectures is well fulfilled at Chautauqua—the best of it in courses of six lectures running between Sundays, and



the most popular in single addresses by people of high distinction. The music has trailed along after the lectures. It was later in starting and for many years it was no better than the public taste demanded—and in music the public taste always demands less than it will accept. But now the musical instruction is good where it is not actually distinguished, the amphitheatre houses and uses a first-class big organ, and the presence of the New York Symphony Orchestra for six weeks gives Chautauqua what only four or five cities in the whole country can rival.

All these activities have brought with them increased expenses and increased revenues. In the early years the institution was chartered as a corporation not for profit. All fees and salaries have been modest. Recently by popular subscription a bonded indebtedness has been wiped out. And the organization swings through its all-the-year existence, and its sixty days of real life on an annual budget of a quarter of a million or so, all margin of profit going back into the plant.

Of the three forms of work at the original Chautauqua the lecture and concert programme—the showy side of the summer assembly—has been more widely copied than the summer schools or the home-reading aspects. There is a small number of legitimate assemblies, twenty or thirty perhaps, with permanent plants and organizations and regular seasons of from four to eight weeks. Somewhere near a hundred more are somewhat less well rooted. And then there are the "circuits." Probably no one knows the exact number—three thousand is the current popular estimate—of the six-day so-called Chautauquas carried on by enterprising agencies. They move across the map like the strawberry crop, from the Gulf to the Canadian line, six-day programmes complete from star lecturers to camp stools. Some run for six months on tour, but in the Middle West the ten-week circuit is the norm, and the biggest agencies run enough companies to "make" two or three hundred towns. Between these ventures and the original Chautauqua there is, of course, no connection but the name.

Most of the facts here cited, and some of the implications, can be found in Dr. Hurlbut's "The Story of Chautauqua." He writes as one who has been involved in it from the beginning, and so from the point of view of the old Chautauquan. The story is very well worth the telling. Perhaps there is no better proof of the significance of the institution than the anthology of comment and anecdote repeated in every shade of good-humored or derisive or caustic criticism. Naturally it has its amusing sides and its queer angles, just as Wall Street and the Senate and the world's baseball series have. But it is a part of American life, as these other institutions are, and the future historian of the country will not be able to ignore it if he wishes to tell the whole story.

PERCY H. BOYNTON

## Travelers' Tales

FOUR PILGRIMS. By William Boulting. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

MR. BOULTING has produced one of the most fascinating books of the year—as unique as it is interesting. Even the reader who loves to follow strange by-paths, far from the broad highways of fiction and biography, must have missed these four worthies, whose writings are not readily found. There is the stuff for the most gorgeous of romantic poems in this volume, which is as absorbing as any novel of adventure, which awakens visions strange as "Kubla Khan." Beside these intrepid travelers, our modern explorers with their well equipped and scientifically organized expeditions seem but timid school-boys and their discoveries of a few more impoverished African tribes but a most lame and impotent conclusion. Perhaps it is well to remind contemporary self-sufficiency that there were giants in the old days.

The first of Mr. Boulting's pilgrims is Hsüan Tsang. A Buddhist priest, he was greatly troubled by the lack of documents in China concerning Gautama and his teachings. Accordingly, in his twenty-fourth year, A.D. 627, he determined to make the incredible journey to India and there study the doctrines of Buddha. The Emperor refused him permission to leave the kingdom, but to such a bold spirit that was no hindrance, and he ran away. Alone and penniless, he started on his long and perilous pilgrimage of sixteen years, a pilgrimage that took him twenty thousand miles through one hundred and ten states and kingdoms. No résumé can give the faintest idea of his manifold adventures; but one or two incidents may serve as an indication of what he saw and experienced. On leaving the western boundaries of China, he had to cross the land of a fierce and cruel people, the Uighurs, whose very name, modernized into Ogres, has often terrified us. Captured and taken before their Lord-Paramount, he so impressed that ruler by his piety and courage that instead of being eaten he was nearly killed with kindness, for the Lord-Paramount wished to detain him forever. There is nothing new under the sun. Hsüan Tsang, anxious to leave, started a hunger strike, and in four days the Uighur not only capitulated but sped the priest upon his way with warm clothing, an armed escort, one hundred ounces of gold, thirty thousand pieces of silver, and five hundred pieces of satin. Even an Ogre can have a warm heart!

After many perils, Hsüan Tsang at last reached India. He describes the magnificence and liberality of Indian rulers in terms that startle even our own spendthrift age; but he sees also the despotism and treacherous cruelty that underlay that Eastern splendor. Among many scenes that he describes, two impress the imagination. In the country of the Mahrattas, he found an army composed of elephants and chosen fighters. These men went into battle drunk and made their elephants drunk also. "Then they would rush

forward in close array, bearing everything before them; nothing could withstand such an onset." Even in these days of prohibition, we confess to a sneaking desire to witness at a safe distance, and merely as a drill manoeuvre, a charge of intoxicated elephants. The other scene is that of the Sarighârâma of Nâlanda, the greatest monastery and university in the world at that epoch. Here every honor was paid our traveler; he was given the best rooms and ten servants to wait upon him. Here he spent five years in study amid the splendid courts and gardens, the fountains of cool water, the spacious buildings that sheltered ten thousand monks and students, the hundred lecture halls in which not merely the sacred books, but medicine and natural history and all the science and literature of that time were studied. It is little wonder that the scholars of the Far East regard us as parvenus.

Having visited all the haunts and shrines of Buddha, having mastered all that India could teach him, so that he overcame Indian scholars in public disputes, Hsüan Tsang began the long journey home. Penniless, in disobedience to the Emperor's command, he had fled from China; he returned like a prince, with six hundred volumes of sacred writings borne by twenty-two horses. He was given a triumphal procession such as the Romans awarded only to conquerors. Honored and revered, with faithful disciples who treasured his every word, he spent his last years in writing at length the story of his pilgrimage.

Our second worthy is Saewulf, an Englishman who reached Palestine in 1102, only three years after Jerusalem had been stormed by Geoffrey of Bouillon. His story, taken from an all too brief manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is interesting not because of the personality of Saewulf but for the account he gives of the Holy Places and the general condition of Palestine.

He narrowly escaped death at Joppa. As his ship lay in that dangerous roadstead, he was providentially advised that it would be prudent to go ashore at once, and he left the ship. The next morning a storm broke; the ships at anchor off that harborless city could not make for the open sea because of the tempest, and, driven from their moorings, twenty-three out of twenty-seven were dashed to pieces, with the loss of over a thousand men and women, chiefly pilgrims. It took a stout heart to journey to the Sepulchre.

Following the route the traveler takes to-day to reach Jerusalem from Joppa, Saewulf noticed in the mountain passes many bodies of pilgrims who had been murdered by Saracens, and he explains why they lacked burial: "There is nothing to wonder at; for there is very little earth, and rocks are not easy to dig. Even if there were soil, who would be so unwise as to leave his band and dig his companion a grave all by himself?" It is interesting to learn that the Judæan mountains were as barren and rocky



nine hundred years ago as they are to-day.

After visiting all the shrines of Jerusalem, Saewulf traveled south as far as Hebron and north as far as the sources of the Jordan. He had neither the power of observation nor the literary skill of Hsüan Tsang, yet he tells us of all that pilgrims from the West for centuries sought and found in the Holy Land, and he, accordingly, has given us an epitome of the life of many thousands.

Our third pilgrim is Ibn Batūta, greatest of all Moslem travelers. Born at Tangiers in 1304, and having devoted himself to a study of the Koran, it was natural that he should burn with a desire to see the Holy Places of Islam. He started for Mecca in 1325, little dreaming that for thirty years he would wander over the earth, to Russia on the north, to Peking on the east, through Syria and Asia Minor, Persia and India, through Spain and the heart of Africa.

In all his kaleidoscopic existence, nothing is more typical of his life of adventure than his relations with Mohammed Tughlak, the Moslem Sultan of North India. Attracted by the great fame of this monarch, Batūta journeyed to see him, and was made by this capricious tyrant judge of Delhi. With all his learning, his bounty, his magnificence, Tughlak was as bloody as a tiger. "He spared none on account of his upright character or his position. The Sultan had a brother. Never have I seen a finer man. The monarch suspected that he had plotted against him. He questioned him concerning this; and for fear of being put to the torture, the brother made avowal. But in fact, whoever should deny any charge of this kind which the Sultan might choose to make would most assuredly be put to the torture; and death is usually chosen. The Sultan had his brother's head cut off." He was fortunate not to have been killed by elephants in the horrible manner Batūta describes. And if there was terror at this court, there was also magic. In the presence of the Sultan, Batūta saw one Yogi assume the shape of a cube and float above the heads of the spectators until a second Yogi cast his sandal to the ground and it rebounded, hitting the cube, which immediately descended and became a man again. This was too much for Batūta, who was so overcome that the Sultan had him revived with a powerful drug and stopped further wonders lest Batūta should lose his wits. Soon after, he nearly lost his head, for he was arrested with a throng of other unfortunates charged with treason. Batūta alone escaped the scimitar, possibly because he had repeated a verse from the Koran thirty-three thousand times in one day. He had had enough; he resigned all his honors to become an ascetic, a much safer persuasion, but he renounced saintship when the Sultan suggested that he should accompany an embassy bearing gifts to the Emperor of China. This was too good a chance to be missed; what an experience to accompany a royal expedition,

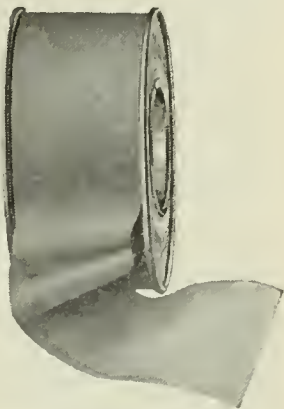
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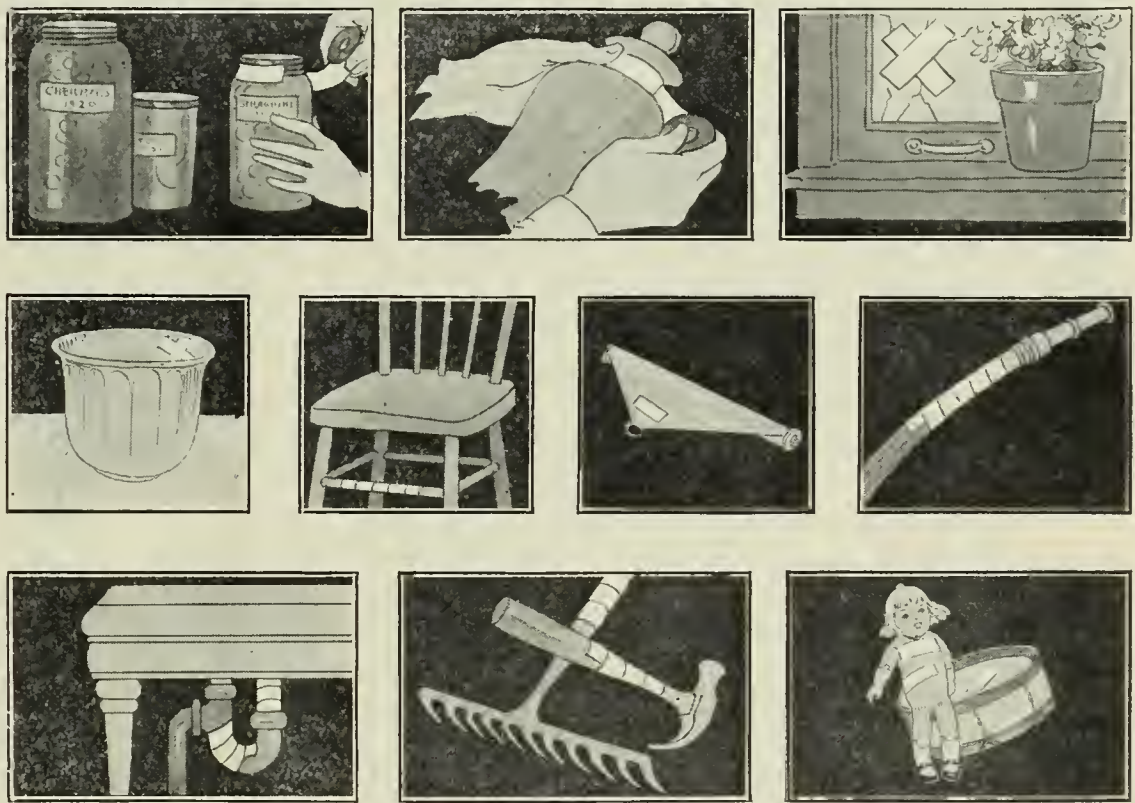
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This picture puzzle game is really not a puzzle at all, for all the objects and parts of objects can be seen. All you need to do is to look sharply at the picture. Your ability to find "S" words determines the prize you win. Everybody can join in. It costs nothing to try, and if the judges decide that you have the nearest correct list you will win \$20.00. However, below you will find full particulars on how to win the \$1,000.00.

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2. All answers must be mailed by Nov. 12th, 1921.
3. Answers should be written on one side of the paper only, and words numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. Write your full name and address on each page in the upper right hand corner. If you desire to write anything else, use a separate sheet.
4. Only words found in the English dictionary will be counted. Do not use compounded, hyphenated or obsolete words. Use either the singular or plural, but where the plural is used the singular cannot be counted, and vice versa.
5. Words of the same spelling can be used only once, even though used to designate different objects. The same object can be named only once. However, any part of the object may also be named.
6. The answer having the largest and nearest correct list of names of visible objects shown in the picture that begin with the letter "S" will be awarded first prize, etc. Neatness, style, or handwriting have no bearing upon deciding the winners.
7. Candidates may co-operate in answering the puzzle, but only one prize will be awarded to any one household; nor will prizes be awarded to more than one of any group outside of the family where two or more have been working together.
8. In the event of ties, the full amount of the prize will be paid each tying competitor.
9. Three well-known business men having no connection with the Minnesota Pen Co. will judge the answers submitted and award the prizes, and participants agree to accept the decision of the judges as final and conclusive. The following men have agreed to act as judges of this unique competition:  
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6th	3.00	20.00	50.00
7th	3.00	15.00	40.00
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bearing as gifts one hundred horses, one hundred Hindu singers and dancers, instruments of gold and silver, and seventeen hundred rich dresses! Arrived after exciting adventures at the great trading centre of Calicut, which gave its name to calico, he put the innumerable presents into Chinese junks. These veritable floating villages, with thirty men to the oar, went down in a storm; the prudent Batuta decided he would not report this to the Sultan and pushed on to China, which he traversed from south to north.

The fourth pilgrim was the Bolognese renegade, Lodovico Varthema. It was at Damascus, in 1503, that this daring and fascinating Italian, overpowered by the desire to see Mecca, abjured Christianity, professed himself a Moslem, and joined a caravan of pilgrims. After the perils of the desert passage, he entered Medina and Mecca, which he describes fully, and then, escaping from the caravan, boarded a ship bound for Persia. Though he spoke Arabic fluently, he was arrested at Aden as a Christian spy, taken before the Sultan of Yemen, and thrown into prison. In a merry episode that would have delighted Boccaccio, he feigns insanity to save his life; the Sultana perceives his ruse, falls in love with him, and takes him from prison. He tactfully escaped her endearments, which would have meant his death, and traversed Arabia Felix, the first white man to make that journey successfully. He reached India through Persia, and at Calicut saw the Moors put to death forty-eight Portuguese prisoners, an incident in the fierce struggle for the markets and plunder of India. He visited Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, the Moluccas; it is possible that he touched at Australia.

Varthema had now seen more of the East than any European had ever beheld, and he longed for home. It was no easy stratagem to escape his Moslem friends and join the hated Portuguese, but he did it and fled to their fort at Cannamorc. He was not yet safe, for the Portuguese fleet of seven ships was attacked by a Mohammedan armada of eighty-four sail, to say nothing of one hundred smaller boats; despite these odds, the cannon of the Christians prevailed. Varthema turned soldier, and, at one time, with six hundred Christians defeated eight thousand Moslems—again a question of guns against bows. Varthema was brought back to Portugal with a patent of knighthood given for valiant service, and the king of Portugal confirmed it. Arrived at Rome, he received full pardon for his denial of his faith and the Vatican licensed the account of his travels because he had corrected "many errors of geographers and the public use and study of his work would be of service." Dedicated to the mother of Vittoria Colonna, Varthema's "Itinerario" enjoyed the popularity it deserved and was in part translated into English by that Elizabethan lover of travels, Richard Eden.

How dull and colorless are the modern European "tours"! Mr. Kipling may be right: Romance may not



be dead; but to-day the romance of travel is but a dull glow-worm compared to the flaming constellations that lured these old travelers. Reading this book we can understand why for centuries the call of the East was irresistible, why the very word India conjured up such dreams of "barbaric pearl and gold." This book is much more than a series of unknown splendors and exciting tales; it explains history.

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## A Stuffed Paterfamilias

MR. WADDINGTON OF WYCK. By May Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Company.

MISS Sinclair seems to be, more than most novelists, one reader's meat and another's poison. I have the impression that there was more unanimity about the book which gave her fame, "The Divine Fire;" though, to tell the truth, I can't recall much about it except. What's-his-name's best trousers. "The Divine Fire," I suspect, was among the first of the new, bold, post-Victorian novels by women. One does remember it as a book of health: with, to be sure, a temperamental hero, but not without bracing atmosphere or animus. About "The Helpmate" and its successors I, for one, have felt always a little unsettled and dissatisfied. They have seemed the work of one whom maturity has brought an increase of technical skill without bringing solidity and poise to match. There is something strained and even hectic about most of this writer's later work. "The Tree of Heaven" is the only one which I intend, some day, to re-read, as I shall re-read its great analogue (and perhaps original) "Mr. Britling." "The Belfry," "The Helpmate," "The Three Sisters," "Mary Olivier," all seem "true" enough to their author and their time—as far as they go. But they never go quite beyond an intense and excited pre-occupation with phenomena, with things and incidents and characteristics. Modern ideas, modern tendencies, stimulate rather than nourish them. They have that note of febrile and aimless revolt, of random cocksureness—that note which may be recognized, later on, as the characteristic note of the early twentieth century. We are clever, we are brilliant, we are revolutionary; but who of us is calm with the calm of the creative spirit? Who builds simple and strong as the masters built? Set Miss Sinclair beside George Eliot or Jane Austen and watch her flutter! Or set her beside Miss Cather, of our own land and time. On the one hand power in reserve and under control, on the other an excited and spectacular effort, an intermittent enslavement to materials and cajoling of them.

Miss Sinclair's publishers, relating "Mr. Waddington of Wyck" to her earlier novels, discover in it "an entirely different method from theirs, sparkling and swift, tremendously clever and amusing." To me she seems to be trying her hand at a new kind of thing for her, but not for us: the British domestic comedy of our day, cen-

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tering in the spectacle of a foolish, pompous, and by no means immaculate paterfamilias. You must be interested in this figure, either as an object of fun or an object of sympathy, in order to justify the play. It is here that Miss Sinclair fails. All her secondary people, her women, at least, are interesting and delightful in so far as Mr. Waddington's existence permits them to be. But Mr. Waddington is so perfectly negligible in himself that their preoccupation with him stultifies them. There are plenty of persons of his type with a human streak in them, some spark of atoning virtue which make them objects of unforced interest and concern to any sympathetic observer. But there is nothing in Mr. Waddington; and it is idle for Miss Sinclair to try to impose him on us as a person of importance. At best, he is a figure for the background, a sort of stuffed ancestor, whose presence may add its touch of piquancy to the free modern action of the comedy. The most we can believe is that his creator sees something in him which she is unable to convey. But it is her business to convey it, her first business in a story of this kind. Contrast this clumsy caricature of the type with a real portrait—the Soames Forsyte, for example, of Mr. Galsworthy's latest story. Mr. Waddington of Wyck is a silly bore, and there is no use asking us to believe that two people like Barbara and Ralph Bevan would find him worth intensive study as a figure of comedy. Nor can we believe that a lovely and spirited Fanny, after many years of marriage, would still see something to hope for in him. Fanny has a bubbling sense of humor, and adores "Tono-Bungay." It is out of nature for her to stomach, far more to yearn over, an unseemly puppet.

"Of Wyck," to be sure, are words that give him a sort of factitious standing, and you may take him, if you can, as a satire upon the country squire of the old régime. He appears on occasion as the dull and fatuous defender of his class against the inconvenient encroachments of the workers, in after-war times. He is a local despot and a bad landlord. But chiefly he is a fool, "there is no more to say." Indeed, there is comparatively little to say for any of the other males of the piece. I am not sure that there is a real man in any of Miss Sinclair's novels—even the wearer of the famous trousers: they, not he, linger in memory. Mr. Waddington's son Horace would neither insult nor adore him in this fashion; and young Ralph Bevan, who has his Waddingtonian compact with pretty Barbara, is simply another nice gamesome girl playing the part, for Miss Sinclair's benefit, of a man. You might take most of their dialogues and turn about the speeches without noticing much difference. . . . There is a good deal of amusing material in the book, if you are easily amused and not too familiar with recent fiction in which the same kind of thing has been done much more skilfully—"Potterism," for instance.

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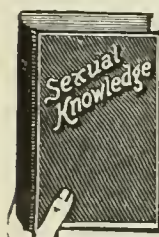
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Published weekly, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1921. State of New York, County of New York, ss: Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Harold deWolf Fuller, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the INDEPENDENT AND THE WEEKLY REVIEW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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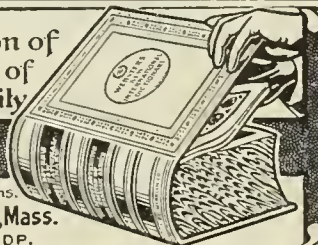
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world-famous poets. Tell what countries  
produced them. Name their greatest works.
  2. Prepare a short account of the life of  
Dante.
  3. How did Dante's love for Beatrice Por-  
tinari reflect itself in his literary work?
  4. What different types of literature did  
Dante produce? Name a book for every  
type.
  5. What is the nature of the "Divina Com-  
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mate things like trees, the wind, rain, and  
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information.
5. What contrast is developed in "The Tide  
Goes Out"? Prove that the contrast em-  
phasizes the writer's thought.
6. Why are the following expressions worthy  
of note? "The sudden seaweed trails"; "The  
tart and turfy tang"; "An eel, like a  
winged snake, flickers away."
7. Read the poem aloud, reading it in such  
a way as to show that you appreciate the  
beauty of its literary form.
8. Show how the writer of "The Hoover  
Touch" makes use of comparison as a  
means of emphasizing his thought.
9. Point out strongly emphatic sentences in  
"The Hoover Touch." By what means have  
the sentences been made emphatic?
10. What is the writer's purpose in the first  
paragraph of "Macao: Relic of Portugal's  
Past Greatness"?

### III. The Drama and Book Reviews.

1. Explain the following expressions that oc-  
cur in critical comment: witty satire, lit-  
eral translation, incisive strokes of carica-  
ture, pith and point and pungency, whim-  
sicality, dramaturgy.
2. Explain what Brander Matthews means  
when he says that there are some English  
words that retain "an alien aroma, vague  
but unmistakable."
3. Who is the "Dr. Johnson" to whom refer-  
ence is made in "New Books and Old"?  
What was his dictionary?
4. The following writers are mentioned in  
"Book Reviews." Tell something concern-  
ing the literary work of every writer: Bay-  
ard Taylor, Emerson, Lowell, Holmes.
5. How did the periodicals of fifty years ago  
differ from the periodicals of today?

### IV. General Composition

1. Write a description of any picture in this  
number of THE INDEPENDENT AND THE  
WEEKLY REVIEW.
2. Write a detailed character sketch of Dante,  
basing your work upon the picture of  
Dante.
3. From the various articles in this number  
draw five propositions suitable for debate  
or for written argument.
4. Make a list of the best titles in this num-  
ber of THE INDEPENDENT AND THE WEEKLY  
REVIEW. Point out the good characteristics  
of the titles you select.
5. Write a letter to the librarian of your  
school library, or of the library nearest  
your school, naming five books reviewed in  
this issue, telling the good characteristics  
of the five books, and asking that the  
librarian purchase the books at once.
6. Tell, in the first person, any one of the  
four "Travelers' Tales".

### History, Civics and Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,  
Former Principal of the High School  
of Commerce, New York

### I. The European Situation—The Dilemma of Upper Silesia, An Important Agree- ment, the Burgenland, the Polish Ulti- matum.

1. Explain the divergence of French and  
British policy in the disposal of Upper  
Silesia. Compare the principle in the  
present policy of France with those of her  
earlier foreign policies in relation to Po-  
land and Russia.
2. Look up the incidents referred to in Dr.  
Coar's outline of Germany's political claim  
to Silesia and argue the validity of his con-  
clusion: "Germany's political rights to and  
in Upper Silesia are quite as well founded  
as France's political rights to and in Al-  
sace-Lorraine."
3. From commercial geographies and this ar-  
ticle show how the economic life of Upper  
Silesia is a "unit." Explain specifically  
how division would affect that economic  
life.
4. Review the provisions of the treaty that  
relate to the coal and iron resources of  
Germany.
5. What aspects of the Silesian problem are  
not mentioned by Dr. Coar?
6. In what way is the Rathenau-Loucheur  
agreement mutually advantageous to France  
and to Germany?
7. "Are the Poles politically inept?" What  
is the bearing of the earlier history of  
Poland upon this question? What bearing  
has that on the success of the foreign  
policy of France with Poland?

### II. How Binding Is a Platform Pledge?, A Question of Honor.

1. What instances can you find where a plat-  
form pledge has not been considered bind-  
ing by the victorious party, as shown by  
its acts? Argue the question in each par-  
ticular case whether or not the platform  
pledge should have been considered binding.
2. Add to your summary of the Panama tolls  
question the matter in this issue.

### III. The Washington Conference—A Ques- tion of Honor, Conference Prospects, Pertinax Reconsiders, The Foreign Debts.

1. Summarize the "aims set forth by our  
Government in summoning the Washington  
Conference."
2. Show in what way "the Dominions" are  
interested directly in the Conference.
3. Look up the history of the Japanese ques-  
tions that are likely to come before the  
Conference.
4. Summarize the changes of sentiment to-  
ward the Washington Conference in Eng-  
land, France and Japan.
5. What questions does America hope will be  
settled before the meeting of the Confer-  
ence? Why?

### IV. Macao — Relic of Portugal's Past Greatness.

1. With the aid of the books and atlases at  
your disposal make a brief outline of the  
rise and decline of Portugal's colonial em-  
pire. Compare the colonial possessions of  
Portugal today with the regions allotted  
her in the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494).
2. How does the colonial history of Portugal  
illustrate the effect of economic theory and  
an economic system on colonial develop-  
ment?
3. What are the chief colonial problems of  
Portugal today?
4. With the power of Portugal but "a rem-  
nant of her pioneer interest . . . in the  
Far East" why has she been given rep-  
resentation in the Washington Conference?
5. For a full study of the geography of Far  
Eastern questions at the Washington Con-  
ference, as well as for the reconstruction  
problems of Europe, you will find a recent  
book particularly helpful: "The New  
World," by Isiah Bowman, World Book  
Company, 1921, Yonkers-on-Hudson.

### V. Children Under Bolshevism, 'Tis Pity.

1. Add these aspects of Bolshevism to your  
study of Communism last week, and make  
a summary of the ways in which Bolshe-  
vism has failed.

### VI. Unemployment.

1. In how far has your community responded  
to the suggestions of the Conference in  
measures of "immediate relief"?
2. What are the most seriously discussed pro-  
posals to effect "permanent remedial meas-  
ures"?



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

October 22, 1921



### Chemical Warfare and Disarmament

To Abolish War Make It Increasingly Terrible

By Theodore M. Knappen

THE United States will enter the Washington Conference prepared, through its mastery of toxic-gas warfare, to view with unconcern wholesale reductions in armies and navies as now conceived. If the counsels of its military men are followed, it will oppose prohibition of the use of gas in future wars. It is in a position, indeed, practically to abolish existing armaments, without the consent of other nations. All great engineering advances scrap at a stroke, and automatically, the existing less perfect instruments. Admiral Fisher's "Dreadnought" scrapped the navies of the world. American mastery of gas warfare can repeat that stroke for present armies, if not for navies, and at the same time lift the burden of present armament costs: for adequate chemical and aerial armament can be maintained for a tithe of the present outlay.

It is interesting to note that at The Hague Conference in 1899 Admiral Mahan, on behalf of the United States, vigorously opposed the exclusion of toxic gases from the list of permissible implements of warfare, contending that the use of gases was not more inhumane than other forms of killing and maiming to effect a decision by force. This is the position of our military men to-day.

Despite the reckless scrapping of demobilization days, sentimental objection to chemical warfare, and the slashes of ruthless economy, the United States is to-day the best prepared nation in the world for chemical warfare. At the moment, at least, we are supposed to have lethal gases of deadly intensity, subject to almost perfect control for combat purposes, which cannot be resisted by any gas-mask but one of our own secret contriving that at the same time will stop any gas known to any potential enemy. Out of the peace-time wrecking of war plants, which has put us back to about where we were in 1914 for the production of all armament other than smokeless powder and high explosives, there has been preserved one plant, or a great group of chemical warfare material plants, at the Edgewood (Maryland) arsenal. In the quality of their deadly product, these plants are far ahead of their war-time position, and the skeletonized operating forces could be expanded within a few days to full capacity. Two hundred chemists there work unremittingly in the search for new gases and the means to use and to foil them. Research, development, demonstration, and production are

laboriously carried through to perfection. New chemical and mechanical methods are evolved and perfected. For every gas chosen a hundred are rejected. There are only 700 men in the single gas regiment of the army, but through the school for officers and men and the units of this regiment it is purposed in effect to make the regular combatant units of the army—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—as well as the air services of the army and navy, and the navy itself, chemical warfare agents. In other words, the chemists of war have come to the conclusion that the warfare of the future will be chiefly with chemical weapons or projectiles, whatever the designation of the arm of the military service that may use them. Bombs, shells, grenades, candles, rockets, mortars, projectors, rifles, big guns, airplanes, and the soldier's arm will resort to the atomic missiles that dart in all directions, turn corners, leap barriers, and search out the most obscure hiding places. Edgewood's recent development of the refinements of chemical warfare has made the use of gas in the late war as child's play in comparison.

This amazing island of preparedness in a sea of post-bellum forgetfulness and indifference to military matters is due chiefly to the persistence, forcefulness, and inspiration of one man—General Amos A. Fries, director of the Chemical Warfare Service of the Army. General Fries's steady devotion to chemical warfare preparedness was born in the tense days of 1918, when, as chief of the chemical warfare activities of the A. E. F., he learned that the Germans had perfected a gas which no known mask could withstand, after they had enjoyed a monopoly of mustard gas for eleven long months. But though the Germans had attained quality, quantitative projection of their new gas was an unsolved problem. With the gigantic sweep of the final offensive thrusting their armies back, the German technicians and mechanics worked feverishly to develop implements capable of drenching the Allied lines with the new and irresistible gas. Had they succeeded, this would now be a German world, for the Allied lines would soon have been corpses instead of men. But it was not merely a race against time. It was also a race against the development by the Allies of an equally lethal gas and the successful means of projecting it. The Allies won. As the war drew to its end, the Germans learned beyond a doubt that they were beaten in the battle of chemists and physi-



cists, and that the frightful gas casualties they were experiencing were but the forerunners of 100 per cent. casualties in the front lines. Crude and immature as was the gas warfare of the World War, it cost the American army 27.3 per cent. of all its casualties in France.

General Fries saw in these figures the prophecy of a new age in warfare. He returned to America brimming with understanding of the revolution in weapons. He was met



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*Brigadier-General Amos A. Fries, Chief of Chemical Warfare, U. S. A.—the man who is helping to make great wars impossible*

with an order abolishing the Chemical Warfare Service. The upper regions of the War Department frowned on chemical warfare as something to be ashamed of—a dishonorable weapon justified as a reprisal against a dastardly foe in a life-and-death struggle, but something afterwards to be buried, forgotten, and abandoned, like a hidden sin. Secretary of War Baker told a Senate committee in explanation of his intended virtual extinction of the Chemical Warfare Service that it was his belief that gas warfare would not be permitted in the future. "We ought to defend our army against a gas attack," he added, "if somebody else uses it, but we ought not to initiate gas." General Peyton C. March, then chief of staff, was of the same opinion. Both seemed to be oblivious of the lesson taught by the war, that no combatant will forgo the use of a weapon that promises victory; and of the further lesson that, after a gas initiative, there may be no opportunity for retaliation, that in the next war the decision will go to the nation that draws the most effective gas weapon first.

Called before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Fries boldly championed his cause, and startled the Senators with the flat statement that chemical warfare was not only efficient but also "humane." As against 25 per cent. of deaths among soldiers wounded by missiles, he cited only 2 per cent. of deaths among the wounded by gas. He went on to say that with gas it was no longer

necessary to shoot down mobs, and cut down savages of the "lesser breeds without the law" with machine guns and shrapnel. He did not say it in so many words, but those who listened to him visioned Kitchener triumphing over El Mahdi at Omdurman with nothing more painful than rapidly functioning tear glands on the part of the der-vishes, instead of the human shambles that ended the career of the prophet. Also, they saw the last stand of the Moros at Mt. Dajo as a mere rounding up of weeping and bewildered warriors. Gas, the General explained, could be tempered to the offense or the emergency. Tear-gas would do for mobs and massed savages. Or, if not, a little touch of mustard gas, productive of few, if any, fatalities, would surely answer. To deal with savage incursions and revolts and civil tumults in the future he would administer gas in non-fatal forms or quantities, and pick up the weeping and smarting erstwhile enemies and send them to hospitals in comfortable ambulances.

Eventually General Fries won, though two years passed after the armistice before he got the great \$35,000,000 plant at Edgewood running again, and it was only recently that he received permission to begin the work of making the whole army take up chemical weapons as part of its regular equipment. Then along came the great economy drive, and his funds were cut to the bone, but even the most rabid, when they were taken into the confidence of the Chemical Warfare Service, were not prepared to eliminate Edgewood and chemical preparedness. The two hundred chemists are still at work, mechanical engineers and machinists plan and build, 1,700 operatives are working on production, and Edgewood is ready to steam up as the greatest toxic-gas weapon-plant in the world any time Mars pushes the button.

According to those who are deep in the horrific lore of gas warfare, the final consummate weapon of mass murder may itself bring the millennium, for war will no longer be an heroic contest of mind, courage, and prowess, but a mad mingling in mutual annihilation. Indeed, the chemical-warfare soldiers consider that they are conducting a war against war. With the consequences of universal chemical warfare in the air and on land and sea fully understood, the men of every nation would revolt at the thought of a struggle in which there could be no shining feats of arms but only the certainty of intolerable drudgery in gas-proof clothing, choking masks, gas-tight cells and shelters, and the prospect of obscure and ignominious death. While there will doubtless be an agreement to confine the use of gas to projection against combatants, modern war virtually makes all citizens combatants. Whatever statesmen may do in conference, generals in the field will see no distinction between makers and users of deadly weapons. Every factory engaged in making the equipment of armies will be deemed a fair target for gas. It has been calculated by the Chemical Warfare Service that two hundred tons of one of the newer military gases would destroy or paralyze for a time all human and animal life on Manhattan Island. There would be likelihood of the destruction or wounding of the major parts of whole populations. The entire volume of life of a nation would be in danger literally of annihilation. With anything like equality of gas equipment, there would be little prospect of victory for either side and certainty of such slaughter of men as has not hitherto been conceived of. Nations would not triumph over each other but would die together.

Few duels are fought under conditions that insure the death of both combatants. Duelling in deadly earnest disappeared with the improvement of the revolver and the rifle. Nations wage war in the hope of victorious survival, but would eschew it if general slaughter were likely. The perfection of warfare, the advocates of chemical warfare contend, prophesies the end of war; to abolish warfare, make it increasingly terrible.



# The Revival of Vienna

By Frank L. Schoell

**A**MONG the ready-made ideas served to the public by journalists insufficiently acquainted with European affairs, no idea has perhaps been more commonly expressed than this: The new Austria created by the peace treaty of St. Germain cannot possibly live, made up as it is of a huge city of two million inhabitants which has lost its *raison d'être*, Vienna, and of an adjacent strip of mountainous land that cannot feed it. Vienna is a doomed city and all it can hope for, unless Austria become part of the German Reich, is to rank with Prague, Belgrade, or Bucharest, those smaller capitals of states two or three times larger and richer than Austria.

That gospel of hopelessness and desolation was seemingly confirmed by odd bits of news wired daily from the disenthroned capital of the Hapsburg Empire throughout 1919 and 1920: famine in Vienna; terrible death-rate among children and old people; no coal; no electricity; no street-cars running; fabulous increase in the cost of living, etc.

Those items of news were true. But they are true no more, due (be it permitted to an impartial French witness to emphasize the fact) to the admirable work of the Hoover committee, and to the food drafts sent by relatives or friends in Chicago or Philadelphia, and to the "dollar parcels," which no Viennese can mention, even now, without a flush of grateful emotion. Vienna now has enough to eat, the shops are plentifully stocked, the children in the street do not look undernourished, the cafés are full: in short, life is going on much as usual.

This naturally does not mean that, to the attentive observer, the looks of Vienna are just what they were before the war. The writer of these lines, whose last pre-war stay in Vienna exactly coincided with the memorable "Twelve Days" (July 23-August 3, 1914) and who remembers with uncanny vividness the appearance of the city seven years ago, could not help being struck by many an altered feature. The traces of war are everywhere visible. The asphalt sidewalks of the beautiful chain of *Rings* that surround the older part of the city are tragically full of fissures and holes. The red and ivory paint of the street-cars has been so thoroughly washed and soiled by rain, weather, and time that all the cars have the ramshackle appearance of those camouflaged motor-lorries that spent a year or two in an open-air "liquidation camp" before being auctioned off. Most of the public buildings, museums, and palaces are in mourning, for the whitewasher was first on the front, and, when he came back—if he did come back—his estimates were found to be a great deal too high by the impoverished state, or the even more impoverished archduke. The Stadt-Park and the Schwarzenberg Garden look forlorn and unkempt, and their ponds, in whose bright, crystal-like water all sorts of fish, swans, storks, and exotic ducks used to play, have become putrid sloughs along which it is not particularly pleasant to walk.

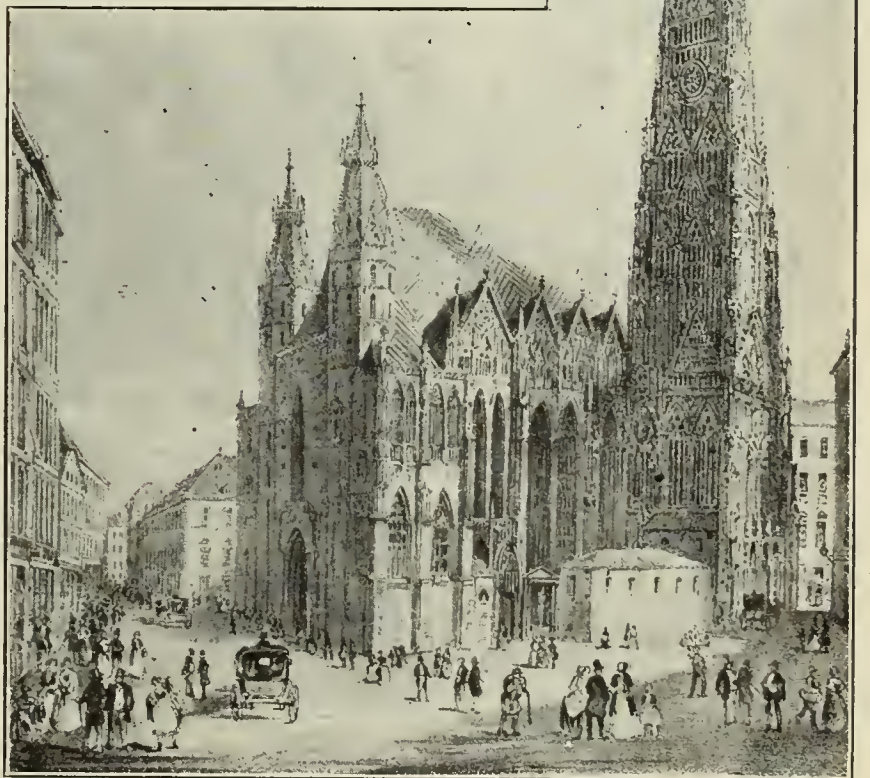
The Prater is not either what it used to be, if only because acres and acres of its timber were devastated in the terrible winter of 1919-1920 by an army of Viennese in quest of fuel. Waste paper and all manner of dirt are allowed to gather in unsightly fashion, for it is too expensive to pay the men and feed the horses of trucks that would be necessary to remove them. The average workman, let it be remembered, does not draw 30 or 40 crowns a week, as in 1914, but 3,000, and that makes a serious difference to the city. "Wien, die grüne" has become "Wien, die graue."

Another great contrast with the times before the war is offered by the type of men and women whom one meets in

the Kärnthnerstrasse, or in the theatres and cafés. The shoppers and visitors, the theatre-goers, and café habitués are mostly "new rich" (a large proportion of them Jews), and the least that one can say about them is that they are not so elegant (in spite of the expensiveness of their hats and shoes) and have not as good manners as their predecessors. Many are foreigners of doubtful origin, whose pocket-books are swollen with even more doubtful profits, and who spend their money in Vienna, drawn by the charm of the town and the lowness of the crown exchange.

If you question one of the ex-officers of the ex-"Kaiserlich-Königliche Armee," you will of course hear that the decay of Vienna is complete and final, that the days of "Wiener Gemüthlichkeit" are gone, and that anarchy is prevailing in the Republic. But do not listen to him, make an effort to see things for yourself, and you will come to the conclusion that the bloodless Revolution of November 12, 1918, has not changed everything for the worse, that the young Federation (for the Austrian Republic is a federation of autonomous provinces) has achieved much, and that the Treaty of St. Germain, in spite of the preposterous frontiers that it has assigned to Austria, has not succeeded, and cannot succeed, in killing Vienna.

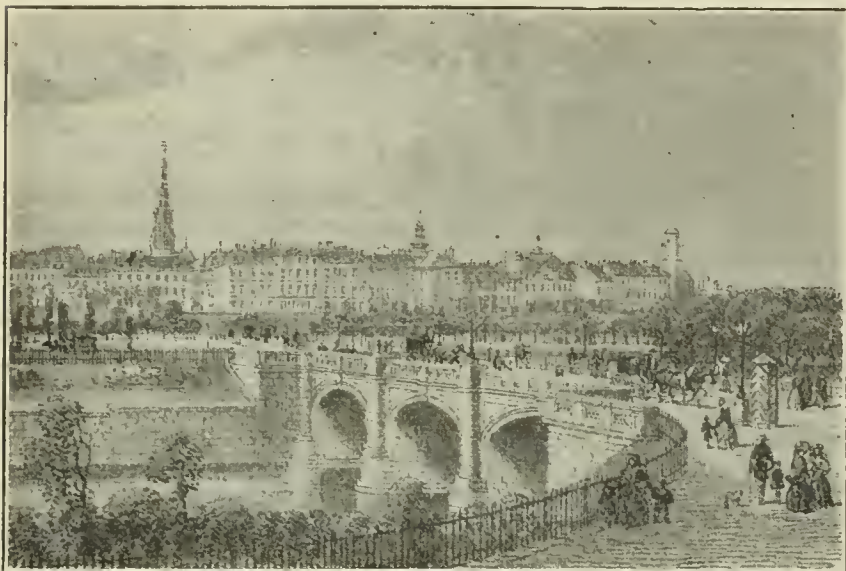
Indeed, the symptoms of a revival of Vienna are many and striking and, to my mind, completely overshadow the vestiges left by the war and the half-chaos of the post-armistice period. The process of adjustment to entirely new conditions is going on successfully and at a surprisingly speedy rate. For instance, as most of the archdukes are gone, their palaces have been converted into office-buildings. Dozens of firms now have their offices in the stately mansion of Archduke Friedrich, and Swift & Co. have rented office space in the palace where Archduke Ludwig Viktor used to lead a none too useful life. There are hundreds of officers, officers' widows, and officers' daughters who have formed associations with a view to helping each other to earn



The Cathedral of St. Stephen is the most famous structure in Austria. The present edifice dates mainly from the fourteenth century and its shape resembles that of a Latin Cross



a living: they do home-decoration work, carve rosewood card-boxes, or glove-boxes, embroider children's dresses or women's blouses, knit elaborate sweaters, indulge in the making of bead-bags, or go in for batik, unless it be *petit point*. They have to find a market, and must, for that purpose, hold exhibitions. These can now be held in the Schwarzenberg Palais and in the Belvedere (formerly the palace of the assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand).



*The Elizabeth Bridge*

Also, why not start courses of domestic art nicely suited to the needs of those educated, quick-learning "Mittelständler"? That was accordingly done and so successfully that a great danger was once for all removed, namely this: most of the women that worked for the world-famous embroidery and lingerie shops of Vienna are now living outside of the frontiers of Austria, chiefly in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. The head in Vienna was cut off from the arms! An important industry might have been lost to the city if new arms had not been trained within the territorial bounds of Austria. Those arms are now trained, and precisely among those who were in the sorest need of work.

Many other instances could be recited of Vienna's remarkable adaptation to new conditions. But the chief element of Vienna's revival is morale. The Viennese may have despaired of their future a couple of years ago, when want was greatest and the "National States" were plundering what was left of the Monarchy. But the time of despondency is past. The desire to live, and to *see Austria through*,

is now everywhere apparent. For instance, Vienna is short of coal, and the foreign banks will not finance the harnessing of the Ybbs and other accessible sources of water-power in the Alps. Very well, Viennese bankers will raise the ten billion crowns necessary for the enterprise (the contract has been signed, and work will start no later than November 1.)

Furthermore, there is no doubt that Vienna will remain the banker of the new Balkans, as it was the banker of the old Balkans. Vienna cannot but remain the centre of natural attraction of all the neighboring countries, on account of the unique opportunities that it offers to the business man, as well as to the student, to the art and music lover, and to the tourist.

There are of course great difficulties left for the Austrian state to overcome: the excessive number of state



*An entrance in the Prater, which has undergone a great change. Acres of timber were devastated in 1919-20 by an army of Viennese in quest of fuel*

officials, the fluctuations of the price of the crown, the customs barriers. But when once Austria can dispose of the credits which the League of Nations is busy raising for her, the good symptoms which I have mentioned will become more and more apparent, and it will be evident to all that there was nothing but German propaganda in the commonly accepted statement that Austria cannot possibly live unless it becomes part of the German Reich.

The future of Vienna lies in its independent position amid a constellation of states which, as the last two years have definitely proved, cannot well live without her.

## Trails

By Charles Wharton Stork

A TRAIL'S a careless human sort of thing,  
Much like a casual turn of speech. Although  
You can't tell who began it or just why  
It wanders here or there, still if you're set  
To go somewhere, you'll mostly find a trail.

You think it's like

An unsophisticated country girl,  
Confiding; who, taking your hand in hers,  
With lifted eyes and berry-pouting lips,  
Will lead you guilelessly. All it wants,  
You think, is to reveal perchance a glade  
Eager with fireweed; and soft nets of fern;  
A lichened log; a shallow rivulet,  
Brown over mud, but crystal over beds  
Of pebbles, where its tiny wavelets crisp  
To silver in the laughter-dimpling light.  
So you drift heedlessly, until you strike  
A slope. You clamber up the jagged steps

Of a pink cliff of granite, quickly cross  
A smooth stretch under boughs of stunted pines,  
But then meet other crags to scale, with tufts  
Of blueberries or of bristling juniper,  
When with a great lift of the lungs and soul  
You leap out on a summit, breast to breast  
With the great clouds that melt in softest blue,  
While far below the dim earth lies a-dream  
In veils of violet haze, and off to the east  
The titan ocean spreads his purple cloak  
Brodered with runic islands.

You know the trail deceived you with its air  
Of shy rusticity; you're in love, in love—  
You that went out but for an idle walk—  
Madly in love with the informing soul  
Of what you gaze on!

That was where the trail  
Led you. Do you forgive it?



# Arcadia Today

By C. E. Bechhofer

LITERALLY and in the flesh—*et ego in Arcadia fui!* It is not very difficult in these days. One gets there by train and motor-car from Athens in the course of a single day; and, if you are an Englishman, it is worth the trouble. For, apart from the beauties of the place and the romantic associations, one enters as an honored stranger. In every village the first question is, "Are you French or English?" If you reply that you are English, the full force of Arcadian hospitality is turned upon you. I recall now that not once in my journey through Arcadia was I allowed without a huge struggle to pay for my own food. Not only did innkeepers suggest that the presence of an Englishman was so agreeable to them that they could not ask for payment, but casual acquaintances insisted upon paying for me. On one occasion I even had trouble in paying for my shoes to be shined; it was in a village street, and I had just got into conversation with an old gentleman who lived there; and he made a frightful scene when I refused to allow the little bootblack to take his money for my shoe-shine.

As soon as I arrived in a village, by car or on foot, a search would be made for someone who could speak English. There was never long to wait, even in the smallest villages. Usually the interpreter would be a Greek who had spent some years in America. There is a prodigious number of such men in Greece; even in the remotest spots, there was always someone or other to hail me with a hospitable, "Say, stranger!" Greek-American-English is an amazing dialect, and it is uncommonly widespread.

In Karytaena, a little mountain village in the middle of Arcadia (where, by the way, I was entertained at lunch by a Greek gentleman who, he told me, owned a restaurant in Montgomery, Alabama!), I was sitting in the café when two men came in who were obviously Arcadians of the Arcadians. They were clad in true peasant garb. Their heads were covered with a black kerchief, fastened under the chin. They wore a striped linen shirt, the curious short white petticoat that is characteristic of their kind, a leather girdle with numerous pouches, white stockings without feet, and shoes the toes of which turned up and over and were decorated with tassels. Over all this they wore a roughly woven white coat, and in their hands was a shepherd's crook. Their features were classical and delicate, and a pointed beard and upturned moustaches gave them an air of dignity.

They greeted me in Greek, as I was the only other person in the place. Then they sat down and ordered slices of Turkish delight and drank a glass of water. I admired them as fine unspoiled products of the Arcadian paradise. In a few minutes one of them turned to me and to my astonishment spoke to me in fluent English, with an unmistakable accent. Before I had recovered from my surprise he had treated me to a glass of resinated wine. It seemed that he had spent many years in San Francisco as a laborer. Like so many others of his countrymen he had returned to his native land at the time of the first Balkan war and had remained there ever since.

When the village barber knew I was English he began to behave to me almost with veneration. Despite his ramshackle establishment and the incredibly distorted mirror, despite even the primitive utensils he used, his hand became light as a feather while he shaved the "Inglesos"; he ran like a hare to the neighboring café to fetch hot water; from rarely used bottles he poured fragrant ointments on my face and my hair; he shaved round and behind my ears with quite embarrassing care; he even chased away with exclamations of horrified shame the little village boys

who had gathered round to see the wonderful sight. I returned to the café after the shave, and its habitués at once pressed cups of coffee upon me, which, if I attempted to refuse them, they replaced by glasses of cognac or slices of Rahat Lahoum. Leaving the village was an ordeal. Everybody ran out to say and wave good-bye. Children ran up with roses. New arrivals, trying to find out what all the excitement was about, were warned with urgent gestures not to speak so loudly in the presence of the divine stranger. Cigarettes were offered lavishly. I thanked my host, who had fed me with the best all the time I had been in the village, who had given me a bed and all the attention that an old and venerated friend could receive, who had devoted all his time exclusively to me ever since I had arrived in the village, and he replied "Tipoti," which means, "It is nothing—don't mention it."

I walked from Karytaena along the road to Megalopolis, which was the railway station from which I intended to return to Athens. It started to rain and I was glad to get a lift in a post wagon, drawn by mules, which had previously been the property of the British forces in Macedonia and understood and obeyed only English words of command and abuse, the only words of English, by the way, that the muleteers understood. Despite frequent halts on the way for slices of Turkish delight—that strange craving of the adult Greek proletarian—and, much more rarely, glasses of cognac, we reached Megalopolis late in the evening. Here I was fortunate enough to find the only hotel in the whole of Greece—including the most swagger ones in Athens—where the beds were absolutely free from parasites. The explanation, I am told, is that it is a very new, small, and unknown inn. Be that as it may, I actually enjoyed a quiet night's sleep, and was able to catch the train in the morning without suffering so much as usual from the terrific heat of the Greek noonday sun. When I reached the station I found that I had left a book behind; it was too late to return for it, so I sent a note back to the hotel, asking the proprietor to send it to my address in Athens. In a few days the book arrived in a neat parcel with a quaint letter in English, which concluded with the statement that the hotel proprietor was my "kindly servant" and the added invocation to me to "remember the Greece!"

The English language seems to be making great strides in Arcadia, even among those few adults who have never been in America. (I am told, by the way, that more than one-half of the Greek men resident in Athens and the other big cities of Greece have worked in America at some time or another—an amazing proportion.) I was walking early one morning along a desolate mountain road. I had not been able to sleep at the inn where I had stayed, and as soon as the village café opened—at 3 o'clock in the morning—I woke up the landlord and paid him, cursing his overpopulated bed, and drank coffee at the café and went off. After I had walked three or four miles the dawn began to break and I began to wonder if I had not mistaken my path. At length there approached a shepherd. He greeted me in Greek, and in as many labored words as I could command I asked him if I was on the right road. He told me I was; I thanked him; we said farewell and parted. I felt very proud of my progress in Greek. Then, as if to shame me, this excellent fellow, who was now clambering down the rocky side of the mountain, called after me at the top of his voice the following highly interesting words:

"One-ee; two-ee; three-ee; four-ee; five-ee; howdo; good morning-ee; good-bye-ee; oh boy-ee."



# The Story of the Week

## The Week at Home

### The Threatened Strike

A STRIKE which, if carried out according to plan, would completely tie up railroad transportation throughout the country is threatened. Already strike orders, effective October 30, have been issued to the employees of seventeen railroad systems, numbering 750,000 men; and orders to an additional 1,250,000, to take effect before November 3, will, it is understood, issue shortly. The July award of the Railroad Labor Board, which authorized a general 12 per cent. reduction in wages, caused abiding dissatisfaction among the employees. And now the railway executives have announced their intention to ask the board to authorize further reductions. Why? From the farms and industries all over the country goes up a clamor for reduction in freight rates as essential to restoration of normal general conditions in trade and industry. The railroad executives recognize the justice of this plea, but say that at present they barely make ends meet (and even so only through retrenchments which are not economical, as suspension of necessary repair work); they can reduce freight rates, they declare, only if they further reduce wages. The employees object, on general grounds, to surrendering any of the gains achieved in consequence of the war and of Government administration of the railroads; and, as to the particular present situation, they say that, because of the continued extraordinary cost of living, further wage reductions would mean for them deprivation of physical necessities. In fact, 90 per cent. of the employees have declared they will not "stand for it," will strike. The President has called into joint conference the public group of the Railway Labor Board (that group which represents

the public, as distinguished from those groups which represent employees and employers respectively) and the Interstate Commerce Commission (the Labor Board fixes wages and the Commerce Commission service rates), to consult a compromise: a solution under which the employees shall not be deprived of necessities, the railroad executives shall "carry on" without financial loss, and freight rates shall be reduced as required for the general recuperation. A Solomonian task! What a disaster if the strike should really come off, just as all signs pointed to a new era of good feeling and coöperation! We boast a deal about publicity, and do not know the real thing at all. In this controversy there is a very great deal to be said on both sides. Everything essential that is to be said on either side should be presented to the public uncolored by propaganda or selfish interest.

### A Bizarre Affair

A House committee has been investigating the Ku Klux Klan. Never was such melodrama enacted in Congress. After an all-day defense of himself and his order the other day, the Imperial Wizard, calling on "the Father to forgive those who had persecuted the Klan," "tumbled into a heap." What an astonishing country ours, with such bizarreries (as the above), such crudities (scarce above the Stone Age), such violences (for in number of murders, suicides, etc., we surpass all other nations), such fanaticisms; yet, despite all, quite justifiably the greatest hope of the human race!

### An American "Book of Snobs"

A man named Rush was recently indicted by the Federal Grand Jury in Brooklyn on the charge of using the mails with purpose to defraud. It seems that Rush has been advertising (cost pre-paid) heraldic family crests at \$5 each, that he pocketed the money and failed to "come across" with the crests.

It isn't Rush's alleged crime that interests us, though it seems rather a pity that so pleasant a fellow should languish in jail; it is the statement that he was overwhelmed with orders from judges, senators, governors, etc.

This latter statement may be the creation of some philosophic journalist and not literally true. But, if not literally true, it is ideally true; true in the higher or Aristotelian sense; as Coleridge said of Shakespeare's world, it "should" be true. For, though professed democrats, we are as snobbish as those nations which still openly and shamelessly cherish caste distinctions; or aren't there any left, are they all professing democrats? An American "Book of Snobs" is indicated.

### In Time of Peace Prepare for War

On October 7 a number of interesting tests were made at the Aberdeen (Md.) Proving Grounds of the Army Ordnance Department. The new 50-calibre 16-inch gun on bar-bette carriage was fired at an elevation giving a range of over twenty miles, both gun and carriage functioning properly. The maximum elevation of sixty-five degrees is calculated to give a range of about thirty-five miles. Haze and consequent danger to shipping in the Chesapeake prevented trial at the maximum elevation. The weight of the projectile is approximately 2300 pounds.

The greatest of bombs (case weighing one ton, and charge of T N T same weight) was dropped from an airplane. It detonated nicely, making a hole twenty feet deep and 200 feet in diameter.



The Dallas News

Off with its head!



The most interesting of the tests was that of a new flashless powder, at night. Ten rounds were fired from 75-millimeter guns, and only the very faintest glow was visible in each case. The effect of this invention on night engagements is obvious.

We are obeying the injunction to "in time of peace prepare for war." By demonstrating our preparedness and special aptitude for scientific war, we are the better able to enforce our pacific wishes.

#### Other Things

The National Conference on Unemployment adjourned *sine die* on the 13th, leaving a standing committee "to continue the work in progress of emergency organization throughout the country," "to continue until the present unemployment emergency is passed," and "authorized to reconvene the conference at any time it shall deem wise."

The Panama Canal Tolls Bill passed the Senate on the 10th. We bow our head in shame.

## Lloyd George and Unemployment

LOYD GEORGE is said to be even more worried about unemployment problems than about the Irish affair.

As with us, there is the emergency problem of immediate relief, and there are the fundamental problems of reconstruction, of devising a machinery of coöperation, of framing policies against unemployment crises in future. But British solutions, at best, must lack the approach to positiveness of which ours are capable; because Britain is so much more dependent on foreign trade. Britain, above all other nations, requires world-peace. It may seem singular that the Government should be more alarmed than ever before about unemployment, when official figures show an extraordinary and steady improvement of late in respect of the number of unemployed.

But the winter approaches, when unemployment must increase again. Hitherto serious trouble has been averted by doles. And now, while the taxpayer cries out for mercy, the unemployed cry out that the doles must be more generous. The philosopher sees the working-classes demoralized by doles, the historian tells how Rome was ruined by doles. It is obvious, however, that the unemployed must get work or be supported by doles or starve. Extension of public works? The effect on the groaning taxpayer is the same as that of doles. The true solution of course is restoration of industry to normal. But that is dependent on restoration of foreign trade, which in turn waits upon restoration of stability and well-being in foreign countries—and all that is a slow process. Yet surely something may be done by the Government to hasten the recovery of foreign trade. Why, yes. It is proposed that the Government insure bankers, merchants, manufacturers, etc., who are timid about foreign ventures. Gambling, that is, on a magnificent scale; a desperate counsel.

But there is another side to the picture. Keen critics point out that the ratio of the unemployed to the total population is much smaller in Great Britain than in the United States, and they say that the ratio is falling much more rapidly in Britain than in the United States. They hint that Lloyd George is more alarmed about his own political head than about the unemployment situation. The Labor Party, they tell you, is using the unemployment issue as a flail to beat Lloyd George with. To change the metaphor, they hope to ride into power on the unemployment issue. They see that charger about to fall into a decline, and propose to mount him and point him toward Whitehall while he is still mettlesome and answerable to the spur. Perhaps the critics "have reason" up to a point. Until human nature changes, politicians will be thinking about party when they should be thinking about the commonweal. But, assuming the critics to be right, since government of England at this critical time by the Labor

Party would probably be a calamity (they require more political education), Lloyd George's solicitude for his Coalition operates as though it were pure solicitude for the commonweal. And, after all, perhaps it is that, or almost.



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service

*Am I in for an operation or a manicure?*

## Incomparable France

### France as Mediator

FRANCE is hoping against hope for a guarantee of her security by the Powers such as to justify reduction of her army to half its present strength or even lower. Such a guarantee would be the treaty which President Wilson and Lloyd George signed, but which our Senate has declined to ratify, if ratified by Senate and Parliament (ratification by Parliament would certainly follow ratification by the Senate). That treaty, it will be remembered, pledges to France the assistance of Britain and the United States in case of an unprovoked attack upon France. Any other guarantee of equal virtue (if such could be) would be equally acceptable. Some say that the French delegates will go to Washington in a bargaining spirit; that they will support the American (presumed to be also the British) programme regarding the Pacific and the Far East and regarding reduction of naval armaments, only if they get their precious guarantee.

We think the French are too magnanimous and too wise to act thus. On the contrary, certain inspired French journals have suggested that France has an opportunity to play at the Conference the most august of rôles—that of mediator. In respect to reduction of naval armaments, France is disinterested; she has by considered policy ceased to possess offensive naval strength. With unembarrassed eye she sees the advantage to the world in abandonment of naval competition. And though she has a great possession in Indo-China and owns important Pacific islands and has borne her guilty part in "exploitation" of China (*e. g.*, the Yun-nan concessions), the Oriental trade is not to her a vital matter, as it is to Japan and Great Britain and (yes, prospectively) the United States. Here, too, she can be disin-





International

*American mountain resort and summer headquarters of the Government—Baguio, Benguet Province, Philippines*

terested. Moreover, the French, as no other western nation, are artistically sympathetic with Japan and China and the faery Pacific (though the Pacific isles be vulgarized by Western invasion and the natives die of sheer disgust, the magic of those isles will live forever, having been transferred to the most exquisite French prose). The best Western interpretation of China (excepting some glorious ones like Wells Williams and Waley) is French. French culture enjoys immense prestige in the Orient. The French have never displayed racial insolence toward the Mongoloid. France is ideally fitted for the rôle of mediator at the Washington Conference.

#### Exit the Camel

The French military authorities are projecting a trial trip from Tuggurt in Algeria to Burrum on the Niger east of Timbuktu, with several caterpillar trucks of a special type. Should the experiment be successful, the camel will be largely superseded on the caravan routes and the commercial value of France's African empire will be immensely enhanced. Enter the white man, exit the picturesque!

#### Marshal Foch Knows Fear

Marshal Foch is in strict training. He faces his American campaign with more apprehension than ever he knew when facing the German lines. The marshal has noted the condition of Marshal Fayolle, just returned from America, with his Gallic stomach in all probability permanently ruined. Day and night the great soldier, who is also a great friend, murmurs: "Poor Fayolle!"

#### Upper Silesia

THE League Council has finished its most important, at any rate most embarrassing, job to date. Its recommendations concerning Upper Silesia have not been published, but the reports thereof (which agree) may, we think, be accepted as in the main correct. Upper Silesia is divided politically, two-thirds of its area going to Germany, but the "industrial triangle" (*Le Chapeau*) is cut through so as to give Poland the major part of the mineral wealth, developed and undeveloped. The line of division is somewhat more favorable to Poland than the Sforza line. But, though Upper Silesia is politically divided, the "industrial triangle" is to remain for a term of years an industrial and economic unit, under the direction of an international commission. This arrangement has a certain unearthly beauty, but we fear it is impracticable.

Upon the first hint of the Council's decision, Germany

(the voice of Chancellor Wirth topping all) let out a terrific noise made up of objurgations and threats. Wirth and his Coalition Government (the "Government of Fulfillment") must go, to be succeeded by a reactionary Government; the London programme must be repudiated *instantly*; the Loucheur-Rathenau agreement (under consideration by the Reichstag) must be rejected; etc., etc. But already the hideous clamor (whose choral character was suspicious, suggesting a concerted effort to intimidate the Council into altering its decision) has died down and almost away, and no action has been taken pursuant to the threats. The situation, however, is about as harmless as a vial of lead fulminate.

We are not flippant about the matter. Mr. Balfour declares that the Council's decision is just and that its boundary line corresponds as closely as conscientious ingenuity can make it, to the plebiscite results. We make no doubt this is true. But when Mr. Balfour goes on to say that "if the two parties show ordinary prudence and an ordinary sense of self-interest they will be able to make the scheme a working proposition, we do not go with him. Hitherto (i. e., since the armistice) the people of Upper Silesia have displayed far less than ordinary prudence and far less than an "ordinary sense of self-interest," whereas, it seems to us, extraordinary prudence and an extraordinarily just sense of self-interest are required to make the Council's scheme a "working proposition." Yet to flout the Council's scheme as obviously fatuous and impracticable would be cheap criticism. We can think of no surely "working proposition," in the industrial and economic sense, short of turning all Upper Silesia over to Germany; a proposition so hideously unjust as not to be entertained. And in the end might not such a surely "working proposition" work all too effectively toward the accomplishment of German vengeance? The Upper Silesian problem is one of those things at which, as at the statuary of Washington, one laughs that he may not shudder.

#### The Sheep and the Goats

AN Italian Socialist Congress has been in session at Milan. An envoy from Moscow demanded once more, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Third International, the expulsion of Serrati and Turati from the party. Thereupon the delegates rose as one man (almost) and hissed the Muscovite and Moscow. Those gentlemen at Moscow should follow St. Paul's advice and take account of human peculiarities and prejudices. For all the flaunting of Red banners, the seizing of factories, etc., the sentiment.



of Internationalism has displaced passionate love of country in few Italian hearts. The policy of no compromise, of the International leaders, separates the sheep from the goats, to be sure; but the sheep, though choice, are discovered to be few.

## Melted Into Air

SIR ROBERT HORNE, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, sadly admits that the hopes conceived of the British-Soviet trade agreement have "melted into air, into thin air." Lord Curzon declared the other day that Muscovite anti-British propaganda is in full blast, never more active. Mr. Urquhart, head of a great combination which, under the Tsarist régime, possessed great mining properties in Russia, reports, after months of negotiation with Moscow, that it is no use trying to deal with the Moscow Government; their promises are hollow, their purposes unchanged, their talk of concessions, compromises, relaxations, but camouflage, marking of time, what our older writers called "neat" (*i. e.*, pure) "delusions."

## Dares He Put It to the Touch?

IT is reported that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, President of the Canton Republic, has collected a considerable army and is marching north to boldly "put it to the touch, to win or lose it all." He says he is going to take Peking, to overthrow the Peking Government, that Government of *tuchuns* and reactionaries, "unconstitutional, compromised by its dealings and relations with Japan, shackled by Japanese influence;" to make his constitutional Government [there is color for this claim of "constitutional"] in fact as well as in name the "Government of the Republic of China" (all China). Does Sun-Yat-sen mean what he says, or is he only playing to the gallery of Powers, hoping by "reiterated banging of drums" to make them sit up and listen to his demand for representation at the Washington Conference? If the former, he has undertaken a large order. For we doubt the Doctor is as competent at warcraft as Wu Pei-fu or old Chang Tso-lin, or that he has as good troops as the latter's Manchurians. He will do well to take with him a large contingent of Yunnanese mountaineers, hardy men and brave.

## The Wisdom of Hirohito

NOT until the ban was lifted the other day, not since the foundation of the Empire, have the Japanese people been permitted to demonstrate the joy they felt in the presence of royalty. That is all changed now. Crown Prince Hirohito received a tremendous ovation on his return from Europe. He issued a message to the people.

"I confess," says the Prince (in the translation made for the Associated Press), "that there are a number of things which we have yet to learn from the countries I visited. It is my ardent wish that the whole nation apply itself with redoubled energy to the promotion of national prosperity by adopting whatever is good that foreign countries possess."

One should like to have the Prince's definition of "whatever is good." The right definition is needed; for one is apt sometimes to agree with Mr. Bland that Japan might better have adopted nothing from foreign countries than to adopt so much of bad as she has adopted.

## The Central American Federation

THE new Central American Federation (comprising the states of Honduras, Guatemala, and Salvador) began business on October 10, with the assumption of office by the Provisional Federal Council. It is to be hoped that Costa Rica and Nicaragua will soon join the federation, bringing

up its population from approximately four millions to approximately five millions. Thus would be revived that Republic of the United States of Central America which precariously existed from 1823 to 1839. The Government of the new republic is otherwise closely copied after ours; but the executive power (as in Switzerland) is vested in a Federal Council. Long life to the new republic!

## Miscellaneous

THE lips of the conferees on Ireland are sealed; but it has been officially announced that Lloyd George expects to attend the Washington Conference for a short time, whence it is irresistibly inferred that the Irish negotiation is going smoothly.

The Spaniards seem to have the insurgent Moors on the run in the Spanish Zone of Morocco.

A Greek report tells of a battle between the Greeks and Turks which lasted from September 30 to October 8, the Greeks defending their old line covering Brusa, Eskishehr, and Afium Karahissar, on which they have fallen back, and the Turks trying to storm it. All along the line, says the dispatch, the Greeks had the advantage, and before Afium Karahissar, where was the main Turkish concentration, they won "a brilliant victory."

No further news concerning the rampaging Moplahs of India. All good Indians, we hear, have been asked to strike on the day the Prince of Wales sets foot on Indian soil.

It is rumored that Japan will try to persuade the Chinese Government to agree, after all, to dual negotiation of the Shantung controversy; and that, should China refuse (as almost certainly she will), Japan will request President Harding to mediate. Merest rumor, perhaps, but interesting.

Whatever opinion one may hold, in a practical view, of the labors of the League Assembly, it was at any rate immensely stimulating and edifying to listen to the magnificent Cecil voicing liberal aspirations, and his cousin, the superb Balfour, voicing the conservatism of experience.

HENRY W. BUNN



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service

"Never mind how he got there, Herb, take him off"



# “What Are You G

*Fifty years ago Boss Tweed hurled this defiance at history. But the Tammany Tiger still lives with the question: “What*

THE arrest of Boss Tweed on October 28, 1871—just fifty years ago—marked the first great step in the downfall of the Tammany ring that ruled and robbed New York at that period. The head of the Tammany organi-

zation was taken into custody in a civil suit brought by Charles O'Connor, on behalf of the people, on charges of malfeasance, and bail was set at one million dollars, an amount the political boss, who was a humble chair-maker by profession, had no difficulty in producing.



Thomas Nast, the famous cartoonist, had vigorously assailed Tweed and his ring in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*, and his campaign against the boss and his co-conspirators was one of the great factors in bringing about Tweed's imprisonment and the overthrow of the Tammany machine. Perhaps the most famous of Thomas Nast's cartoons of the Tweed period was the picture entitled “The Tammany Tiger Loose; What are you going to do about it?” which we reproduce at the lower left hand of this page. Nast originated the tiger as the Tammany symbol and this cartoon was the first use of it. In the amphitheatre seats may be seen Tweed, Sweeny, Hall,



“The Tammany Tiger Loose”—A review  
The Independent and

them damned pictures,” said Tweed; “my constituents can't read but they can see pictures.”

The chief figures in the Tammany ring were Tweed, who was Commissioner of Public Works; A. Oakey Hall, Mayor of New York; “Slippery Dick” Connolly, Comptroller of the city; and Peter B. Sweeny, who was nicknamed “the Brains.” In less

than thirty months this precious gang had defrauded the city of a round thirty millions of dollars, emptied the treasury, and added more than fifty millions to the public debt, which the present and future generations will have to pay. The looting of the city's treasury was conducted on simple lines. City work was given



Connolly and other Tammany leaders of fifty years ago.

One of Nast's best-known caricatures of Tweed represented that Tammany dictator with a money-bag in place of a head, a dollar-mark forming the features of the face. Nast's representation of Tweed's huge diamond shirt-stud particularly offended the Tammany leader. “We must stop



# To Do About It?"

The way in which it was answered is a matter of  
voters of New York are again confronted  
Going To Do About It?"



Thomas Nast's famous cartoon, made especially for  
Review by his son, Thomas Nast, Jr.

only to "ring" favorites and they were told to multiply their bills by five, ten or a hundred. Then Mayor Hall and Comptroller Connolly marked the bills "O. K." and payment was made through a go-between, the claimant getting his small share, and the balance being divided between Tweed, Sweeny, Hall, and Connolly.

Tweed was convicted of fraud on twelve counts in 1873, and he served a year and a half in the penitentiary. Other criminal suits then being brought against him, he was unable to furnish three million dollars bail and was locked up in Ludlow Street jail, from which he escaped in December, 1875. He was recaptured in Vigo, Spain, returned to jail, and died there, April 12, 1878.

Tweed accepted his arrest in 1871 very calmly and soon after made a speech to his constituents. In the course of

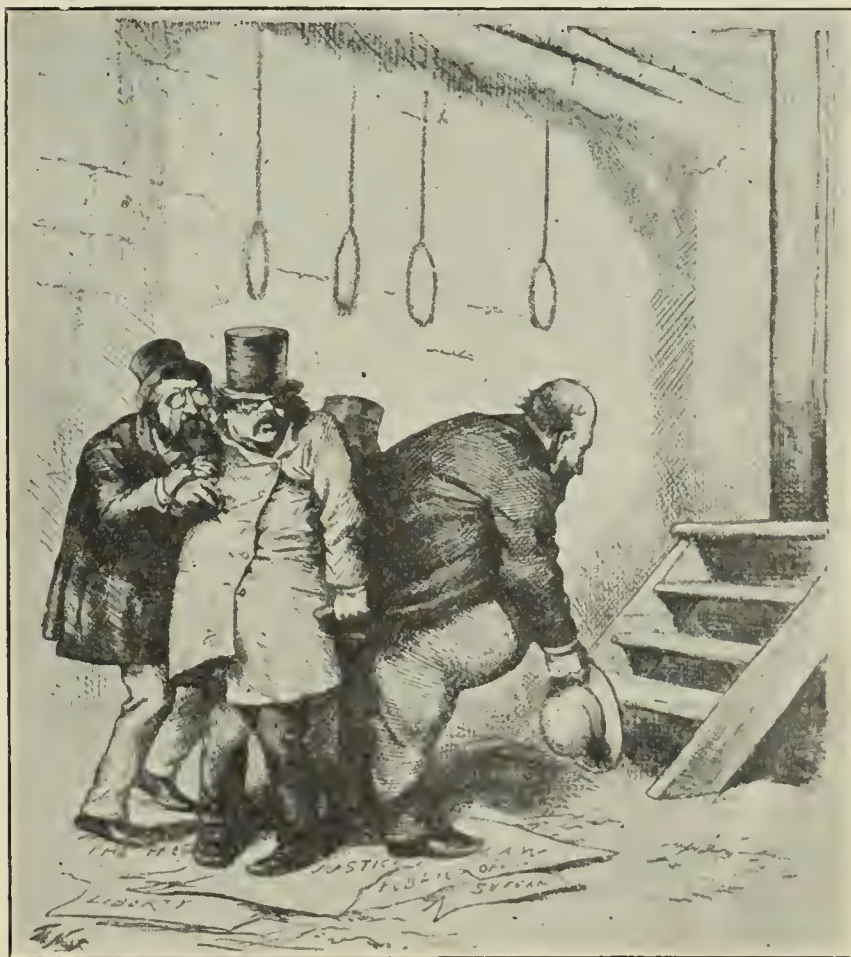
his address he remarked that "no man is perfect." *The Independent* of November 9, 1871, in an editorial concerning Tweed's arrest and the speech he had made, said:

"'No man is perfect,' maunders our Imperator. True, O Tweed; but in view of your enormous thefts, your encouragement of vice and crime in our city, your subornation of burglary and forgery, surely your modesty will not deny us the right to say that you come about as near as mortal may to being a perfect villain!"



The story of his arrest in Spain is interesting. One of Nast's cartoons, representing Tweed as a policeman dragging two little boys toward a placard reading, "Reward. No Questions Asked," had fallen into the hands of the city authorities of Vigo, Spain. They identified Tweed from Nast's caricature and arrested him as a kidnapper! News of the arrest of "Twid" was cabled to New York. Officers, promptly despatched to Spain, identified Tweed and brought him back to Ludlow Street jail.

The *New York Nation* asserted that the only consequence of thieving that the ring-leaders dreaded was a violent death, and Nast made a memorable cartoon showing the four cringing knaves under the shadow of a gallows that was equipped with four noosed ropes.







# EDITORIAL



## The Railroad Crisis

THE people of the United States are again face to face with the question of how they are to protect their life-and-death interest in the uninterrupted operation of the railroads. Under Grover Cleveland, such an attack upon the public safety as is now threatened was met in the right way—by the full physical power of the United States Government in the defense of its citizens as a whole. Under Woodrow Wilson, a frightened President and Congress, bullied by railroad labor leaders, authorized the surrender to terrorism known as the Adamson Law—a law whose real viciousness lay less in the concrete concessions it made than in the fact of making *any* concessions under such threats. We hope and expect that President Harding, if there is any grave suspension of transportation, will act strongly as the defender of all the people of the country.

We believe, also, that any serious failure of rail transportation will be met and remedied for the moment as in the last great British rail strike—by an aroused people manning engines and trains, switches and signals, and operating the railroads for themselves until the strikers come to realize here, as they did in England, that the world can get along without them if it chooses to—that the members of the rail Brotherhoods, though they may be essential under normal conditions, are yet not indispensable on their own terms.

But vigorous executive and popular action will not in themselves do more than surmount a crisis. The real problem will remain. In looking for a way to settle that problem permanently, we shall need to begin by realizing that the method embodied in the Railroad Labor Board has for the present failed, and by understanding why it has failed.

The Labor Board plan essentially rests on the assumption that an informed public opinion will induce both parties, in each dispute considered, to accept the decision of the Board: that this public opinion (when special pressure from it is necessary) will be the final force preventing serious interruption of that transportation on which the very existence of the country depends. That no dangerous dispute might be hidden by failure of a railroad or its employees to refer the matter for decision, the Labor Board was authorized to investigate any issue it saw fit: and to make its investigation effective it was given unlimited powers to compel the presence of witnesses and the production of records. It was a reasonable expectation that under such a system most issues between the railroads and their employees would be composed without interruption of traffic. But for the case of a strike in defiance of the finding of the Board, and presumptively therefore in defiance of public opinion, the Transportation Act made no explicit provision. The Labor Board has no legal power to enforce its decisions. Like the similar

emergency authority in Canada, it may make a public finding that a party to an issue has refused to abide by its decision; but unlike the Canadian plan, there is no power in the Labor Board even to forbid a strike while its inquiry is under way. In the present emergency, therefore, the question arises: Has the Labor Board already exhausted its power of compulsion through public opinion?

One further step seems to us possible: the success or failure of it would determine whether reliance on public opinion unexpressed in definite law is an adequate protection to the public interest in transportation. It seems to us that the public members of the Board might well feel justified in telling the country, in a formal finding, that the threatened strikes are unwarranted, and why they are unwarranted. In such a course the public members could command the support of the railroad members, and hence of a majority of the Board. That majority would have to condemn the strikes. To do otherwise would be confession that its own findings, against which the strikes are (at least ostensibly) a protest, were unfair. Such a declaration to the country would seem to test to the uttermost the efficacy of non-statute public opinion, in so far as that opinion can be roused and directed by any permanent agency for dealing with labor disputes.

Not only the Railroad Labor Board plan, but every scheme yet proposed for preventing strikes without explicitly prohibiting them by law—including the plan proposed by President Wilson's second Industrial Conference—is on trial now. If an anti-strike finding by the Board failed to check the strikes, this would be sufficient evidence that the country must adopt some more drastic form of self-protection.

## Correspondents in Russia

IT is more necessary than ever to use discrimination in accepting reports of correspondents concerning conditions in Russia, and especially as to the Soviet Government and its policies and acts. A number of correspondents have been admitted to Russia and they represent reputable newspapers, a fact that tends to give credence to what they write. The uniformity of their reports concerning the eleventh-hour reformation of the Bolsheviks and their conversion to capitalism is suspicious, however, and a well-informed, independent, Russian-speaking journalist, who has just left Russia, informs us that the Soviet authorities admit only such correspondents as are amenable to their direction and coerce them by a species of blackmail.

## A Campaign of Boosting

SIXTY thousand dollars is no great sum to expend on hastening the return of good times—if it really does hasten it. The Rotary Club of New York has appropriated that amount “to be used immediately in an



outdoor publicity campaign on 75,000 billboards in 6000 cities and towns, carrying announcements of returning good times and prosperity." But whether such a campaign will have any effect in promoting the desired end may well be doubted. The persons that have to be convinced are those who risk their money upon productive enterprise, and Pollyanna billboards are not apt to have much influence in determining their course of action. What goes on in a time of depression constitutes a vicious circle. Depression creates unemployment, and unemployment in its turn creates depression; because people have not the wherewithal to buy, production slackens, and because production slackens, people have not the wherewithal to buy. Ultimately, through one cause and another, the circle is broken; but it does not seem likely that the time of this consummation can be brought any nearer by concerted shouting.

## In the Background of the Conference

THE most delicate, the most serious, and perhaps the most vital issue of the Washington Conference is not on the agenda at all. Indeed the Conference may complete its sessions without mention of it, though it will hover in the background continually and each delegate will be clearly, and perhaps uncomfortably, conscious of it. This is the race issue. In one form, that of race equality, it was raised at Paris, and, presumably because of its bearing on the knotty problem of immigration, it was unceremoniously shunted aside. As with differences in religion or politics in a family circle, natural politeness and the desire not to give offense tend to keep it in the background lest it precipitate fresh complications and impede agreement. The Conference may possibly, by an adjustment of outstanding economic and political questions and a compromise of the rivalries involved in them, arrive at a satisfactory *modus vivendi* without touching upon the race issue at all, yet it is liable to crop up at any time and if so it should be faced squarely.

It is useless to deny that there exists a deep-seated antagonism among the yellow and brown peoples toward the white race. It could not be otherwise after centuries of arrogant assumption of social superiority and aggressive exploitation, contemptuous of old civilizations. The patient peoples of the East have endured a situation galling to their pride and have bided their time. A few years ago the white man's triumph seemed complete and his tenure secure. Now a change has come. The success of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war stirred all Asia. The white man's power was not invulnerable after all. Brown man and yellow alike looked on with satisfaction as the white nations tore each other to pieces in the Great War and emerged weakened and distraught. Perhaps the day of revenge was near at hand.

In the background looms the struggle. The problem is to avert it by wise policy and timely action. It can not be averted by fine words or by ever-increasing armaments, and least of all by closing our eyes to the issue. Hope lies rather in endeavoring to arrive at agreements that conduce to mutual respect and understanding, redressing grievances, and making such ter-

ritorial and economic arrangements as tend to eliminate trouble-breeding contacts. Hope also lies in strengthening the position of the white race in the regions of its natural habitat.

White civilization thrives in the colder climates of the temperate zone. In the tropical and sub-tropical regions it is exotic and tends to deteriorate. The yellow and brown races, on the other hand, have developed in the warmer regions. Nature is a wise boundary maker. Each race is necessary to the others and each has its part to contribute to the general good. Commerce, the investment of capital, the interchange of ideas are good; labor competition in industry and agriculture, territorial aggression are bad.

There is a factor in the situation which is generally overlooked, but to which the above considerations are singularly applicable. That factor is Siberia. To most people this word connotes a frozen waste, a place of exile. Few realize that it is a land of opportunity, an outpost of white civilization, a potential home for fifty million people. The romantic story of the settlement of Siberia deserves to be better known. In many ways it is the counterpart of our own winning of the West. It was not a conquest of alien territory by a Government but an occupation of new land by enterprising pioneers. There was little or no fighting, and the aborigines, instead of being killed off, have quadrupled in numbers. Today the white population numbers more than fifteen millions, and in Eastern Siberia alone there are two millions, or more than the population of New Zealand. Large cities have sprung up, important industries have been founded, and agriculture flourishes. Nordic vigor and enterprise bid fair to make white man's Asia a strong link in the chain around the globe.

But at the eastern portal, the indispensable outlet to the Pacific of these millions, stands Japan. Here the historic procedure is being reversed; here the yellow man is encroaching upon the territory of the white man. It is outside the zone adapted to Japanese settlement, and it is inconceivable that two million white people should be subjected to Japanese rule or that the Japanese should be allowed to hem in and cut off from the sea some fifteen million more. Yet this is the meaning of the Japanese occupation of the Maritime Province and acquisition of its economic resources.

Much more might be written of Siberia and its possibilities, but enough has been set down to show its importance in maintaining the balance in Asia and averting a future clash of races. In the light of this we recall with satisfaction the declaration of Secretary Hughes that "the protection of legitimate Russian interests must devolve as a moral trusteeship upon the whole Conference," and that "it is the hope and expectation of the Government of the United States that the Conference will establish general principles of international action which will deserve and have the support of the people of Eastern Siberia and of all Russia by reason of their justice and efficacy in the settlement of outstanding difficulties."

That Japan must be debarred from domination over the white population of Siberia, or the closing of their outlet to the Pacific, is demanded alike by considerations of justice and of wise policy. But if the other Powers exact this of Japan they must in turn give due consideration to Japan's pressing problem of provid-



ing for her increasing population, and be prepared to satisfy her just demands. This problem is necessarily a difficult and complex one, and we do not presume to propose to the Conference a ready-made solution. If, however, the solution is to be found in emigration, it will certainly not be to the colder regions, for the Japanese will not go there. If, on the other hand, Japan finds that the solution lies in industrialization—following the example of England a century ago,—then she must be given ample opportunity to obtain the requisite raw materials; but there is no reason to assume that to this end either territorial annexation or the closed door is necessary. And here again we must be on our guard lest counsels of perfection and the effort to attain the ideal rather than the practicable lead us into a position which means either an impasse for Japan or the militarization of China.

### Mr. Harding as Letter-Writer

TWO important letters of the President were published this week. One, addressed to Governor Farrington of Hawaii, was evidently intended to be read at the opening of the Press Congress of the World at Honolulu on October 11, and was so read. It deprecates all but a very limited use of propaganda, and points more neatly than we have seen elsewhere the distinction between propaganda and education.

Propaganda aims primarily at shutting up the mind against other conclusions than those which the propagandists design to implant. Education, on the contrary, aims to open the mind, to prepare it, to make it receptive and to urge it to formulate its own conclusions. Propaganda would at last mean intellectual paralysis; education is, when properly employed, intellectual stimulus. It is better that men should think than that they should accept conclusions formulated by other men for them. We have need in these times that men should think deeply, that they should realize the necessity of settling their own problems.

Mr. Harding has given his critics more than one fair chance to indulge in sarcastic comment on his style; it is beginning to be recognized that he is quite as often notably felicitous both in substance and in expression. There is another passage in his letter which we must quote:

We have heard much in recent years about the problem of the Pacific, whatever that may be. I take it to be merely a phase of the universal problem of the race, of men and nations wherever they are. It is hard to imagine justifications in this day and age, especially in view of the world's late unhappy experiences, for armed conflict among civilized peoples anywhere and especially among peoples so widely separated as those on opposite borders of the Pacific. They represent different races, social organizations, political systems and modes of thought. Between them and their widely varying systems there may well be an amicable competition to determine which community possesses the better and more effective ideas for human advancement.

The other letter is addressed to a Brooklyn lady who had asked the President to define what he meant by "reasonable limitation" of armament. Says the President:

By reasonable limitation I mean something practicable that there is a chance to accomplish rather than an ideal that there would be no chance to realize. It is necessary to deal with actualities; to do the best possible.

Universal disarmament will be beyond hope of realization; even its desirability at this time might well be questioned. Thousands of years of history recording the wars and controversies of mankind suggest that human nature would require revolutionary reorganization to make universal disarmament possible. A consideration of the present state of the world must, I think, enforce the conclusion that this is not a hopeful time to undertake that kind of revolution.

On the other hand, a world with the horrors of recent experiences seared into its mind, and staggering under the load of debt and armaments, has generously justified our hope for a favorable attitude toward the practical effort, the sincere beginning, that we are attempting. The fine spirit in which leading nations have received the invitation to meet and consider these things is altogether encouraging.

To undertake the impossible and fail might leave our last state worse than our first. The attitude of the nations warrants confidence that we will not fail, but rather that substantial results will be accomplished, calculated to lessen the armament burden, and to reduce the danger of armed conflict. I feel that in such an effort we are entitled to the support of all people who would be glad—as I can assure you I would—to see still more accomplished if possible.

Mr. Harding is an excellent letter-writer; a rare accomplishment.

### Jacobinism Plus

A NEW-WORLD journal which blends Jacobinism with unctuous pietism is *The World Tomorrow*. It is fertile in sanctions for any dubious thing which contributes to the greater glory of the "Cause." The noble end invariably justifies the questionable means. The atrocious wickedness of suppressing free speech, a free press, and free assemblage and of punishing sedition, in a bourgeois democracy, becomes a crowning virtue when done in a country ruled by an oligarchy in the name of the proletariat. Just now this journal is deeply interested in explaining the Russian famine. Is the Soviet régime in any way responsible? Hardly. A long line of antecedent factors enter in, but the Red masters are virtually blameless. There were the Tsar and his ministers, unscientific agriculture, peasant ignorance, the war, the blockade, Wrangel, and a few other things and then the "crowning calamity of the drought." Was there anything else—for instance, the ruthless expropriation by the Soviet Government of the peasants' products?

Of course so obvious a factor could not be wholly ignored. It must be mentioned, even though it is gaily dismissed as of small consequence. "While the demands of the Soviet Government upon the ill-informed and unconverted peasantry," says this journal, "were responsible for some failure to plant crops, they were anything but the chief cause of the tragedy, and the Russian Government itself, even before the advent of the famine, modified its policy toward the peasantry in accordance with the demands of the peasants themselves." There you have it. Euphemism in the explanation of a terrible tragedy could hardly go further. Does it matter that some of the Bolshevik leaders themselves acknowledge the culpability of the Government? Not in the slightest. It is the business of this pietistic journal to give Soviet terrorism and looting a virtually clean bill of health.

For instance, there is Kameneff, president of the Moscow Soviet and chairman of the All-Russian Commission for Combating Famine, who at the June conference of the Communist party at Moscow had this to say:

As a result of our food levies there is a terrible shrinkage of the area under agricultural cultivation, the decrease amounting to nearly 25,000,000 dessiatines (67,000,000 acres). We have reached the stage where the incentive for developing their farms has almost disappeared among the peasants.

The Government's policy, Kameneff further said, had resulted in "agriculture having decreased to half of its former extent." Might not at least some inkling of this



official testimony have found its way into the plea of this journal of pious revolutionism? Not at all; since to have acknowledged any part of it would have been to admit a blot on the Soviet escutcheon. "We have no objection," says this journal, "to honest analysis of the shortcomings of the Russian Government." Perhaps not; but it takes pains not to record such shortcomings even when admitted by Soviet officials.

The other half of the exculpatory sentence given above is equally rich in euphemism. "The Russian Government itself," it reads, "even before the advent of the famine, modified its policy toward the peasantry in accordance with the demands of the peasants themselves." It is a delightful picture; one thinks of joint councils, open hearings, suave negotiations, conciliation and agreement. Yet the plain facts, to everybody's knowledge, are that for three seasons the Soviet Government through armed force, attended by massacres and barbarous destruction of property, made arbitrary seizures of food throughout the realm; and that only when the rulers were faced by the utter collapse of food production did they abandon this policy for the somewhat less wholesale robbery of the tax in kind.

The Bolshevik leaders are not wholly responsible for the famine. All that can be charged against them is that they did everything in their power to bring it on. Nature, in one of her malignant moods, helped them. But Nature, even in her most benevolent mood, could not long have put off a tragic climax. The outcome was inevitable; and the canting excuses of the pro-Bolsheviks cannot shift the responsibility.

## Manufacturing in Bolshevy

THE ancient adage that there is a time and place for all things is beautifully exemplified in the story told by Capt. W. B. Estes, who has recently returned from a year's detention in Soviet Russia. There is a shop manager—doubtless but one of an unchronicled many—in Sovietdom who in the innocence of his heart and in his strong desire to serve the state made a woeful guess. He had seen much in official Bolshevik print in praise of efficiency, had seen and heard much of the official counsel to produce, produce, produce. Accordingly he acted. The 1,900 men under him had been producing only four automobiles a week. But when 1,600 of these, or 84 per cent., were laid off, he succeeded in getting the same output from the remaining 300. Naturally he was elated, for he was showing results consonant with the official counsel. But the 1,600, who before the lay-off had devoted themselves largely to making things on Government time out of Government materials for their own use or profit, demanded that they be taken back. When the manager refused, they formally denounced him as a counter-revolutionary, with the result that he went to jail while they went back to their jobs. When he gets out—if he ever does—he will know better how to run a Soviet workshop.

## Self-Confidence Unimpaired

NOTHING daunts the spirit of the Committee of 48. It is still, after a long series of vexatious happenings, intrepid and active. Its latest manifesto recites a long string of nation-wide evils, all "directly attributable to the fact that we lack statesmanship." And

the "we" is not confessional; it does not mean the Committee of 48. It means the people as a whole, and its context means that the highly placed persons who ought to know how things ought to be done, really don't know. The Committee of 48 will willingly relieve them of their jobs and show the effective way. A year and a half ago it first offered its services to that end; and it made, for a time, active efforts to organize an independent political party which should sweep the nation. These efforts did indeed result in the formation of a party, which later polled 254,727 votes, or almost 1 per cent. of the nation's total. But the tragic part of this wondrous beginning was that at the organizing convention in St. Louis the Forty-eighters found themselves out-talked, out-maneuvred and out-voted by rude persons who had been longer in the game, and who knew how and what to do. Maybe on a larger scale of opportunities they could do better; but dubious as is our present stock of statesmanship, there seems small inclination to turn to this particular quarter for relief.

## Gildersleeve at Ninety

TO refer to Basil L. Gildersleeve as the dean of American scholars seems somehow an absurdity. At once the oldest and the most distinguished of his fraternity, it is impossible to think of him as a "dean." In spite of having in the last few years undergone some of the grievous sufferings of old age, the sparkle in his eye—and in his words—remains what it was of yore. On October 23 he attains his ninetieth birthday and will receive, we have no doubt, such a shower of congratulations from all that is best in the world of learning as no other living scholar in America, or perhaps in the world, would be greeted with on such an occasion. It is but a melancholy pleasure to recall the delightful assemblage which eight years ago celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of his Göttingen doctorate; and yet it is a pleasure, too. It is bitter to think of the change that has come over the world in those tragic years, and the impossibility of renewing today the boyish, yet manly, reminiscences of German university life which gave to that gathering so large a part of its savor. Yet one can not help feeling a justified hope that what was sound and fine in that life may once again come into its own. For after all, and overlaid as it has been with so much that is false and mischievous, the spirit of the German university has been at bottom the spirit of devotion to the truth and of love of knowledge for its own sake. In this country Gildersleeve has exemplified, as perhaps no one else ever has, the combination of that spirit and what is best in the temper, taste, and talent of the English or American man of letters. To attempt to give in a brief space any account of his seventy years' achievement as scholar, teacher and writer, would be an idle effort; still less would it be possible to convey in a few words any idea of the personality which has won the delighted admiration of three generations of pupils and friends. It would take the pen of Gildersleeve himself to essay such a feat, and that is not available for the purpose. To this fine example of a fine type—true American as well as true Southerner, broad man of letters as well as accurate scholar, distinguished no less for his flow of wit than for his stores of learning—our salutations and best wishes!



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

THE MARITIME HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1783-1860, by Samuel Eliot Morison. Houghton Mifflin.

Admirable story of the days when Yankee skippers knew the streets of Singapore and Calcutta better than they knew the lanes of their own towns.

REMARKABLE ROGUES; THE CAREERS OF SOME NOTABLE CRIMINALS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, by Charles Kingston. Lane.

A book to disprove the saying that the only interesting criminals are the ones who are never found out.

THE TRAGEDY OF LORD KITCHENER, by Viscount Esher. Dutton.

The tragedy, not of his death, but of his final years.

WOODROW WILSON AND THE WORLD WAR, by Charles Seymour. Yale University Press.

Named here partly for its own sake, and partly out of respect for the series, "The Chronicles of America," in which it is the forty-eighth volume.

THE glory which is being acquired by many of the American novelists may perhaps be contemplated by the average reader without extreme or corroding jealousy. But I have put at the head of this page, this week, the title of a book which fills me with the greenest envy toward its author. I mean "The Maritime History of Massachusetts" (Houghton Mifflin), by Samuel Eliot Morison. The fun that he had in writing it, the agreeable research into a fascinating past, the pleasant travel which he has certainly undertaken in the course of the book's construction, and—I suspect—the personal and ancestral charm which the subject exercised upon the writer. Such a book cannot smell of the study; the mustiest of libraries becomes fresh and invigorating when a student is hunting up records of the earliest sailors of the Pacific, the Chinese trading ships, Salem and the East Indies, Newburyport and Nantucket, the whalers, and the clipper ships. The author has soaked himself in his subject, but he has not lost himself in it—he is always lively and modern. The ice trade with India reminds him of the adjutant bird in Kipling's story who swallowed a frozen bit of Wenham Pond, and danced in dismay. I long to quote from his delicious description of the old Boston merchants and ship-owners, or from his pages about Donald McKay, the great builder of clipper ships, who poetically named his own beautiful creations "Flying Cloud" and "Westward Ho!" and "Lightning" and "Glory of the Seas." He writes of the speed of these ships: "A speed of 12.5

knots on a broad reach in smooth waters by the 'Resolute' or 'Shamrock' excites the yachting reporters. The 'Lightning' logged 18.2 for twenty-four hours in 1857" and did 15.5 for ten days.

Mr. Morison writes of the wives who accompanied some of the sea captains on their voyages:

"But the most remarkable of these brave women of the sea was Mrs. Captain Patten, of the 'Neptune's Car.' In the midst of a Cape Horn gale Captain Patten came down with brain fever. The first mate was in irons for insubordination; the second mate was ignorant of navigation. But Mrs. Patten had made herself mistress of the art during a previous voyage. Without question she took command. For fifty-two days this frail little Boston woman of *nineteen years* navigated a great clipper of eighteen hundred tons, tending her husband the while; and took both safely into San Francisco." Mrs. Patten's age is confirmed by the Boston marriage records, which give her age as sixteen when she married Captain Patten in 1853. She was Mary A. Brown, daughter of George Brown of Boston.

The history comes to an end with the passing of the clipper:

"The maritime history of Massachusetts, then, as distinct from that of America, ends with the passing of the clipper. 'Twas a glorious ending! Never, in the United States, has the brain of man conceived, or the hand of man fashioned, so perfect a thing as the clipper ship. In her, the long-suppressed artistic impulse of a practical, hard-worked race burst into flower. The *Flying Cloud* was our Rheims, the *Sovereign of the Seas* our Parthenon, the *Lightning* our Amiens; but they were monuments carved from snow. For a brief moment of time they flashed their splendor around the world, then disappeared with the sudden completeness of the wild pigeon. One by one they sailed out of Boston, to return no more. A tragic or mysterious end was the final privilege of many, favored by the gods. Others, with lofty rig cut down to cautious dimensions, with glistening decks and topsides scarred and neglected, limped about the seas under foreign flags, like faded beauties forced upon the street."

I think it is Mr. Robert C. Holliday, in his new book, "Turns About Town," who writes of the danger that lies in "reference" books. If you are at all afflicted or endowed with a reading habit it is almost fatal to open a good one—or even a bad one. The close of the afternoon or the end of the evening will find you still reading it. It has taken some self-restraint for me to put one (a good one) of them down—only this moment—and write this note about it. The book is "A Dictionary of Religion and Ethics" (Macmillan), edited by Shailer Mathews and Gerald Birney Smith. I am not wholly in-

formed upon either of these subjects, so my time was not wasted. Besides, I enjoyed reading about Adamites; St. Agnes; Air Gods; Benedictines; Bunyan, John; and Celtic Religion. At that point I had to stop. Such is the life of a book-reviewer.

The reason why books of travel are so easily ridiculed is that most of them are written in the jaunty, cocksure manner of the visitor who has spent, often, as many as four weeks in the country he describes. When the traveler has become a resident in a strange land, he may write not only with a knowledge which brings respect, but with a straightforward style which avoids the pitfalls opening before the author who strains too hard to be "literary." It is this combination of knowledge with an engaging matter-of-fact manner which makes Capt. C. A. W. Monckton's "Taming New Guinea; Some Experiences of A Resident Magistrate" (Lane), one of the very best books of its class for this year. It will do no harm to give it a second recommendation.

Reading some more chapters in Charles Kingston's "Remarkable Rogues" (Lane), now that the American edition is available, increases my respect for the book. Mr. Kingston has assembled a variety of poisoners, swindlers and assassins, and if his narrative is sometimes a bit vague (I am precise enough to wish to know in what century an event has taken place) his stories are frequently light and amusing. It was a nasty trick which the bootmaker played upon Herr Krupp's housekeeper, for instance, when he passed himself off as the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, but the author's recital makes it a source of laughter. The murder of Mme. Houet, and the almost classical case of Mme. Guerin, the matrimonial agent, are two other pleasing chapters. You may enjoy the privilege of association with some wicked, wicked folk if you read this book—and do it without resorting to prisons. Prisons are disagreeable places; they invariably smell of bean soup.

Let us turn from the evil associations of Mr. Kingston's rogues, and look upon the simple, the innocent, and the beautiful; three peculiar creatures called "Pip, Squeak, and Wilfred" (Dutton). It is a book for children, an English book, the equivalent in England of Mr. Thornton Burgess's rabbits, squirrels and striped chipmunks. Pip, Squeak, and the other, as drawn by A. B. Payne, are followed daily by thousands of children across the sea. Pip is a dog, Squeak is a penguin, and Wilfred is a rabbit. (A stroke of genius to name a rabbit so!) Mr. Payne, I take it, is *not* the biographer of Mark Twain, the author of that admirable story of New York, "The Bread Line," but another.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Fashionable Anarchy

THE GLASS OF FASHION: SOME SOCIAL REFLECTIONS BY A GENTLEMAN WITH A DUSTER. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

ALMOST before the excitement aroused by "Mirrors of Downing Street" has died away, its author launches a second anonymous satire upon persons of note. This time it is not politicians and men of business, but two leaders of society—two elegant triflers of the *beau monde*—who are forced to see themselves as at least one merciless critic sees them. The "Gentleman with a Duster," having dusted the mirrors of statesmen, has applied his skill to polishing the glass of fashion. He selects two victims, Colonel Repington and Mrs. H. H. Asquith. The Diaries of the former and the Autobiography of the latter are used as a text for some pungent social reflections.

For this critic takes "Fashion" very seriously indeed. Manners he regards as no trifle, but as standing in the closest possible association with morals. The Gentleman with a Duster has no democratic illusions about each individual conscience "privately judging" conduct for itself. He declares his belief that there must be in every community a privileged class, to which the multitude will look up and by whose example it will be guided. "Revolution can do nothing but displace one authority by another." Thus everything depends on the character of those by whom the pattern is set. "By the term 'Fashion' I mean all those noisy, ostentatious, and frivolous people . . . who have scrambled onto the summit of England's national life, and who, setting the worst possible examples in morals and manners, are never so happy as when they are making people talk about them." The writer wants to have these ostentatious people either brought to a sense of their duties or expelled from the heights. We need above all things "a valid aristocracy."

The aristocracy whose habits of mind are revealed in the recent books by Colonel Repington and Mrs. Asquith is, in his view, anything but a valid one. He grants that the gossip Diaries published in "The First World War" show much military insight. But he asks whether we might not have expected that those bulky volumes, written while Europe was passing through her years of agony, and presumably containing the deeper thoughts of the diarist at such a time, would exhibit at least here and there a trace of feeling for the Cause that was at stake. "Nowhere will you find a period or a sentence of which you could say 'There! That is what we fought for.'" We get instead flippancy and persiflage, coarse and at times indecent jesting. What occupied Colonel Repington's mind, what he thought suitable for recording at great

length and publishing to the world, was the series of his luncheons and dinners, where he met ladies who "looked a picture"—decked out "in the most attractive widow's weeds imaginable" by a Paris firm that "makes a specialty of mourning for war widows." Colonel Repington recounts in his own forecast in 1917 that the war would continue for a long time. There seemed to him to be no reason for stopping, since the nations had come to count money no more than pebbles on a beach, since all of them would probably repudiate their debts at the close, since so many persons were growing rich as profiteers, and since "the ladies liked being without their husbands." This sort of entry by the diarist rouses his critic to a moral fury.

Nor does Mrs. Asquith fare better at his hands. As he reads her character in her Autobiography, Margot typifies "that insurgent class of the commercial rich which broke into society soon after the second Reform Bill, and during the years of King Edward's reign completely overwhelmed it." She is not without good qualities—generosity, kindness, freedom from snobbishness. "She is a devoted wife, an exemplary mother, and she believes in God." But she is the sort of new woman who aims to be sensational, to get herself discussed, to be admired for her "social courage." In order to show this last trait she flings herself "against society's spiritual paling of modesty, self-effacement, restraint, and delicacy." Hence her extraordinary tale of how she shocked people in her girlhood, of her successive amorous adventures, of intimate things—now familiar to all readers of her memoirs—which a feminine tradition of reticence would have forbidden her to mention, but which it delights her as an anti-conventionalist to trumpet to the world. "She seems to me definitely in arms against all those graces which are the very sinew of good manners." Then, with the instinct of the satirist for effective contrasts, the writer brings before us other leaders of society who have kept the sinew of good manners intact and unstrained.

One can easily anticipate some criticism to which this book will be subjected. It will be said that the habits and opinions, the epigrams and mannerisms and tastes of Mrs. Asquith and Colonel Repington are their own concern, that this savage dissecting of them by an anonymous satirist is a piece of intrusiveness, that the ephemeral popularity of such "mirror writing" is like the vogue of scandalous gossip among the vulgar and calls for the same discountenancing by the refined. Some will object that it is hypercritical to blame an old soldier because he does not preach in his diaries, or a woman of fashion because she is obviously thinking much about the figure she cuts before the world. Is there not even a healthy tone of candor in these two straightforward people, who do not—like so many others—pretend a higher sentiment than they feel, but just reveal themselves unblushingly as

they are? Not a few will contend that the Gentleman with a Duster makes far too much fuss about them both, and that nothing which either of them can say or do has the social and national consequence here attached to it. Let us grant, it will be said, that one of them has perpetrated a rather nasty and spiteful sort of memoir, betraying sometimes the mood of a disappointed woman and at other times an almost incredible degree of bad taste such as we regret to find in any woman writer at all. Let us grant that the other has exhibited himself as a purveyor of jokes often silly and sometimes a little unclean, on occasions which made the joker in a special degree unseemly, inflicting upon us a set of diaries to show how he preserved the tone of the *vieux garçon* throughout the most tragic period of the world. But, it will be asked, do such books on this account call for more than a passing exclamation of resentment and disgust?

Some of these censures upon the Gentleman with a Duster have been heard ever since the appearance of "Mirrors of Downing Street"; others are sure to be provoked by "The Glass of Fashion." To the present critic they appear very largely to miss the mark. Mrs. Asquith and Colonel Repington have challenged the world. They have drawn most elaborate pictures of themselves, on the obvious assumption that their personalities are of sufficient interest to justify these pretentious volumes. The observer is thus invited to say what he thinks of the two figures that masquerade before him, and he may give his judgment with just as much propriety under a pseudonym as with his signature. The Gentleman with a Duster refers us to the text of the books he criticises, and he judges the writers as they have written themselves down in volumes accessible to us all. He draws our attention to passages, and suggests a way of looking at them, but it is open to every reader to verify for himself, and to agree or disagree.

Nor is there real point in the protest that the whims and fancies of fashion are of no general or serious significance. It is perfectly true that the social conscience is formed by example, and that what psychologists call "prestige-suggestion" has a powerful influence upon morals. No doubt Mrs. Asquith and Colonel Repington are not more flippant, but just a little more outspoken, than many others of their class. The strange feature of their books is not that they should have thought in such a way, but that they should have called upon all the world to take notice of it. As Fashion "elevates her darkened eyebrow" in scorn of the higher enthusiasms, the scorn will be caught up all too easily by that multitude whose regard for enthusiasm is already far less keen than its regard for Fashion. There is indeed poignant and penetrating truth in this writer's counsel: "I suggest that we should take the measure of the leaders of mankind, those who set the fashion of





# The Literary Review

OF THE

## New York Evening Post

EDITED BY HENRY SEIDEL CANBY

THERE are twenty thousand books published in English every year. We shall not attempt to estimate how many in the various European languages. Who sorts them for you? Whose judgment can you trust? Can you be sure that you know what books you want?

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daily life, whose influence is the moral climate in which we breathe and form our opinions."

But, though the Gentleman with a Duster has been reproached for qualities that are in truth among his merits, there are other grounds upon which he can be fairly attacked, especially in certain exaggerations into which he has been betrayed and in his scornful allusions to "Darwinism." But these are no more than spots on the sun. "The Glass of Fashion" is at once one of the most brilliant and one of the healthiest books that this publishing season has given us, and it is with heartfelt gratitude that the present critic welcomes a crusader of such prowess in so fine a cause. It was time for some one to speak out upon the follies and dangers, the humiliating and not seldom disgusting freaks of behavior, the posing and posturing, and general humbug that are associated with what is called "Fashion." The mid-Victorian tradition of our grandmothers was not, indeed, quite so radiantly beautiful a thing as this writer suggests, and it had faults which he finds it convenient to his argument to forget. But he is on the right lines in arraigning those whose affected superiority to the mid-Victorian has its source, not in deeper insight, but in mere anarchic rebelliousness against the decorous and the decent. We live in an age of "escape from conventions," but what we have really evolved is a new form of the very thing we pretend to have superseded. Protest against "cant" has become one of the most canting hypocrisies; the heralds of revolt have imprisoned us under a new tyranny of their own; what may be called with justice "the convention of anti-conventionalism" has all the faults and few of the merits of the social usage it has displaced. All honor to this bold and gifted writer who has wielded the satiric pen with a trenchant effect that suggests a Tacitus, a Juvenal, or a Swift. His epigrams sparkle like diamonds, the shafts from his quiver strike home. What a world of suggestive meaning, for example, belongs to that heading from Vanbrugh which he has prefixed to the chapter on Mrs. Asquith's Autobiography! "Oh, my God, that you won't listen to a woman of quality when her heart is bursting!" Which of his readers will soon forget the description of the war-tortured world in which Colonel Repington's Diaries and other kindred phenomena were proceeding, like "a carnival in mid-Lent, . . . a brass band in Gethsemane?" The very resentment which the Gentleman with a Duster has provoked among those critics who have shed all the moral enthusiasms, and are irritated that anyone else should cherish these superstitions still, is sufficient proof that his apostolic office has not been exercised in vain. The enormous interest he is arousing in that public which ignores his futile depreciators is a reassuring proof that there is still something nobly responsive in the heart of the reading masses.

HERBERT L. STEWART



## Uneasy Hearts—and Hands

THE TORTOISE. By Mary Borden. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

THE NEW WORLD. By G. Murray Atkin. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

FOR ME ALONE. By André Corthis. Translated from the French by Frederic Taber Cooper.

RESTRAINT, control—how gravely they are needed just now by the brilliant English-writing novelists of the younger and youngest schools. The "Anglo-Saxon" character is no longer the norm, we acknowledge: much typical work of the day is strongly touched with Gallic and Celtic and Teutonic influences. But these foreign influences are as yet imperfectly assimilated. It sometimes seems that what our eager story-tellers have caught up from continental models is the body without the soul, their animus in the lesser sense alone. Being anti-Puritan is not being pagan or Catholic. Composite as our race is, the tradition persists of those northern inhibitions and restraints, those reticences and decorums which, as the growth of three centuries, cannot be cast off like a cloak, but have to be plucked off like burdens, and therefore painfully and self-consciously. When we stop being excited about our new liberties, they will cease to be licenses. And when we have freed sentiment of its canary-cage, it will forget to be sentimentalism.

The author of "The Tortoise" is a Chicagoan who is the wife of a British general and lives in Paris. Her "Romantic Woman" may be recalled as a somewhat hectic adventure in un-Puritan fiction with a net effect of sophisticated emotionalism. The Puritan remained on the premises, if only as a bony relic; and through the boudoir window you could see the Victorian lingering in the garden with Maud. "The Tortoise" has a belated quality, since it not only makes use of the late war in the plot, but deals actively in that now almost outlawed article, life at "the front." Accepting all this as a handy if now obvious means of testing the hero's character and the heroine's real feeling for him, we may see what else the book comes to—a romantic story with a happy ending. It is about a beautiful temperamental wife who is cold to her brilliant but physically ugly and morally Dobbin-like husband. How is a half-articulate and grotesque William Chudd to make himself loved of a fair and fastidious Helen, wife or no wife? Well, that is what we are to observe. Luck takes a hand, since there is a moment when she throws herself at the head of the handsome French noble who has been philandering with her, and only the fact that it is the wrong moment for him saves her. Therefore we feel it to be right that she shall thereafter do the pursuing and the wooing of the neglected and almost fatally injured William Chudd. There is a most satisfactory curtain, according with the



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best precedents for this kind of story. On the whole, we get the effect of a W. J. Locke without his whimsicality, or an E. Temple Thurston without his chest note. Beauty and the Beast, Cymon and Iphigenia, Amelia and Dobbin—virtue and domesticity vindicated—such are the timeless materials of which Mary Borden in "The Tortoise" (like Dorothy Canfield in "The Brimming Cup") makes somewhat voluptuous use.

Sophisticated emotionalism, the enlightened throb, may be taken as the note of "The New World." The writer, "G. Murray Atkin," is, it appears, a Miss Atkin of Canada. Her story has to do with a Canadian youth of Italian paternity, and the beautiful half-English wife of a dissolute Italian noble. Dante Ricci, at his English schooling, becomes intimate with some of Margherita's people, and the pair are destined to love each other. Margherita has a low forehead, a low voice, and low laughter, but there is nothing else low about her. She is the great lady and the great lover—within bounds. She loathes her rakish husband, but her church denies divorce and for the sake of her English "Granny" she will not leave him otherwise. So that in the end we have had a great deal of mooning about, and high discourse, and blameless sighing, and have got nowhere. Dante longs for his Margherita, but he longs also to be a deathless poet; and finds practical solace meanwhile in the invention of an Utopian system without a cog loose in it. "A man's love is protective, but Dante's love has never grown to that. His love is a boy's love. It is shy and strong with a deep, strong longing to serve. So we leave him with Tolstoi's dream of a New World founded on the 'Brotherhood of Man' and his own unspoken hope that some day the broad, determining lines might shift and he would find himself again with Margherita." Clearly a woman's hero of the negative type; psycho-analysts take notice. . . . The story is "well written," the product of a sincere intention, an ardent and wistful intelligence, and a by no means unskilful hand. But it lacks reserve, control, the firm touch of the interpreter.

This touch is present in "For Me Alone." Here are economy of material and control of mood. Here the characterization is unerring; the action, for all its slowness, a vigorous unit, free from clutter of ornament or irrelevance. The book won the "Grand Prix du Romain" for 1920. It is not a great novel, but it is a real one, something alive and not merely something made up. It is romantic, that is, it presents a virtue suffering and triumphant, a womanhood vindicating itself as it fails to vindicate itself in, say, the "Bertha Garlan" of Arthur Schnitzler. Its vindication is that of sacrifice, of abnegation and compromise. The outcome is not happiness but character; while in "Bertha Garlan" the outcome of "freedom" is dis-



integration. Not all mismated provincial wives are of the same mould, and therefore of the same destiny, as a Madame Bovary. H. W. BOYNTON

## Pebbles

Customer (in book store)—I want the last word in dictionaries.

Clerk—Yes, sir. Zythum.—*Yale Record*.

François—Waiter, this meat is as tough as leather.

Pierre—Yes, sir; it's saddle of mutton.—*Stanford Chaparral*.

Post—So you saw the whole Johnson family? How does the epileptic daughter look?

Parker—Very fit.—*Judge*.

"How's your cold, Donald?"

"Verra obstinate."

"And how's your wife?"

"Aboot the same."—*London Mail*.

"Isn't it strange that all those men in the front row are baldheaded?"

"They must have bought their tickets from the scalpers."—*Jack-o-Lantern*.

Wife—Mrs. Jones has another new hat.

Hubby—Well, if she were as attractive as you are, my dear, she wouldn't have to depend so much upon the milliner.—*London Opinion*.

Pep—Don't go in bathing after a big dinner.

Pip—Why not?

Pep—Because you won't find it there.—*Princeton Tiger*.

The doctor had instructed the butler in the art of taking and recording his master's temperature.

"I hope," said he on his arrival one morning, "that your master's temperature is no higher."

"I was just hoping that myself, sir," said the butler, solemnly. "He died an hour ago."—*New York American*.

Two women, one of whom carried an infant of surprising ugliness, entered a car. A man who sat opposite them seemed fascinated by the ugliness of the baby, and could not keep his eyes off it. At length the mother, annoyed by the prolonged stare, leaned forward and said: "Rubber!"

The man heaved a sigh of relief and replied: "Thank heavens! I thought it was real."—*Store Chat*.

A man and his wife at a fair were looking for the so-called Women's Exchange, the wife having some fancy work she wished to barter for the work of others.

"Will you direct us to the Women's Exchange?" the husband asked of a man they met.

The man gazed at the wife, whose good looks were proverbial in three counties. "Great Scott, man!" he exclaimed impulsively. "You don't want to swap off that woman, do you?"—*Ladies' Home Journal*.

A woman was annoyed to find her neighbor's fowls continually over-running her garden. "Go next door, Jane," she said to a servant, "and point out to Mrs. Jones that her fowls bother us a great deal. Ask if she will try to keep them at home. Don't be rude on any account."

The girl returned with a satisfied look on her face. "I don't fancy we shall have them around here again," she said with a grin.

"I hope you were polite, Jane," remarked the mistress. "Oh, yes, ma'am," came the reply. "Missus' respects," says I, "and if your fowls ain't kep' at home, you won't be getting so many eggs of a mornin' and we shall be eatin' poultry."—*New York Globe*.



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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

#### I. Questions for Those Who Are Writing in The Independent's Essay Contest on "Disarmament."

1. Read and analyze the article called "Chemical Warfare and Disarmament." Express the principal thought of the article in a single sentence, or at least in a single paragraph.
2. Write an exposition in which you show exactly how chemical warfare may lead to the abandonment of great armaments, and even to the abandonment of war.
3. Explain why the United States may oppose the prohibition of the use of gas in warfare.
4. "All great engineering advances scrap at a stroke, and automatically, the existing less perfect instruments." Prove the truth of the statement by telling of some specific instance that will illustrate the thought expressed.
5. Write an original and imaginative short story in which you tell of the events that may take place in future warfare.
6. Imagine that you are to debate on the question: "Resolved: That the use of gas in warfare should be permitted." Present the arguments for the side in which you believe.

#### II. Poetry.

1. Read "Trails." Explain, as if to a class of younger pupils, exactly what thought the writer wishes to convey.
2. Point out the part of the poem that expresses the deepest emotion.
3. Point out, name and explain the figures of speech that occur in the poem.
4. Explain unusual words and phrases, such as "casual," "unsophisticated," "berry-pouting," "glade," "laughter-dimpling," "titan ocean" and "runic islands."

#### III. Questions on Literature.

1. Read "New Books and Old" and "Book Reviews." What deductions can you make concerning the sort of books the writers admire?
2. "The fun that he had in writing it, the agreeable research into a fascinating past, the pleasant travel . . . undertaken in the course of the book's construction . . . the personal and ancestral charm which the subject exercised upon the writer." Explain how all these things make the writing of a book a most delightful task. Explain how to gain, in the writing of school compositions, somewhat of the same pleasure.
3. "The author has soaked himself in his subject, but he has not lost himself in it." How can you apply to your own writing the criticism here indicated?
4. Write an original short story in which you tell of the heroic work of Mary Brown Paten, mentioned in column two of "New Books and Old."
5. What makes any story of the clipper ships of the early days of the United States so unusually interesting?
6. Explain the reference in the last paragraph of column two of "New Books and Old" to "the danger that lies in 'reference' books." Tell your own personal experiences in connection with any well-known "reference" book.
7. What is an "anonymous satire"? Name some famous satires.
8. Explain the criticism of present day literature that is indicated in the following quotations: "The convention of anti-conventionalism has all the faults and few of the merits of the social usage it has displaced." "Restraint, control—how gravely they are needed just now by the brilliant English-writing novelists of the younger and youngest schools."
9. What present day literary changes are indicated in the following sentence? "Much typical work of the day is strongly touched with Gallic and Celtic and Teutonic influences."
10. Consult an encyclopedia, or other work of reference, and present reports concerning the literary work of the following, mentioned in "Book Reviews": Tacitus, Juvenal, Swift, Vanbrugh, Tolstoy.

#### IV. General Articles.

1. Read "Arcadia To-day." Prepare a report concerning the Arcadia of the past.
2. Read "The Revival of Vienna." Write a contrast concerning the Vienna of the past and the Vienna of to-day.
3. What do the cartoons in this issue show concerning the power of cartoons?

### History, Civics and Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,  
Former Principal of the High School  
of Commerce, New York

#### I. The Final Drive Against War; In Time of Peace Prepare for War.

1. Summarizing the case for and against "the use of gas in future wars" do you want the United States to "oppose prohibition" of its use? Can you harmonize the belief that we should exempt the armament in which we think ourselves preëminent with our belief that we should urge limitation of the armament in which other nations surpass us?
2. Explain the basis of the statement "modern war virtually makes all citizens combatants."
3. Do you agree with the statements; "to abolish warfare make it increasingly terrible," "by demonstrating our preparedness and special aptitude for scientific war, we are better able to enforce our pacific wishes"? Can you give any instances of the use of these ideas in the past to justify increased preparations for war? Can you harmonize them with the contention that Germany's great war preparation before 1914 was a cause of war?

#### II. Europe's Situation—The Revival of Vienna; Upper Silesia.

1. What were the grounds for the belief that "the new Austria created by the peace treaty of St. Germain cannot possibly live"?
2. Why are the "frontiers . . . assigned to Austria" called preposterous?
3. Look up the movement to make Austria "part of the German Reich" and show the attitude of the Allies toward it.
4. Explain the conflict between "Justice" and a "working proposition" in the settlement of the Silesian question. (2) Which do you think predominated in the final settlement?

#### III. The Washington Conference—In the Background of the Conference; Incomparable France; Miscellaneous.

1. Look up "the romantic story of the settlement of Siberia" and compare it with "our own winning of the West."
2. Explain the situation in Japan which gives her "the pressing problem of providing for her increasing population."
3. Trace the history of "emigration" and "industrialism" in Japan. In what countries has emigration given rise to race questions? What forms have the race questions taken in each country?
4. What suggestions for betterment are stated or implied in this editorial?
5. In what way is France "fitted for the rôle of mediator at the Washington Conference"?
6. Trace the history of the Shantung question.
7. Look up the part France has played in the disintegration of China.

#### IV. The Railroad Crisis, The Threatened Strike.

1. Investigate "both sides" of the strikes and see if you agree "that the threatened strikes are unwarranted."
2. Would you be in favor of: (a) giving the Labor Board "legal power to enforce its decisions"; (b) giving the Labor Board power "to forbid a strike while its inquiry is under way"; (c) forbidding strikes on interstate transportation agencies?
3. Look up the history of the strike under Grover Cleveland and see if the situation upon which Cleveland acted is likely to confront President Harding.

#### V. Lloyd George and Unemployment.

1. Compare unemployment in Great Britain and in the United States.
2. Does the situation referred to in this sentence, "And now, while the taxpayer cries out for mercy, the unemployed cry out that the doles must be more generous," exist in the United States?

#### VI. Cartoon on Tweed.

1. Why is a cartoon on Tweed published now?
2. Look up the time and conditions of "boss rule" under Tweed. What advances have been made in city government since his time?

#### VII. The Central American Federation.

1. Look up the history "from 1823 to 1839" and trace the full story of Central American federation.

#### VIII. Correspondents in Russia, Jacobinism Plus, Manufacturing in Bolshevism.

1. Summarize the aspects of Bolshevism criticized in these articles.



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

October 29, 1921



### Railroad Wages

Facts From September Pay Rolls

By Benjamin Baker

**W**HAT are the wages that the five train-service Brotherhoods have threatened to strike against? Here, by way of answer, are facts from the September payrolls of one of the larger Eastern trunk lines. The figures show the actual earnings last month of certain engineers, conductors, firemen, etc., and represent (with an exception to be noted later) typical full-time earnings under the reduced wage rates that were put into effect by the order of the Railroad Labor Board on the first day of July. It was these rates that were before the members of the Brotherhoods during the summer, and against acceptance of which they authorized a strike. The reader's own knowledge and experience will guide him to a judgment as to whether, under present conditions, the earnings resulting from these wage rates are fair.

TABLE I.

Actual Earnings in September, 1921, of Certain Full-time Men on an Eastern Trunk Line.

Service	No. of days' work in month	No. of trips made	Amount received for month
Freight engineer (on regular run) .	25	25	\$279.51
" (extra man) . . . .	26	26	312.68
" (milk train) . . . .	30	15 (round)	299.90
Passenger engineer . . . . .	40	20 (round)	276.82
" . . . . .	40	20 (round)	275.96
Yard engineer . . . . .	30	..	201.44
Freight conductor (reg.) . . . . .	26	26	233.01
" (extra) . . . . .	26	26	254.83
Passenger conductor . . . . .	20	20 (round)	244.08
" . . . . .	19	19 (round)	237.34
" (in through service) . . . .	16	16	299.24
Yard conductor (freight) . . . . .	30	..	189.60
Freight fireman (reg.) . . . . .	21	21	162.99
" (extra) . . . . .	26	26	169.40
" (milk) . . . . .	30	15 (round)	221.52
Passenger fireman . . . . .	30	15 (round)	158.59
" . . . . .	30	15 (round)	165.86
Yard fireman (freight) . . . . .	30	..	152.40
Freight brakeman (reg.) . . . . .	26	26	179.96
" (round) . . . . .	25	25	184.45
Passenger brakeman . . . . .	19	19 (round)	163.79
" . . . . .	20	20 (round)	166.50
" (through service) . . . .	16	16	205.34
Yard brakeman (freight) . . . . .	28	..	163.52
Train baggageman . . . . .	20	20 (round)	183.62
" (through service) . . . .	16	16	216.06

Several features of this table exhibit the knotty techni-

calitics of railroad-wage calculations. How, for instance, can a passenger engineer do 40 days' work in a month? And why should he receive for that seemingly enormous effort only \$276, when the freight engineer, who did only 26 days' work, received \$312? This is due to the definition of a "day's work," and to certain extra payments for overtime and other extras. A day's work for an engineer, either freight or passenger, is "100 miles or less, five hours or less." Skipping the second part of this definition, let it be said that when an engineer has run 100 miles he has earned a day's pay; and if he runs more than 100 miles he gets extra pay for the miles above 100, and may also get extra pay if it takes him more than a specified time to run the



bare 100. The engineer of a fast passenger train obviously can run his day's work of 100 miles in less than five hours. The two passenger engineers represented in the table made 20 round trips of at least 100 miles each way, and hence ran at least 4000 miles, which is 40 days' work in terms of 100 miles to a day. These two engineers actually worked on only 20 different calendar days. The \$312 received by the "extra" freight engineer for only one day's more work than the regular freight engineer, shows that he received overtime pay in addition to that for his greater mileage. The case of the milk train engineer and his fireman is especially interesting as an example of railroad engine service. This engineer starts his train toward the city at 6 o'clock at night, makes the run in seven hours, and at once turns round and goes back in another seven hours—a 14-hour round trip. Then he rests until the second night, when he repeats the performance. His mileage is rather high, and he earns more than two normal days' wages in a 14-hour run every other day. His fireman is also paid on mileage



and overtime, and earns a sum large by comparison with the regular freight brakeman's \$162.

For conductors, brakemen, and baggagemen (except those on a monthly guarantee basis, to be considered later) 150 miles is the distance measure of a day's work: while all these men receive additional pay in the form of overtime when prescribed time limits are exceeded. On certain fast through trains of the road from which these figures were obtained, the day conductor, making nine round trips a month, earns (without overtime) \$336.65 a month, or at the rate of a little over \$4000 a year.

A markedly lower scale of earnings than those represented in the table prevails for the conductors, brakemen, and baggagemen who work for a monthly guaranteed minimum. These monthly rates are applied to "short, turn-around runs," familiar to the public in the ordinary suburban service, and they are mainly confined to such local service. The reason for them is that on such trains it is often difficult or impossible for these three classes to make their minimum of 150 miles a day within the period of 10 hours, after which they must be paid overtime; and the roads naturally try to avoid incurring overtime payments. The scale of monthly salaries for these classes on an Eastern trunk line (under the reduction of July 1) is: Conductors, \$192; assistant conductors, \$156; baggagemen, \$147 and \$136; flagmen and brakemen, \$132. W. G. Lee, head of the Brotherhood of Trainmen, has lately called attention to the salary of passenger brakemen (which he gave as \$134 a month, as it is on some roads) as being quite insufficient under present conditions. This brakeman's salary is at the rate of \$4.40 a day for 30 days in the month. Under the increase given by the Labor Board in July, 1920, the brakeman's monthly salary was \$150. As partial compensation for these monthly salaries below the earnings of regular men in road service outside of the short-turn local (or commuting) field, it is pointed out that they have an assured income: and that, unlike men in road service, they are always within reach of their own homes, and avoid the expense of meals and lodging that falls on the men making long runs away from their home towns.

Yard men, the engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen who do switching and the making up of freight trains, have been paid on an hourly basis, with generally eight hours as an actual day's work, since the provisions of the Adamson Law went into effect. Overtime is accidental. The service in large terminals is a 24-hour service, and since the Adamson Law the railroads generally have put switching work in large yards on a two-shift or three-shift basis. In yard service, as in the local trainservice under a guaranteed monthly salary, the men are able to go to their own homes every night.

It is difficult for the outsider to realize that there are frequent and sometimes great fluctuations in the amount of work that is available to the men of the train service branches, especially in the freight service, which stands for

the bulk of railroad business. A certain proportion of the train service men can be absorbed by the minimum of business on any road. But the amount of business above that minimum, as it fluctuates, requires a varying additional number of men.

When a train has to be discontinued because traffic falls off (as in the recent months of depression), the principle is to lay off an engineer, a fireman, a conductor, and brakemen equivalent to the crew of that train: these men are not "discharged," but are merely not given runs until there is an increase of business that requires their services again. The men thus laid off are not necessarily the actual crew of that discontinued train, but the youngest man in length of service in each branch. These juniors are "bumped off," as the phrase is, by the men of longer service who have a prior right to whatever work there is. Hence, in a time of slack traffic, as now, there are many train-service men of all branches waiting for assignments. Pay rolls for recent months show small earnings for such partly employed men.

These low earnings, normal full-time earnings, and some that are higher than those shown in Table I, appear in the August payrolls of another division of the road represented in Table I. The first few names in each branch, taken as they stand on the rolls, show the following fluctuations—the low figures represent part-time work:

Freight engineers: \$347, \$225, \$261, \$175, \$318, \$177.  
 Passenger engineers: \$248, \$302, \$122, \$226, \$200, \$217, \$251.  
 Freight conductors: \$331, \$185, \$257, \$270, \$171, \$176, \$181.  
 Passenger conductors: \$202, \$264, \$209, \$268, \$286, \$168, \$198.  
 Freight firemen: \$125, \$74, \$137, \$188, \$190, \$87.  
 Passenger firemen: \$95, \$189, \$196, \$159, \$217, \$91.  
 Freight brakemen: \$91, \$132, \$82, \$124, \$42, \$133, \$84.  
 Passenger brakemen: \$52, \$179, \$205 (on through run), \$199, \$73, \$119.  
 Train baggagemen: \$78, \$128, \$187, \$220.

In view of the announced intention of the railroads to ask that wages be further reduced from the present levels to those prevailing under the Railroad Administration, wiping out entirely the increases awarded in July, 1920, by the Labor Board, there is interest in a tabular showing of recent monthly earnings, both absolute and in percentages. The only respectably reliable figures that are available are those issued by the Labor Board last August. The pamphlet accompanying the elaborate tabular presentation of the board's figures is marked "Wage Rates," but the explanations of the methods of computation show that it was the intention of the board to present average increases and average monthly earnings in an absolute measure of dollars actually earned. In calculating earnings of road train-service employees, whom this article mainly concerns, the board counts in both regularly assigned and "extra" men, and remarks that the resulting figures for average monthly earnings are in consequence lower than the actual earnings of the regular men (such as are represented in Table I). The figures in Table II are therefore to be considered understatements of the amounts actually earned by regular men. The last three columns were added by this writer.

TABLE II.  
Average Monthly Wage Rates (Earnings) of Train Service Employees Since December, 1917.

Service	Dec. 1917	U. S. R. R. Adm. Jan. 1920	% Inc. over Dec. 1917	Labor Board, July 1920	% Inc. over Dec. 1917	Lowest in Table I Sept. 1921	Sept. 1921 % Inc. in cost living over Dec. 1917	Sept. 1921 % Inc. in cost living over Dec. 1913
Passenger engineers and motormen.....	\$185.93	\$253.13	36.1	\$288.82	55.3	\$275.96	24.5	77.3
Freight engineers .....	175.64	239.16	36.2	275.99	57.1	279.51		
Passenger firemen .....	112.83	184.26	63.3	219.45	94.5	158.59		
Freight firemen .....	106.11	166.84	57.2	202.38	90.7	162.99		
Yard engineers .....	119.56	159.88	33.7	200.17	67.4	201.44		
Yard firemen .....	74.48	118.44	59.	158.71	113.1	152.40		
Passenger conductors .....	163.75	220.71	34.8	257.74	57.4	237.34		
Freight conductors .....	154.56	208.87	35.1	247.72	60.3	233.01		
Passenger brakemen .....	91.10	147.07	61.4	183.84	101.8	163.79		
Freight brakemen (through).....	100.17	156.28	56.	194.72	94.4	179.96		
Yard brakemen .....	95.76	140.28	46.5	181.44	89.5	163.52		



# Three Soldiers from Greenwich Village

By Hoxie N. Fairchild

[The novel, "Three Soldiers," has been discussed by a number of writers, most of whom were either not in military service during the war, or else in non-combatant service. Mr. Fairchild, the writer of the following article, a graduate of Columbia University, saw service in the line with the Rainbow Division. He was wounded in action and suffered the loss of a leg as the result of his wound. He received two citations and the *Croix de Guerre* with the palm, and was made *Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Couronne*.]

ON opening Mr. John Dos Passos' novel, "Three Soldiers" (George H. Doran Co.), I found myself inducted into an army very different from the one I knew in France. In the army of Mr. Dos Passos all the privates are fools, cowards, or knaves. They spend their time swearing, quarreling, getting drunk, indulging indiscriminately in sexual adventures, plotting against their leaders, and going A. W. O. L. The non-coms are bullies to their subordinates, toadies to their superiors. The officers are either callow, incompetent boys, or hardened brutes whose red faces turn purple when they are angry. "Y" men are greedy Pecksniffian slackers. Everywhere is corruption, beastliness, and brutality. Military service is one round of stupid, unnecessary, and degrading tasks. The army is a monstrous Juggernaut of oppression which crushes the bodies and souls of men.

Now, I defy anyone to excel me in detestation of war and of military service; but to see every distressing incident and every filthy rumor sifted out from all the things, good and bad, which might be said about the war, makes my gorge rise. In France I witnessed or heard of evils which parallel many of the incidents collected by Mr. Dos Passos; but I also saw some beautiful things, illustrative of courage and loyalty and kindness and decency—virtues of which this author makes no mention. And to slur over these things somehow seems a slander to the rather numerous men who were able to maintain certain qualities of civilization unspotted by the beastliness of war.

The three soldiers are Fuselli, Chrisfield, and Andrews. Fuselli is a consumptive Italian-American of low mentality, a coward and a toady. A series of drab incidents sets forth his deterioration under the influence of army life, but there was nothing much to deteriorate in the first place. Certainly he is not a "courageous idealist."

Chrisfield is, an ignorant, brutal, and vicious young tough from Indiana, who early develops symptoms of depressive mania. A corporal—later a lieutenant—named Anderson, tries to make him obey orders, and hence becomes the object of his hatred. One day Chrisfield, finding Anderson wounded and helpless, finishes him off with a hand-grenade. Chrisfield has courage of sorts, but one would hesitate to call him an idealist.

Andrews is by far the most important of the savory three. It would be unfair to say that he is an imaginative projection of Mr. Dos Passos' own character, but he certainly embodies the spirit of the book. At the outset of the war, Andrews is contemplating a musical interpretation of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to St. Anthony in Flaubert's "Tentation." He is never quite able to forgive the draft for interrupting his reverie. In the army he has to pick up cigarette butts under the supervision of an uncultivated corporal, and does it very badly. Whenever he starts thinking of the Queen of Sheba an M. P. snarls, "Button yer coat!" It never occurs to him to keep his coat buttoned and think about the Queen of Sheba at the same time. He hates to drill, he hates to fight, most of all he hates to salute. He especially dislikes officers because he feels that he knows so much more than they do. Once in a café he hears some young officers talking about Ronsard. His blood boils. He is filled with a mad desire

to walk over to their table and tell them what *he* knows about Ronsard. Quite incredibly, he is rather popular with his fellow-privates, especially the maniac Chrisfield; but his superiors regard him with suspicion because he wears a flower behind his ear.

One day, while standing by the roadside admiring the beauty of the eyes of a frog, he is conveniently wounded; and spends a pleasant time reading the "Tentation" in bed. When he is discharged from the hospital he manages, by some humiliating truckling for favor, to be transferred to the Sorbonne Detachment—ostensibly to study music. He spends most of his time, however, carousing with the riff-raff of the army. The humiliating uniform, he explains, hampers his work. He has two love affairs: one highly practical, with a seamstress; one highly idealistic, with a young lady who represents in his mind certain attributes of the Queen of Sheba. With this lady he one day leaves Paris without a pass, is picked up by the military police, and is quite properly assigned to a labor detachment. This is the crowning injustice. He escapes, lurks about for a time disguised as a Frenchman, and is finally caught and taken off—presumably to Leavenworth.

Andrews is not "generous." He responds to no claim which interferes with his personal desires. To him the Queen of Sheba is paramount to all other obligations. No more conceited and selfish character exists in fiction.

He is not "open-minded." Like his creator, he resolutely shuts his eyes to all but the beastliness about him. He makes no attempt to see the other side. Nor is he spiritually alive in any real sense. He is highly sensitive to æsthetic stimulations, but he cringes and snarls when self-sacrifice is demanded. He lacks the spiritual force to rise above his environment.

Nor is he a "courageous idealist." Some courageous idealists went to the front and fought, some went to Leavenworth prison; but none, so far as I know, deserted. We could respect Andrews if he made a bold stand for his convictions. This he does not do. He assumes the uniform, but furtively resents and tries to shirk all the obligations which go with it.

Neither the book nor any of its characters justify the phrases which have been quoted from the jacket. This fact would not perhaps be important were it not that Mr. Dos Passos probably agrees with the publishers. It seems certain that he regards Andrews as an illustration of what war does to the flower of civilization. But civilization implies a nobility and a self-control which Andrews does not possess. He is an essentially ignoble character. His fate produces no tragic catharsis, because he is not felt to be worthy of our sympathy.

"Three Soldiers" must be set down as a rather brilliantly written piece of sordid, narrow-minded realism—the technique and spirit of "Main Street" applied to the war. If it has any general significance it is less the cry of Young America than the cry of Greenwich Village.

Some day, perhaps, a great man will write a great book about the war. He will destroy the war-legend, expose the loud-mouthed lies about the benign effects of military service, show us the drab and dirty business of war as it really is. But he will preserve sympathy and dignity and justice. He will write in a spirit not of malicious glee, but of sorrowful love of mankind. He will write of filth without miring himself. His will be the tender and relentless hand of the surgeon. He will not fail to depict—not the bright side, for there is no bright side—but the noble side of those terrible years. That man, whoever else he may be, will not be John Dos Passos.



# The Story of the Week

## The Week at Home

### The Nation's Guests

IT is charmingly proposed to have Marshal Foch's itinerary on his visit to New England correspond to that of Lafayette in 1824, and, to the extent that record and tradition make it possible, to have the circumstance and detail of Lafayette's reception at various places reproduced. At the old State House in Hartford, which has recently been restored, it should be possible to dream oneself back to 1824 and "then some." In Hartford Washington first met Rochambeau, in Lafayette's presence, and here the Yorktown campaign (perhaps the most momentous in history) was planned. There are a good many "bits" in New England where, with very few tricks, a pageant-master could create an 1824 illusion. Who but thrills? For a greater than Lafayette will soon be with us; one of the greatest captains, indeed, of all time. Do you not recall, reader, how at the first battle of the Marne Foch gave an example of military intuition not surpassed by Napoleon



Wide World

Marshal Foch

himself; how he sensed (not saw, was not informed) that the German line was greatly weakened by an encircling manoeuvre, drove suddenly forward with his exhausted and defeated soldiery, shattered that German line, and saved the world?

Who but thrills, too, to know that Lord Beatty is here, actually walking the streets of New York? His part in the battle of Jutland has not been surpassed, for dash and intrepidity, in the history of naval warfare. In days to come men will talk of him as now they talk of Drake and Hawke and Duncan, almost as they talk of Blake and Nelson.

Nor is General Diaz, who arrived here on Wednesday, deserving of less honor; who turned defeat into the most complete victory of the war in Europe, utterly annihilating the Austrian army, compelling Austria to sue for peace, incalculably shortening the war, and by the same token incalculably lessening the American sacrifice.

With equal heartiness we acclaim General Jacques, the Belgian commander, and Venizelos, father of the New Hellas, an intrepid man who has run risks almost equal to

those of the great captains, thought by many the greatest statesman in Europe.

Welcome, gallant gentlemen!

### Truth Is Stranger Than Fiction

Mr. Herrick, American Ambassador to France, narrowly escaped death the other day. A package marked "Personal" was sent to his office by registered mail. It happened to be a particularly busy day for the Ambassador, so that, visiting his office, he postponed examination of his mail. His secretary took the package to the Ambassador's house. Now the Ambassador's valet had been directed to purchase some perfume. Seeing the name of a famous perfumer on the package, he opened it. Out shot a spring. The valet had been a bomber in the British army. He recognized the whirr of a Mills hand grenade, and hurled the package into the bathroom. The bomb exploded and wrecked the bathroom, a splinter entering the leg of the quick-witted Briton. Truth, as usual, is stranger than fiction.

The work, doubtless, of some mad Communist. It seems that the Communists of Europe are in a state of hysterics because Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italians who happen to be Communists, convicted of first-degree murder by a Massachusetts jury last summer, have been condemned to death (the case now awaits action on a bill of exceptions to be filed by December 1). Communist wrath has been whipped up by an ingeniously falsified version of the judge's charge to the jury in the case, which has been widely placarded and published in Communist journals.

The affair is of peculiar interest for the light it throws on a number of things, most especially the psychology of the extreme radical. One hesitates (despite that falsified version of the judge's charge to the jury) to believe that your extreme radical is more mendacious than other men, but he is plainly more gullible and suspicious. Yet these qualities are sometimes combined with intellectual gifts of a high order; in the case of Anatole France, of the highest order. Anatole France, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland sign a cablegram to President Harding, which says: "We implore the President of the United States to realize that innumerable hearts throughout the world await with anguish the pardon of Sacco and Vanzetti and hope passionately that great America will do this, which all humanity would applaud." Evidently the great Anatole France believes that these men were condemned to death by an American court because they were Communists and not because they committed a cold-blooded murder.

The *Journal du Peuple* of Paris thinks that the Herrick bomb affair was got up (with the connivance, apparently, of Mr. Herrick) to discredit the Communists. "The American Government," says this paper, "has the habit of doing these things. Such attempts have often in the last twenty years been fabricated beyond the Atlantic to give pretext for the repression of militant anarchists and revolutionaries." A charming lady of our acquaintance quoted to us this explanation with entire approval. Asked about the valet, she explained that he got hurt through awkwardness.

What is to be done when amiable and intelligent people hold such opinions of the "American capitalist régime"? A strange world, and growing stranger! Perhaps, though, it isn't the radicals who are queer, but we, the myrmidons of a "capitalist régime."



### The Threatened Strike

The railroad controversy is too vast a subject for treatment here. We merely note that the Railroad Labor Board, by a bold interpretation of its authority under the Esch-Cummins Act, has cited the five union chiefs who have issued strike orders to their organizations, and the executives of the railroads involved, to appear before it at Chicago on the coming Wednesday for a hearing of their dispute. By a still bolder interpretation of its authority under the Esch-Cummins Act, the board directs both parties to the dispute "to maintain the status quo on the properties of the carriers until the hearing and decision." It remains to be seen whether, should the hearing extend beyond October 30, the strike orders will be suspended or revoked. A great many other things remain to be seen. We incline to think that the unions are a good deal more concerned about the matter of "working agreements" (indirectly a wage question) than about the question of direct wage reductions. Its decision rendered, the board certainly does not possess legal authority to enforce it. What, then, should it be flouted, will happen?

### Other Matters

The new wireless station at Port Jefferson, L. I., to be opened on November 5, will be far and away the greatest station in the world. In testing it has been heard in Europe, South America, Japan, and Australia.

The Senate has ratified the German, Austrian, and Hungarian treaties, all proposed amendments having been defeated.

After subjecting the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan to a severe ordeal of questioning, interrupted by the Wizard's dramatic collapse, the House Rules Committee decided to call no more witnesses, and there will probably be no congressional investigation of the Klan.

## The Conference on Ireland

SOME days ago the Pope sent a message to King George, expressing his hope that the conference on Ireland would be a success. The King replied graciously. On the 20th or thereabout, De Valera dispatched the following message to the Pope:

The people of Ireland have read the message sent by your Holiness to the King of Great Britain and appreciate your kindly interest in their welfare and the paternal regard which suggested it. I tender to your Holiness their gratitude.

They are confident that the ambiguities in the reply sent in the name of King George will not mislead you, as it may the uninformed, into believing that the troubles are in Ireland or that the people of Ireland owe allegiance to the British King.

The independence of Ireland has been formally proclaimed by the regularly elected representatives of the people of Ireland and ratified by subsequent plebiscites. The troubles between Ireland and Britain have their source in the fact that the rulers of Britain have sought to impose their will upon Ireland and by brutal force have endeavored to rob her people of the liberty which is their natural right and their ancient heritage.

We long to be at peace and in friendship with the people of Britain, as with other peoples, but the same constancy through persecution and martyrdom that has proved the reality of our people's attachment to the faith of their fathers proves the reality of their attachment to their national freedom, and no consideration will ever induce them to abandon it.

The above is one of the most extraordinary documents that ever appeared. It is disrespectful to his Holiness; the charge of "ambiguities" in the King's reply to the Pope, if not insulting to his Majesty, is at least indelicate, as they are saying in Rome; and, finally, the uncompromising assertion of Irish independence has imperiled the London negotiation. It was proposed to lead gently up to that issue, and now De Valera has precipitated discussion thereof. When an atmosphere of extreme discretion, almost of hush, was "indicated," De Valera hurled a bomb; he hurled it just as the conference was beginning to talk about Ulster.

Of course, every one is speculating about De Valera's motive. Some think he was piqued because his Holiness did not send him a message at the same time he sent one to the King. Others say he was properly provoked by the King's reference to the Irish as "my people." Others say the letter should be ignored by the London conferees; it was only a sop to the chafing extremists in Ireland. Some aver that De Valera acted in cool malice; others say no, merely he lacks self-control. Whatever the true explanation, De Valera's letter has desperately imperiled the London negotiation.

The old Ulster Volunteer Force is being reformed; to have a strength of 100,000, mostly ex-service men. Belfast charges extraordinary activity of Republican army detachments in the north since the truce; mobilization, drilling, etc.

Because of the unhappy turn in the Irish situation, it seems improbable that Lloyd George will be able to attend the Washington Conference. Some ingenious persons discover in this connection De Valera's motive for hurling his bomb. They say he fears the corrupting effect on us of Lloyd George's charm; it might offset the Sinn Fein propaganda in the United States.

We are in receipt of several letters denouncing us for flippancy in dealing with world affairs. We think that unfair. How can one following Irish developments or the Burgenland affair, or almost any human episode that could be named, fail to be amused at times as well as profoundly concerned always? Nature has seen fit to mingle gay with grave and lively with severe. He is a narrow critic of the world who fails to take account of the large element of the absurd therein; and, what is more to the point, who fails to recognize that the absurd is intimately mingled with what is august, beautiful, divine.

## Germany

### Wirth Resigns

WIRTH and his Cabinet have resigned, and in consequence the German situation enters upon a phase as dubious and delicate as any since the armistice.

Presumably the People's Party will now join the coalition of Majority Socialists, Centrists, and Democrats, and in all probability they will dominate the new Government. It is asserted that the new Government will announce a "conditional reparation fulfillment" policy, in contrast with Wirth's thoroughpaced policy. Conditional on what? We defer our answer to next week, when we may be able to answer definitely. But to stimulate a fascinating speculation we throw out some dark hints: A "reparation moratorium," reduction of the reparation total, a rehearing of the Upper Silesia case. In order that the reader may be as unhappy as we are, we hint still more gloomy possibilities: Refusal to ratify the Loucheur-Rathenau agreement, refusal to accept the League Council's Upper Silesia decision, flat repudiation of the London program, deliberate bankruptcy, worst of all (because so difficult to deal with), "sabotage" of the London program; not forgetting that the Nationalists will be sure to exploit their present opportunity to the limit.

We doubt the new German Government will go such lengths; but there seems no limit to human folly. It should be added that the Germans have no monopoly of folly. A fresh wave of folly seems to be passing over the world; witness the American strike threat, the doings in Portugal, the Burgenland affair, the Karlist coup, the Communist extravagances in France, this and that. A thick gloom has settled on the German scene; but perhaps by next week a kindly light will appear.

### Germany Should Be Watched

A recent article in the London *Times*, based, it was claimed, on "unimpeachable information," alleged that the



German Government was secretly trying to get together equipment for an army of 800,000. It called attention to the proposal, which has found much support, to withdraw from Germany the Interallied Control Commission, and urged its retention. Wholly apart from the question whether the "unimpeachable information" was correct, the Control Commission should certainly be kept on the job in Germany for some years to come. The French say that by methods reminiscent of Scharnhorst the Germans could muster an army of 1,000,000 men within a week. The old soldiers are enrolled, they allege, in gymnastic and singing societies, etc., and are kept in touch. The Germans, so the French aver, have rifles enough secreted for waging a great war, and plenty of chemicals; and airplanes would soon be forthcoming. Only in respect of artillery are they not dangerous. Therefore the dismal necessity of keeping 500,000 Frenchmen under arms.

## Upper Silesia

THE Supreme Council has adopted (apparently *in toto*) the League Council's recommendations concerning Upper Silesia, and has communicated them to Berlin and Warsaw. Notable effects have already appeared. The Wirth Government has resigned. The Reichstag group of the German People's Party have published a resolution not to accept the Silesian award. An incipient German boycott of Polish Silesia is reported. German propagandists are active in that district. The Reds, who are numerous, are trying, as usual, to make capital out of the situation. On the other hand, the Interallied Commission has disposed its 25,000 troops so as to check attempts at disorder.

The League Council's recommendations call for a commission composed of equal numbers of Poles and Germans, with a neutral chairman, to draw up a convention (to be signed by the German and Polish Governments) framed to secure maintenance of the industrial triangle as an industrial and economic unit for fifteen years. But, however rigid the terms of the convention, whatever threats may issue from the Supreme Council (a note breathing vague threats accompanied the copies of the award transmitted to Berlin and Warsaw), whatever supervision may be exercised by some instrument of the Supreme Council or of the League, it seems obvious that success of that delicate conception of an economic and industrial unit cut across by a political boundary must depend upon heartiest coöperation of Poles and Germans. There must be innumerable ways of setting at naught the proposed convention against which the Allies would be powerless. To be sure, the Germans must on reflection perceive that ruin of Polish Silesia would be no boon to German Silesia or the rest of Germany; *au contraire*. Reflection, however, is apt to come too late. Moreover, disaster to Polish Silesia is threatened otherwise than by German malice or vengeance. For example: Most of the technicians in Polish Silesia are Germans. It would be surprising if a considerable proportion of them (unable to abide the thought of Polish rule) did not leave for Germany. It should not be forgotten, either, in forecasting the fate of the "industrial and economic unit," that, under the Versailles Treaty, the Allied troops must be withdrawn in the near future. We devoutly hope the arrangement will work. But certainly the Upper Silesian problem has not yet passed into the limbo of dead issues. It remains extremely vital, of a delicacy and complexity not paralleled in the relations of states.

## Another Little Coup

TWO weeks ago we referred to a weird report that Italy was to arbitrate between Austria (and the Allies) and Hungary, on the Burgenland matter. Well, it was true. The thing's been done; a convention has been signed. Austria (and the Allies) agreed to a plebiscite in Oedenburg

(the chief city, by the way, of the Burgenland) and some surrounding territory, while Hungary pledged herself to clear all armed Hungarians out of the Burgenland. Pursuant to the agreement, the Budapest Government ordered the Hungarian insurgents in the Burgenland to surrender their arms, else they would be treated as rebels. The insurgents showed no disposition to obey, and we wondered whether the Budapest Government would dare to attempt enforcement of the threat and so run the risk of civil war. But all that's an old story now; an "old, forgotten, far-off thing."

On the 20th, Charles of Hapsburg, formerly Emperor of Austria-Hungary and King of Hungary, with that ambitious lady, his wife Zita, departed by airplane from his retreat in Switzerland (breaking his word to the Swiss Government, which he had promised to notify three days in advance of a date of intended departure). He flew to Oedenburg, where he dropped into the arms of Oostenburg, one of the insurgent chiefs, and was acclaimed King of Hungary. Other insurgent chiefs gathered to him with their followers. The Interallied Commission in Oedenburg dispatched couriers post-haste to carry the news. So much fact, apparently; the rest rumor. Rumor is having the time of her wicked old life. Charles, says Rumor, proceeded by train to Raab (about halfway between Oedenburg and Budapest). Finding the railroad out of Raab smashed up, he is marching forward to Budapest with 12,000 well appointed soldiers. He has already named a cabinet. Admiral Horthy, yesterday head of the Government and Regent (the title "regent" implies that he has been keeping the throne warm for somebody; that somebody being himself, says Rumor), has fled from Budapest; his supporters are scattering. But Rumor also says that Horthy has taken adequate measures for dealing with Charles. So we are left guessing. At any rate, another little *coup* is on, which may or may not succeed. Our guess is that it will not; or, at any rate, that it will be all the worse for Charles if it does. The members of the Little Entente (Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania) are reported ready to spring. We make no doubt they are; they have sworn infinite round oaths never to allow a Hapsburg again on the Hungarian or the Austrian throne.

We are extremely obliged to Charles. All the other news of the week is drab enough;—the American strike, British unemployment, the fall of a German bourgeois, even the revolution in Portugal. All distinctly "low," dealing only with republics and commoners; but here is the real old thing, the atmosphere of true romance—a king and queen, ladies in waiting, gentlemen of the bedchamber, fire-eaters, sabreurs, sky-blue uniforms, all of it.

We hope the moving picture people are on hand. We should like a film, "The Coup," showing everything from the descent at Oedenburg to the capture, trial and execution of that royal imbecile Charles (and Zita, his wife, whose ambition is said to be largely responsible for his folly).

## An Important Report

M. R. WALTER DURANTY furnishes the New York *Times* a summary by Colonel Haskell of the information obtained by the latter (through personal observation and through reports) on a recent tour of the Volga famine area, and of his conclusions based thereon. We quote:

1—Serious and widespread famine exists in the Volga Basin and to the east thereof.

2—This famine is due primarily to the drought of the past summer. Whatever has been requisitioned by the Soviet Government or Red and White Armies, there would have been nothing in the nature of serious starvation danger had not the drought occurred.

3—The crisis in the famine will not be reached before the first of next year.

4—Seventy-five per cent. of the people affected can be reached with the transport available in Russia.





Kadel &amp; Herbert News Service

*Officials attached to the Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference*

5—From the best available reports after discounting exaggeration and propaganda, it is believed that around 15,000,000 people are affected by the famine.

6—The population is not uniformly affected and a considerable number of the 15,000,000 can obtain food sufficient to sustain life.

7—The order of urgency for relief is first, food; second, medical supplies; and third, clothing.

8—In addition to the present relief the most crying need is a program of adult feeding.

9—This program should be limited to cereals.

10—To carry out a reasonable adult food program it is estimated that the requirements amount to 5,000,000 pounds of cereals daily.

11—The Soviet Government is unable to accomplish relief without outside aid.

The outside cost of Colonel Haskell's "reasonable program" would be, he estimates, \$50,000,000.

## Chinese Notes

THE Japanese Government, rebuffed, again requested the Chinese Government to consent to a dual negotiation concerning Shantung; and again the Chinese have declined. Will the Washington Conference consider the matter?

It is reported that the Peking Government has at last persuaded (after repeated refusals) Mr. C. C. Wu, son of Mr. Wu Ting Fang (formerly Chinese Minister to the United States, now Foreign Minister of the Canton Government, and one of the ablest and most delightful persons in the world) to become a member of the Peking delegation to the Washington Conference. Thus the Canton Government will have a sort of a kind of representation at the Conference.

## A Bitter Pill

IT must have been the other day a bitter pill to the Australasian Davis Cup [tennis] team to be beaten by the Japanese pair, Kumagae and Shimidzu. Some day perhaps a football team of Manchurians (one of the finest physical stocks in the world) will come over and thrash Harvard. That would give a terrible shock to our preconceptions about the Mongoloid.

Don't forget, you lusty juvenal who aspire to the bays, what a narrow, what a very narrow squeak of it the great Tilden had with Shimidzu. But above all, young fellow, remember and take for example the fine sportsmanship, the exquisite courtesy of these sons of Nippon.

Really, we should make fast friends with a people of such manners, such elegance, such genius in many sorts, such sportsmanship, as the Japanese. It does not follow (it is by such false deductions that the world is fatally betrayed) that Caucasian and Mongoloid can without disadvantage mingle blood and populations.

## Miscellaneous

PORTUGAL has a new cabinet. The old cabinet was forced to resign under pressure from insurgent troops, and several members, including the Premier, were murdered by the troops. Another Gothic invasion would be a good thing for Portugal.

The anti-Bolshevist Government (headed by Merkulov) which was established in Vladivostok some months ago by former soldiers of Kapp, Kolchak's lieutenant, still holds on. It is sending a delegation to Washington, apparently to seek a hearing from the great Conference.

Arriving in Honolulu from Japan, Mr. John Hays Hammond (one of the most competent of observers) declares that the business men and financiers of Japan sincerely desire peace with the United States. And good reason, for the United States purchases from Japan four times the quantity of goods purchased by any other country. And, says he, as quoted by the *New York Times*, even "the military element are amenable to reason, owing especially to the achievements of the United States in the World War." —The truth plainly spoken by a big man.

Professor Hamburger of the University of Graz (Austria) is disturbed about *pavor nocturnus*, the "night terror" of children; would find a cure. Fiddlesticks! Thou fool, let Nature, the great romancer, alone.

HENRY W. BUNN





# EDITORIAL



## What the Government is Doing About the Strike

THE heavy sag in the railroad strike movement that was evident at the close of last week registered the effects of several important developments since the strikes were announced. Foremost among these was the almost uncannily calm attitude of the Harding Administration. The Brotherhood chiefs quite evidently hoped and expected that Washington would be thrown into a panic by the strike announcement; and that they would be summoned in haste to the capital, there to receive such concessions as they might insist upon. This has been the essence of their successful tactic since they forced the passage of the Adamson Law. The real purpose of the strike announcement was by force of intimidation to secure directly from the Government concessions that would discredit and virtually supersede the whole scheme of impartial public wage findings embodied in the Railroad Labor Board plan. This was implicitly admitted by W. G. Lee, of the Trainmen, when he gave as the object of the strikes (apart from the recent wage cut) the forestalling of further wage reductions, which can come only by order of the Labor Board. President Harding's course in quietly insisting that the wage issues should be handled by the board created for that purpose was a body blow at the policy of intimidation.

Almost equally decisive, public opinion has shown itself solidly opposed to the threatened strikes. The country at large clearly appreciates the mischievous attitude of the Brotherhood officials, and shows a wholesome disposition to fight out to a finish this proposed attack upon the public safety. That the force of public condemnation has had its effect on the Brotherhood chiefs is indicated not only by the uncertain and unconfident tone of their pronouncements, but by their efforts to create prejudice against the railroads by confusing the facts. Attempting to answer the charge that they are defying the Labor Board, they have replied with a general and false assertion that "many" railroads are in rebellion. The only case of such "defiance" by a railroad is the refusal of the Pennsylvania to accept the ruling of the Board in a matter that is arguably outside the jurisdiction of the Board as defined in the Transportation Act. The Erie, which early in the year announced a wage cut without any previous conference with its employees, obeyed the order of the Board to withdraw its notice of reductions. The only other case is that of the Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic. The receiver for that road, appointed by a Federal Court, and acting with its approval, reduced wages below the Labor Board rates, to a point within the ability of the crippled road to pay. The conflict in this case is between the Board and the Federal Court.

The action and attitude of the public members of the Labor Board in this crisis have brought them scant

credit. Their first attempt to avert the strike, by their proposal that the strike order should be cancelled in return for lower freight rates and a promise by the roads not to ask further wage cuts was recognized by the Washington Administration as utterly wrongheaded. That proposal was in effect an attempt to dodge the Board's own proper duty. It implied that if further wage cuts were asked, the Board might feel compelled to say that they were justified, and if it so declared the Brotherhoods would "rare up" again: therefore the Board must not be exposed to that test. The Administration properly gave no support to this attack by the Board on its own competence.

Returning to Chicago virtually under orders from Washington to justify its existence if it could, the public group of the Board first held a futile conference with the strike leaders, and then—but only tardily and clumsily—attempted to assert the moral authority by which it must stand or fall, by summoning both the roads and the unions before it on October 26 for decision as to whether they were defying the orders of the Board. This is better than something worse—but it is dishearteningly inept and faltering. To order a strike against a wage cut approved by the Board is in itself a defiance of the Board, and it was the Board's duty to say so officially as soon as the strikes were announced. The public group lacked either the brains to realize this, or the backbone to take the appropriate action. Even now, the language of its summary order betrays its vacillation. It has had officially before it for many weeks appeals from railroads for abolition of punitive overtime payments: yet in its order of October 21 it "assumes jurisdiction" of these matters already on its docket as though it were doing something bold in defense of the public safety. The pretense would be laughable if its significance were not so serious.

Finally, the decision of October 22 by the Interstate Commerce Commission that rates on grains and grain products shall be reduced, introduces a new element of great potency. This decision was not an emergency action produced by the strike threats, but a finding on a petition filed months ago. The Commission explicitly couples rate reductions with such further wage reductions as may be necessary to bring railroad expenses within railroad incomes. It condemns by implication the Labor Board's first hasty compromise offer. And the fact that the decision must have been practically determined upon when the President called the public group to Washington throws considerable light on the policy of the Administration.

The situation seems to be shaping towards a revision of the Transportation Act, with transfer or explicit subordination of the Labor Board's powers to the Commerce Commission. It is inherently unsound to have railroad income controlled by one body while railroad expenditures are in the hands of another and independent agency. It would not be surprising if the events of this week dictated the terms of a somewhat funda-



mental revision of our machinery of railroad control. Logically, that control is an indivisible function; and as rates cannot be taken from the Commerce Commission, it would seem that wages should be added to it.

## Sabotaging the Conference

A FEW days ago there met in Washington a number of women and a few men passionately and vociferously devoted to the cause of disarmament. They had been called together at the instance of the so-called Foreign Policy Association, the successor of the League of Free Nations Association—an association chiefly known in the past for its Bolshevist sympathies—and after the requisite amount of speechmaking they proceeded to form an organization bearing the imposing title of The National Council on Limitation of Armaments. Fortified with a generous donation of money from some kind friend, they leased commodious quarters not far from the building in which the Washington Conference will meet, secured the services of a professional “drive director,” and have embarked on an energetic and comprehensive campaign to arouse public opinion—or rather public emotion—by all the up-to-date methods of publicity and propaganda. Through the press, by pamphlets, by speakers, by moving pictures, they plan to impress the people with the horrors of war, the beauties of peace, and the panacea of disarmament. No doubt their intentions are good, and they profess to be bent on assisting the Washington Conference to achieve great results, but involuntarily they recall to us the well-known cartoon entitled “Helping Mother,” in which a small boy is depicted wielding a duster with zealous but misdirected energy and leaving in his wake a trail of broken bric-a-brac and general disorder.

The ardent devotees of disarmament and peace who have formed this organization appear to have started with the false assumption that the American delegates to the Conference are not sincerely desirous of effecting a real limitation of armament, but must be coerced into it by the pressure of an aroused public opinion. They seem to consider themselves the divinely appointed custodians of this lofty purpose, charged with the mission of bringing peace to a troubled world over the bodies of the war-loving statesmen and diplomats who are now at the head of affairs. Naturally they have no realization of the delicate nature of the negotiations that are about to take place at Washington or the complexity of the problems upon the solution of which depends the success of the great undertaking. They do not understand, and seemingly do not care to understand, that the public at large cannot possibly weigh judicially and calmly all the big issues involved, but must trust their representatives to do this for them, and that a wave of emotional opinion might do great harm to the cause in behalf of which it is invoked.

It may well be doubted if many of the twenty-one general or national organizations which the members of the National Council claim to represent have seriously considered the import of their action or its possible consequences. It is more likely that for the most part they, or certain of their leaders, have simply acquiesced in what seemed to be a harmless and well-in-

tioned humanitarian movement. In some, of course, is to be seen the hand of the same pacifist, pro-German, and pro-Bolshevist elements that were so perniciously active at an earlier period. Other societies, sincerely desirous of promoting both national welfare and the cause of lasting peace, will do well to consider carefully the proposed activities of the National Council on Limitation of Armaments and their probable effect, before committing themselves irrevocably to a programme of such doubtful import.

## Lenin versus Wells

MR. H. G. WELLS, who knows the true meaning of all history, past, present, and future, visited Russia a year ago and came back with a very graphic report of the desolation which he witnessed. For his honesty in describing it he received and deserved praise; on the other hand, for the preposterous assurance with which he declared that all this wretchedness was the result of causes with which the Bolshevist policy had nothing to do, he received, so far as we have observed, very little condemnation. The absurdity of his pronouncing this judgment without even pretending to sustain it by any argument was pointed out in *The Weekly Review* of December 8, 1920, and some readers protested that our judgment was too harsh.

But now comes Lenin himself and flatly admits that for the starvation and general distress which Russia has been suffering the Bolshevist policy has been directly responsible. “We thought,” he says, “that the peasants would give us sufficient food to insure the support of the industrial workers, and that we should be able to distribute it. We were wrong, and so we have begun to retreat. Before we are utterly smashed, let us retrace our steps and begin to build on a new foundation.”

Mr. Wells is on safer ground when he deals with the development of man from the primeval slime of millions of years ago than when he undertakes to instruct us upon the causes of what is happening today in the sight of all mankind. The explanation which Lenin now himself makes was one that was obvious to the eye of common sense all along. To make bricks without straw is an easy task in comparison with bringing about human productiveness without motive. About the future of communism, it is perfectly legitimate for speculative philosophers to argue on large lines, irrespective of the Russian spectacle. But as to its past, as embodied in the story of Soviet rule, there is no room for difference of opinion except on the part of those who pass judgment without troubling themselves much either about specific facts or about general principles.

## Our Foreign Visitors

FOREIGN visitors—how great the influx since the outbreak of the war—are doing us a world of good. No longer is the reporter’s first question, as he boards a steamer down the Bay, “How do you like New York?” but, in effect, “How are things in *your* home town?” America’s excessive self-consciousness of other days has given place to a genuine interest in other men’s manners and other men’s cities. This is a step toward internationalism which America has been slow in tak-



ing. May there be other steps taken! So long as we do not pretend, after the fashion of the soft-minded, that we owe quite as much allegiance to the rest of the world as to this country, we need not fear that our national character will be submerged by this growing cosmopolitan interest. There is still a long road to travel before being rid of the old self-sufficiency.

## The Collapsing Mark

THE most startling financial occurrence of the past few weeks has been the tremendous fall in the current value of the German mark. Only three months ago it was still quoted as worth a cent and a quarter; today it fetches little more than half a cent. In other words, while three months ago it took fifteen paper marks to buy a gold mark, it now takes forty; and a large part of this big fall occurred in the course of a very few days, following upon the news which forecast the decision of the League of Nations committee on the question of Upper Silesia.

That the sudden drop was largely due to the psychological effect of that decision—its influence both on the state of mind of the German people and on the temper and prospects of the German Government—there can be no doubt. But it would be presumptuous for anyone, even the greatest expert, to undertake to give an exact explanation of the fluctuations of an irredeemable paper currency. When the question is asked why a piece of paper that bears the name of a mark, or a franc, or a pound, is worth so and so much less in gold than a mark, or a franc, or a pound was worth in former times, the question should first of all be answered after the Scotch fashion by asking another: Why not?

It is unfortunate that the word "exchange" has to be applied at all to the quotation of values of irredeemable paper currencies. The fluctuations of exchange among currencies resting on a gold basis are of a wholly different character from the fluctuations of so-called exchange among currencies which rest on no definable basis at all. When a mark, for example, meant in Germany a definite amount of gold, or a paper substitute redeemable on demand in that amount of gold, the "par" of exchange between it and the dollar meant nothing more than the ratio between two absolutely fixed quantities of gold. It was not a question of financial estimation, but simply a question of *avoirdupois*. The par of exchange was 23.8 cents per mark, or 23.8 dollars per 100 marks, simply because the gold in 100 gold marks weighed exactly as much as the gold in 23.8 gold dollars. And the only reason that there was any deviation from the par was that a person in New York who had to pay marks in Berlin could not get his dollars changed into marks in New York except by private bargaining. He could, indeed, ship the equivalent in actual gold, but that involved expense, risk, and delay. But just as there were American business men who had to pay marks in Germany, so also there were German business men who had to pay dollars in America; and what the people who handled foreign exchange did was to settle both classes of obligations by setting them off one against the other. If at a given moment the demand for marks in exchange for dollars exactly balanced the demand for dollars in exchange for marks,

the exchange was at par; if the demand for marks was in excess of the demand for dollars, marks commanded a premium, and vice versa; but the premium could never exceed a very small percentage, since the alternative always existed of making payment by the shipment of gold instead of the purchase of bills of exchange. Of course this is merely a simplified skeleton of the case; it ignores the many complications of the exchange market, and especially the situation arising from the mutual dealings of several instead of merely two countries. But it gives the heart of the matter; and from it one sees how, when both currencies are on a definite gold basis, the fluctuations of exchange (such as they are) turn on the question of which country is incurring the greater amount of current obligations to the other, and therefore very largely on the question of the relation between the volume of exports and the volume of imports.

When, however, the circulating medium of a country consists of bits of paper not convertible into any fixed amount of gold (or of any tangible thing whatsoever) the mere fact that these bits of paper continue to bear the name of marks, or rubles, or what not, affords no basis at all for determining their value. There is no reason on the face of things why a thing called a mark should be regarded as equivalent to 23.8 cents, or 2 cents, or a tenth of a cent. Being no longer redeemable in gold or anything else at a fixed rate, the value of marks at any given moment is determined essentially by what they will fetch at that moment in the country in which they circulate. So long as the German people use them in their business transactions, they are worth something because they will buy something; and they are worth just as much as they will buy. As paper marks have kept on being issued by the billion—about twenty billion in the past six months—and as there are now about 100 billion of them outstanding, they fetch vastly less than the genuine marks did; and while the scale of general prices in Germany has not gone up as much as the mark has gone down in comparison with the American gold dollar, the fundamental factor in determining the rate at which marks exchange for dollars is the depreciation of the mark in Germany. What complicates the case is the fact that prices of different things are affected very differently in any violent change of prices; and the only things that really count, in fixing the ratio of the mark to the dollar, are the things that enter into foreign trade. If, for example, it now takes a thousand marks to buy in Germany as much steel as you could have bought in August for five hundred marks, it will probably also take about a thousand marks to buy as many dollars as you could have bought for five hundred marks in August. For steel is a staple of international trade; marks and dollars are both convertible into it, and it thus affords a basis of comparison.

The big drop in German marks is essentially a reflection not of international transactions but of the fall of the purchasing power of the mark in Germany itself. The primary cause of this fall, in turn, is the enormous inflation of the currency; but there has also always to be taken into account the state of mind of the people and of the Government. For when currency does not mean anything tangible, its value is affected not only by what the Government has already done but also by



what people think it is likely to do. If everybody thinks that the inflation of the currency has come to an end, readiness to part with it is quite different from what it becomes when the opposite state of mind exists. Even before the Upper Silesia decision was indicated, there was ample reason to fear that the German currency would get worse before it got better, and there was a consequent rush, by people who had it, to get rid of it on almost any terms; after the Upper Silesia excitement, that rush was greatly accelerated. Minor fluctuations in mark exchange are explainable by exports and imports; but the big changes reflect not the variations of international trade but the change in the purchasing power of the mark in its own home.

## Our Treaty with Germany

**I**N the final act of concluding peace with Germany, the only satisfaction that the country is entitled to take is that of having done the best that could be done under all the circumstances. Nobody can feel proud that it has taken us two and a half years to get together upon any plan; and nobody can feel proud to think that one result of our prolonged deadlock has been the accentuation of every evil under which the world is suffering at this time of extraordinary trial, while another result is that we have cut adrift from that union with the Allied nations which would have been the natural and proper sequel to our participation in the struggle. But there is nevertheless ground for satisfaction in our having at last got out of the domain of paralyzing controversy. The Democratic Senators who, in spite of the hostile position taken by Mr. Wilson, voted for the confirmation of the treaty, did a patriotic duty for which they are entitled to high commendation.

The principal result of the disposal of the treaty question is that it places upon the Administration the responsibility—since it gives to the Administration the opportunity—of moulding our relations to the various problems arising out of the settlement of the war in accordance with its views of national duty. Under the terms of the treaty, the assent of Congress will, indeed, be required for any explicit participation in the acts of such bodies as the Reparation Commission, etc.; but there is no reason to believe that such assent will be refused when a clear case in favor of such participation is presented by the Administration. Senator Borah's fears, which are to men of broader vision not fears but hopes, are justified by the facts. And accordingly it is of good augury for the future that in his attitude of irreconcilable opposition to any possible "entanglement" with the affairs of Europe, Mr. Borah, as the vote showed, stood almost absolutely alone.

We have said that the country has little to be proud of in the story of the treaty; but it seems only just to add that the loud wails over the sodden selfishness embodied in the treaty are the utterance of hysteria rather than of reason. The treaty does, indeed, sound extremely selfish in that it demands all that the Versailles treaty would have given us had we signed it and at the same time declines the obligations which that treaty would have placed upon us. But it is in form rather than in substance that the selfishness resides. Every one of the principal Allied Powers has looked after its special or selfish advantage incomparably more than we

have. Not one American in a hundred has any idea of what we are getting in the treaty; the selfish formula was adopted rather because of its simplicity than for any other reason. Just as the talk of two or three years ago about our wonderful unselfishness was extravagant, so now the fearful prostration of spirit over our disgusting selfishness is extravagant. The truth is that our situation has made it quite natural that we should be infinitely less concerned over advantages than were the Old World Powers; and it is really this which in the main accounts both for what was bragged of as abnormal disinterestedness three years ago and what is bewailed as abnormal graspingness today.

## The Unknown Dead of War

**R**ELIGION, older and deeper than all religions, finds expression in the homage that Europe and America pay to the soldier dead whose individual identities remain unknown. The tributes of Governments and of commanders, of private citizens and of public throngs, the pomp of processions, the burial in national shrines and cemeteries, and the veneration that will continue are ceremonial in part, but also in part they are spontaneous and profoundly real. Before men had gods they bowed before the fatefulness of luck. Before they built altars they remembered their dead. Before Buddha and Christ they revered such as effaced themselves that their tribes might live.

Of all the tragedies of war the fate of the missing is most poignant to those who survive. To the anguish of uncertainty succeeds the bitterness of a second obliteration. Individually the unknown dead are blotted from the book of local remembrance. Stranger hands, if any, lay wreaths upon their graves.

But, though all but one in each land are publicly remembered only as men who were comrades of men, yet when the drums tap at the burial of the one unknown, in the heart of every sorrowing mother, of every grieving wife, will spring the hidden thought "I cannot know, I never shall know, but he may be my boy, he may be my lover."

And when those drums tap shall there not be, in the hearts of us who live in peace and liberty because these unknown dead gave all, that consecration which Lincoln adjured at Gettysburg?

## Golf and the Gods

**A**LTHOUGH the American world of sport took not quite the same interest in the coming to these shores of Miss Cecil Leitch as in the arrival of "Gorgeous Georges" and the "incomparable Suzanne," there is genuine satisfaction in the thought that the English girl is at length showing the form expected of her. Her seventy-six in the Belleclaire tournament was a highly creditable performance, as were all her rounds leading up to her capture of final honors. Americans accord her all the praise which her fine playing deserves, even while they are secretly pleased that Miss Leitch failed to win the women's national championship. The winning of any tournament—especially a golf tournament—is on the lap of the gods, and the gods traditionally distribute their favors so as to discourage arrogance.



## New Books and Old

THE book of books for a gift to a boy or man is "Howard Pyle's Book of Pirates" (Harper). It has a picture in color upon the cover which would have made me, at the age of twelve, risk the penalties of the law against larceny. (I will not, even now, boast too much as to what my conduct might be if I were left alone with the book.) Merle Johnson has gathered from the writings of Howard Pyle eight chapters or stories about pirates. They have been printed in a fine folio volume, with many of Pyle's most beautiful paintings reproduced in color or in half-tone. The price is notably reasonable, as book prices go today. In every way it is a desirable book—my language is too calm. It is a book to be coveted and longed for! There is a miserable custom now of writing and publishing children's books which have been denatured—made safe and harmless and tasteless. This one panders to no such mawkish fashion. These are real pirates, described by a skilful writer and pictured by a great artist. It is a book for men and women fully as much as for boys.

It was really D'Oyley Carte who projected the lecture tour of Oscar Wilde in this country, in order to advertise "Patience." So writes James L. Ford in "Forty-odd Years in the Literary Shop" (Dutton). "Wilde exhibited himself in knickerbockers and with a sunflower in his button-hole, and wherever he went the local 'intelligentsia'—they were called then by another name—came in crowds to see and hear him."

Mr. Ford also writes of Mr. William Randolph Hearst. "I must speak of him as I knew him, and not as popular superstition represents him to be. He was a gentleman in manner, low voiced and more than courteous in his dealings with his employees. I could not bring myself to take him seriously, for he reminded me of a kindly child, thoroughly undisciplined and possessed of a destructive tendency that might lead him to set fire to a house in order to see the engines play water on the flames. . . . The ideal Sunday supplement—the one best adapted to Sabbath reading—was, in his opinion, a combination of crime and underclothes. The passing years, however, have convinced me that at that time he was building better than I knew and that he had estimated the proportion of fools in the community with a perspicacity for which I failed to give him credit. . . . I think that it was in this office that the now famous 'sob sister' made her first New York appearance. . . . Tidings of a colliery disaster would send one of them flying to the scene and straightway we would receive a despatch beginning about as follows: 'I sobbed my way through the line, the stern-faced sentinels standing aside to let me pass with a muttered, "the lady is from the *Journal*; let her by." I was the first to reach the wounded and

dying. "God bless Mr. Hearst," cried a little child as I stooped to lave her brow; and then she smiled and died. I spread one of our comic supplements over the pale, still face and went on to distribute Mr. Hearst's generous bounty.'"

Twenty years ago—and a little more—Charley Daly used to pass the ball back to Dibblee or Campbell or somebody, who would then go round the end for twenty yards or more against Yale. I remember a certain glorious, rainy day at New Haven in—could it have been as long ago as 1898? Anyhow, it was the first of a number of victories for Harvard—victories which the New York newspapers prefer to fancy never happened. And now I may, if I wish, read "American Football" (Harper), by Charles D. Daly, Field Artillery, U. S. Army. And the insignia on his shoulder seems to be an eagle. But I will merely call your attention to the book, and go on with my work so I may earn enough to pay for a ticket to Princeton or Cambridge next month, and see if Colonel Daly's spiritual children with crimson sweaters are following in his footsteps.

"Adventures in the Arts" (Boni & Liveright) are certain brief and informal chapters about painters, actors, and poetry, written by Marsden Hartley. He hopes, he says, to make nothing more of his book than a series of entertaining conversations, and that is the strength and merit of it. The author discusses, without becoming too serious, Winslow Homer, Arthur B. Davies, American water-color painters, acrobats, and variety actors, Francis Thompson, Ernest Dowson, and a dozen other similar topics. I know that he utters good sense in talking about a writer whose poems I have read—Emily Dickinson—and so I suspect that he is equally sensible in discussing other subjects of which I am ignorant.

A strong argument might be made for the proposal that there should be only three kinds of biographies: the full-length "life" for a very eminent man, the book of reminiscences—usually a modest sort of autobiography like Will Low's "Chronicle of Friendships"—or, finally, the brief, biographical sketch, the kind of article which would appear in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Other biographies are often open to objections. "The Book of Jack London" (Century), by his wife, Charmian London, is not planned in accordance with any of these specifications. It is in two volumes, over eight hundred pages, which might subject it to criticism on the ground of length. Does any writer have enough incident in his career to merit a biography so long? The answer comes easily—yes, Stevenson and Mark Twain, for examples. And Jack London is in the class with them in that his life was full of travel and adventure. Some of it is rather trivial. Some of it will fail

to attract admiration for his personality. But a dull book it is not. His "oyster pirating," his tramping adventures, the Klondike, Europe, the Russo-Japanese war, the Pacific voyage, Mexico and Hawaii—the chapters about these events in London's life keep your attention, and lead you quickly through both volumes.

"A Magnificent Farce, and Other Diversions of a Book-Collector" (Atlantic Monthly Press) by A. Edward Newton is, almost needless to say, by the author of "The Amenities of Book-Collecting." The publishers have made a pretty book of it. There are brown paper sides and a neat café-mousse colored label. It is well printed on good paper, and the illustrations are a varied and continued delight. I am told that the copy I am looking at is a first edition, but, as these are reserved for a privileged few, I am skeptical. Certainly, Mr. Newton's essays attract me much more in this alluring form than in the sober pages of the *Atlantic*. The title essay is about the trial of Warren Hastings, and it is well told. There are essays on book-shops (somewhat too much of this business, lately!), on Walt Whitman, on William Blake, and on London. There is a meditation on a quartet "Hamlet," in the course of which the author rather irrelevantly but quite truthfully and admirably frees his mind on the subject of Mr. Woodrow Wilson. It seems that Mr. Newton, in this book, is not so maddening as in his other volume, about trifling little rarities which he picked up for a mere song—fifteen or eighteen hundred dollars. He shed too many crocodile tears of poverty in his "Amenities." This is a handsome book; a good book. My only complaint about it is that this copy, like the colored deacon's chickens, belongs to another man. Presently I shall leave the door of my coop open, and it will go home.

A picture of Lord Kitchener, unlike the popular view of him, appears in Viscount Esher's "The Tragedy of Lord Kitchener" (Dutton). The title of the book, writes the author, is not meant to recall the sinking of a great warship in stormy seas off the Orkneys, but rather to emphasize that hour when, although he appeared to his countrymen in mid-career of fame, he himself became aware that the golden bowl was broken. Lord Esher shows him in Paris in 1915, hearing despatches from England. The day before, the evacuation of Gallipoli had been discussed. He heard some messages of regret from his friends; his eyes filled with tears. He spoke of the dislike felt for him by his colleagues, adding, "Asquith is my only friend." Somebody told him that his colleagues thought him wanting in candor and too fond of "Oriental methods." He said: "Yes, I suppose it is so; but I am an old man, and I cannot change my habits—it is too late."

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Romantic America

QUIN. By Alice Hegan Rice. New York: The Century Company.

SUCCESS. By Samuel Hopkins Adams. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM. By Stephen Vincent Benét. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

AUTUMN. By Robert Nathan. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company.

"QUIN" is a step up for Mrs. Rice from I won't say "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," but from the Mrs. Wiggs kind of thing as a commodity. It has all the ingredients of a popular after-war romance and the cookery is of the best. Quin is a rough diamond of an ex-service man. Maine lumber-jack, early volunteer, Sergeant Quinby Graham, gassed, medaled, and discharged after the armistice with a weak heart, meets lovely grand-daughter and heiress-apparent of aristocratic and tyrannical dowager. This is the tale of how Quin falls in love with Eleanor, breaks into her household, bullies the dowager, routs the foppish and designing officer (an old enemy) who presumes to be his rival, educates himself while we wait, and wins his Eleanor and a responsible job before the comfortable fall of the curtain. Familiar ingredients, we say, but fitly so in a romantic comedy, where virtue lies solely in novelty of combination and freshness of flavor. "Quin" is an excellent performance in its old-fashioned but never to be antiquated kind.

The publishers say that "Success" has been seven years in the making, and it is plainly an attempt at serious interpretation by a confirmed entertainer. Parts II and III embody a vigorous study of metropolitan journalism, in course of which the whole problem of the newspaper maker is discussed from all angles if to little settled purpose. What is the relation of a newspaper to its constituency—that of mere newsbringer, or instructor, or deliberate pander? What is its duty to its advertisers? Can an editorial writer have a soul of his own? Can a reporter keep his self-respect? All of these timeworn questions are handled with courage and point. On the general question of the health of our press the answer is in the negative. Our young conquering Banneker is conquered by the universal conditions. He can bulldoze the editor of the "Ledger" by making himself too valuable to lose—can pick his assignments and keep to the reputable side of the journalistic road. But he cannot help being involved in the shadier practises of his colleagues. He can be master of the editorial page of the *Patriot*, and keep it sound; but of what avail while he is sharing the profits of the *Patriot's* pervading nastiness and sensationalism? In the end he has to own himself beaten and retires to private happiness and the blameless if uncertain pursuits of the free-lance

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writer. This is not a romance of the newspaper world, but a romance of private and more or less high life in which the arena of the hero's effort happens to be Park Row. It is safe to guess that what interested the readers of the *Pictorial Review*, when this story, or portions of it, there appeared, was not the newspaper stuff but the somewhat musky-scented tale of the princess errant who falls in love with the humble squire, bids him win his spurs, and in the end rewards him less for what he has achieved than for having obeyed her. All this, of course, in terms of current American life. Mr. Adams has not changed his spots as a popular entertainer. The method of the book as a whole is that of "Average Jones" and "The Unspeakable Perk"; a trickle of narrative under a cascade of piquant talk. It is safe to say that four hundred of these five hundred and fifty pages are solid (that is, unbroken or nearly unbroken) dialogue. His moral, that a "success" bought with a man's soul is failure, is qualified by an odd romantic contortion of standards of duty and honor, such as governs, for instance, the triangular relations of Banneker and Io and her husband. He works, in short, by the well-tested code of a romantic convention which permits any perfidy in the name of love and any absurdity in the name of sacrifice.

The author of "The Beginning of Wisdom" wishes us to understand that he is under the sway of no convention, but a free agent in a world which he and his young fellow-experimenters are about to make over as soon as they can agree on a proper design. He sets out to tell a realistic tale about a lad like himself, and he succeeds, perhaps, beyond his intention. For a realistic tale about his kind of lad, a poet and a clean idealist, can by no means leave out romance. The net effect of the book is far from the effect of those naturalistic post-Dreiserian chronicles connected with young males of much brains, more temperament, and no decency, which threaten to become a conventional product of "the younger generation." The fact is that for normal youth the lesser realism is a matter of side-play and contrast, and without romance as its main business it is unhappy. The romance of conflict with age is of course its initial affair, and the business of being revolutionary and shocking is a handy and harmless weapon in the largely burlesque performance. Youth and age? I was young yesterday, you will be old tomorrow: why, except for the fun of it, should we pretend that we are distinct and inimical races? Mr. Benét's extreme freedom with damns and hells and other naughty words, his familiarity with cocktails and the technique of shooting craps, his elaborate disdain for churches and his blithe quips about God are all in the picture. Now and then it is hard to follow him; as when, on the next to the last page, when Philip has by all accounts attained the beginning of wisdom, he breaks out

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joyously, "Oh, great, holy, blaspheming God!" But we need not worry, for he has invented a god of his own, a few pages back, whom he can revere without shame, who will embody for him the necessary benevolent guardian of his earthly romance. The world is pretty rotten, but it holds Sylvia, and his writing talent, and his pride of place as nonconformist, and his faith that young courage and young wisdom will heal the world. Not so bad! . . . It is the clever, impatient, aspiring, and revealing first novel of one of our most brilliant young poets. Noticeably the prose becomes simpler and less tropical as the narrative goes forward.

"Autumn" is a study of the mellow wisdom of age. In form it contrasts sharply with the garrulous diffusion of the young revolutionary manner. Its style is artless as an Andersen's or a Hamsun's. It is as compact and rounded and fined down as, say Swinerton's "Nocturne," or Mrs. Wharton's "Ethan Frome." It reveals in its nutshell of space the body and soul of an old Yankee schoolmaster whose simple and searching philosophy illumines his own obscure corner and throws a tiny beam outward upon the troubled world of this very hour. A little big book among a multitude of big little ones. . . H. W. BOYNTON

"Animal Life in Field and Garden" (Century) is a translation by Florence Constable Bicknell of one of Henri Fabre's books for children. We yield to none in our admiration of this author's classical "Souvenirs Entomologiques," the life work of a master observer of the habits and histories of insects. But placing oneself in the mental attitude of a child reader or of a parent going through the present chapters, we fail to discover any charm or "passionate interest." Fabre, in the person of Uncle Paul, recounts 390 pages of concentrated facts concerning bats, hedgehogs, crows, swallows, insects, and reptiles. Interruptions are frequent from Jules, of such character that we picture him as a cross between a disagreeable Rollo and an especially feeble-minded Dr. Watson. His knowledge is either unbelievably prophetic and accurate, or he gives voice to the most appalling rural superstitions in order to have them dissipated by Uncle Paul.

Some of the information deals with animals and birds peculiar to France or Europe, and hence of little value to the youthful nature seeker of our own countryside; much of it is universal, and all, with the exception of a few slips, is accurate. But the language—stilted and verbose—together with the constant use of elaborate phraseology in the place of simpler words and sentences, is the greatest objection.

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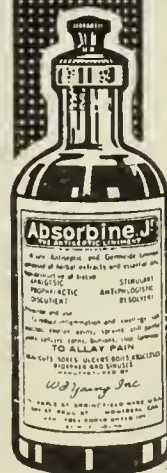
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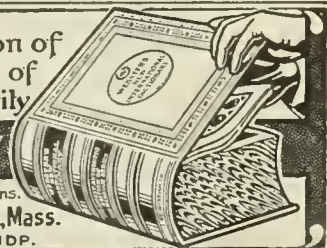


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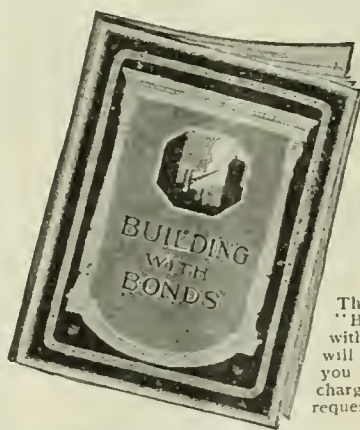
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## Drama

### Plays Serious and Not So Serious

"Ambush." By Arthur Richman. Garrick Theatre.

"A Bill of Divorcement." By Clemence Dane. George M. Cohan's Theatre.

"Main Street." By Harriet Ford and Harvey J. O'Higgins: adapted from the novel by Sinclair Lewis. National Theatre.

"AMBUSH," the new offering of the Theatre Guild, is a well-written play, capably acted and intelligently directed. Arthur Richman has not deviated from his stern purpose in exposing the small lives and petty weaknesses of his characters. He is uncompromising in recording the defeat, the disillusion, the frustration of an elderly clerk who lives in a humble Jersey City home. To poor Walter Nichols, his passive protagonist, a man of high ideals but low vitality, is revealed gradually but inevitably the moral and spiritual downfall of his only daughter. To prevent this catastrophe, he makes feeble and ineffectual efforts. But these fail: he loses his meagre fortune and his job. And in the end he is confronted with the sordid truth about his daughter, the calloused perfidy of his wife, the collapse of his principles and ideals. He is caught in the ambush by these crushing truths. "But we must go on living," says the sympathetic Mrs. Jennison. "Why?" he asks in despair, at the final curtain. "Why? Why?"

To those who demand of the theatre only that a play be well written, satisfactorily acted, and intelligently mounted, "Ambush" may seem entirely worth while. If popular interest in such a play languishes, the blame is usually placed, by champions of this type of realism, upon the audience. But those of us who are not engaged in the business of awarding words of pretty praise, nor grandiloquently describing merits and demerits, must seek to discover, if we can, why such a play seems a misdirection of talent and energy. "Ambush" is a clean-cut instance of the possibilities of what we might term the "small lives" school of dramaturgy—but also of its limitations.

Recognition of the honesty and technical excellence of such plays as "Ambush" is apt to divert our attention from their inherent superficiality. It is a common fallacy among certain critics and playgoers to believe that an unpleasant play, a disagreeable play, a depressing play must be *ipso facto* an important play. Such a belief is based on the widespread fallacy that it is first and last the duty of the dramatist to represent life, to represent it honestly and uncompromisingly. But the problem of the real dramatist is much more complex. While he may be seeming to represent life, he is actually lifting his audience out of the humdrum routine of everyday life into a significant experience into which each



individual in the audience, like each character of the action, is swept. We ourselves are the characters on the stage; vicariously we are going through their poignant and significant experience. And if the dramatist is great enough to throw his characters into a conflict which, no matter how tragic, in some way enlarges and magnifies them spiritually, we ourselves with them are likewise increased in spiritual stature. He gives us a vicarious experience which directly makes us understand more fully and significantly the meaning, the greatness, the value of life. Conceived in this fashion, drama is functional instead of representational.

But in "Ambush" and other plays of the same school, the very objectivity of the playwright accentuates our differences, or what we must eternally believe to be our differences, from the characters he so sternly depicts. No matter how pitiable and poignant he may be, we cannot identify ourselves with poor Walter Nichols. His passivity, his fluttering ineffectuality, his inert namby-pamby idealism, cannot serve to incarnate our common humanity. Even more remote and detached are we from the crass materialism of the wife, the greedy selfishness of the daughter. And the action into which these petty characters are thrown is one in which they become progressively diminished in stature. To use the jargon of the new psychology, our interest remains cerebrospinal, instead of visceral.

We suggest these considerations of the function of drama, because it would be a deplorable loss to the American public were Arthur Richman to remain in this puddle of petty realism, instead of launching his very decided talents into the current of the great tradition.

"A Bill of Divorcement" introduces Miss Clemence Dane as a dramatist to American audiences. The author of "Legend," that short novel which created no little discussion, is undoubtedly one of the cleverest of contemporary women writers. Her popular success in the realm of drama seems as assured as in fiction. "A Bill of Divorcement" is supposed to take place in 1932. A shell-shocked soldier, who has been in an insane asylum for seventeen years, returns to his home on Christmas Day, to discover that his wife has divorced him, and is on the point of marrying another man. He pleads with her to remain with him; and though she does not love him, she cannot withstand his cries for help. But finally their daughter, who believes that her own mind is tainted with hereditary insanity, renounces her own lover, insists that the mother depart with her fiancé, and decides to sacrifice her own future to care for the father.

Miss Dane deftly erects the imposing façade of "serious" drama. There is the unity of time and place and theme. There are all the Ibsenically impressive discussions of "the younger generation," of the limitations of matrimony and divorce, the curse of congenital insanity. But behind this façade, which

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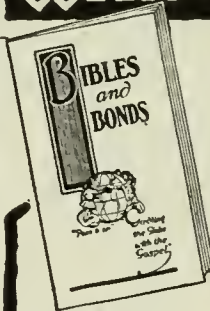
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We do not object to melodrama; we enjoy it. Miss Dane's play is strikingly effective as melodrama. The return through the Christmas snows of the father, so vividly played by Allan Pollock, the meeting of this father and daughter who had never seen each other, the splendid "curtains," all seemed more in the manner of 1832 than 1932. Miss Katherine Cornell, as the daughter, did much to make it seem plausible and contemporary. It is only when "A Bill of Divorcement" is acclaimed as a serious contribution to drama, only when it is taken for granted that there is a real structure behind her imposing façade, that one is bound to point out the papier mâché.

The inevitable dramatization of "Main Street," made by those deftly efficient collaborators, Harriet Ford and Harvey J. O'Higgins, is significant only as indicating the wane of the "Main Street" boom. It is a worthy appendix to Mr. Sinclair Lewis's novel, as it seems to carry to completion the novelist's unfinished portrait of Carol Kennicott. In the play, possibly due to the compelling and masterly acting of McKay Morris as Will Kennicott (or the colorless interpretation of Alma Tell as Carol), our sympathies are all on the side of Main Street and Dr. Will. That this is the intention of the playmakers is evident from their soundly built-up climax in the second act, when to Carol is revealed embodied in Will all the bravery, courage, and adventurous spirit she could not find elsewhere. More definitely in the play than in the novel, Carol emerges as a Puritan, prairie Emma Bovary, unable to face the realities of life and blaming her surroundings for her own fundamental emptiness. This was a point not clearly brought out in the novel, a truth perhaps not even recognized by Sinclair Lewis. And it is this truth of the innate "Bovarysme" of Carol that the playwrights have seized upon, and rightly, as the true centre of interest in "Main Street."

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## A Selected List of Autumn Books

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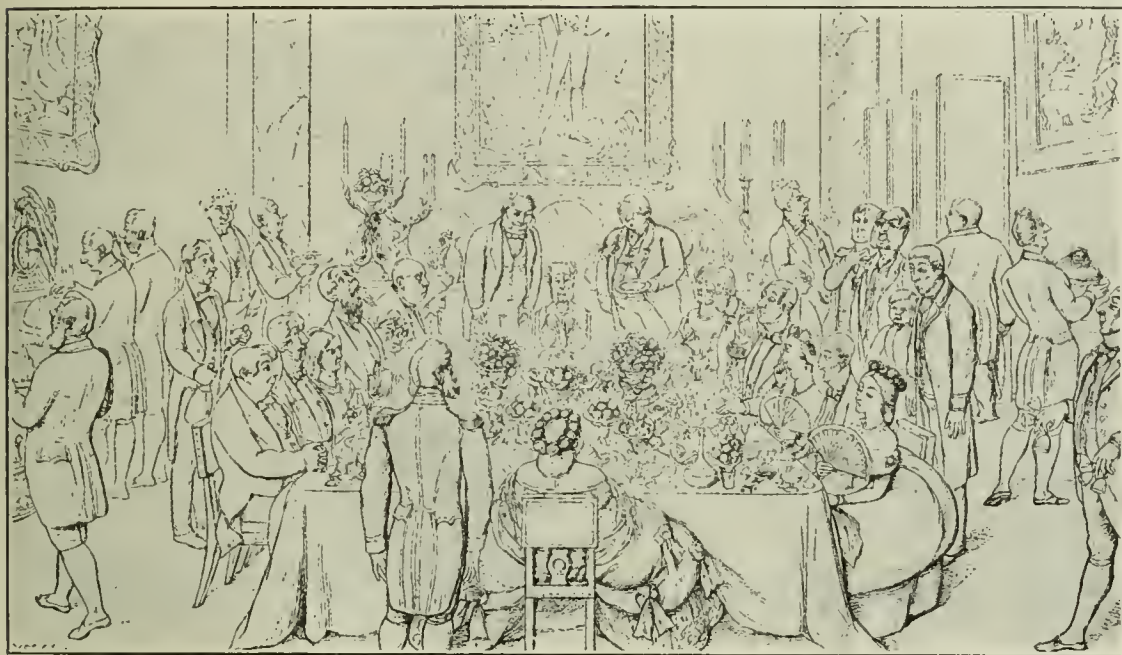
WASHINGTON CLOSE-UPS, by Edward G. Lowry. Houghton.  
Views of famous politicians.

FORTY-ODD YEARS IN THE LITERARY SHOP, by James L. Ford. Dutton.

MY LIFE HERE AND THERE, by Princess Cantacuzène. Scribner.

By the daughter of an American President.

MY BROTHER, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, by Corinne Robinson. Scribner.



An early Victorian dinner party. From "Mayfair and Montmartre," by Ralph Nevill (Dutton)

Humorous recollections of a journalist and author.

THE TRAGEDY OF LORD KITCHENER, by Viscount Esher. Dutton.

His failing powers in his last years.

ROOSEVELT, THE HAPPY WARRIOR, by Bradley Gilman. Little, Brown.  
By a classmate.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA, by W. R. H. Trowbridge. Appleton.

THE GLASS OF FASHION, by A Gentleman with a Duster. Putnam.

The author grieves for good manners, long deceased.

With many recollections of his childhood.

THE BIG FOUR, by Robert Lansing. Houghton.

The mighty chiefs at Versailles coolly dissected.

QUENTIN ROOSEVELT, edited by Kermit Roosevelt. Scribner.

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THE BOOK OF JACK LONDON, by Charman London. Century.

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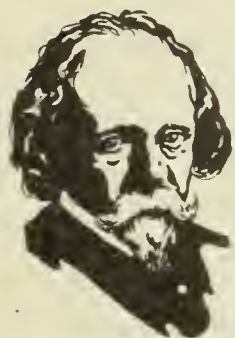


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## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

#### I. Books and Book Reviews.

1. "Success," by Samuel Hopkins Adams, is said to be "an attempt at serious interpretation." What is it that the novel attempts to interpret? To what extent is it the province of any novel to attempt serious interpretation? Which books that you have studied in school present similar attempts? Give a full explanation of the interpretation made in any book that you have read in school.
2. Mr. Adams' moral is said to be that a "success bought with a man's soul is failure." Draw from such books as "Ivanhoe," "Quentin Durward," "Silas Marner," "The Idylls of the King," "Macbeth" or "Hamlet," illustrations that point to the same conclusion.
3. Read the review of "Ambush." What ideals of play-writing does the review hold forth? Prove that any of the plays you have read in school are written in accordance, or not in accordance, with the ideals suggested.
4. The reviewer says: "If the dramatist is great enough to throw his characters into a conflict which, no matter how tragic, in some way enlarges and magnifies them spiritually, we ourselves with them are likewise increased in spiritual stature." Explain exactly what the reviewer means.
5. Explain how such plays as "Julius Caesar," "The Merchant of Venice," "Henry V," "Macbeth," and "Hamlet" illustrate the truth of the reviewer's remark.
6. What does the reviewer mean when he says that a good dramatist "gives us a vicarious experience"? What vicarious experience, for example, do we gain from "As You Like It," or "Twelfth Night," or "The Tempest," or from any other good play that you have read or seen on the stage?
7. The reviewer says: "Conceived in this fashion, drama is functional instead of representational." What is a merely representational drama? What is a functional drama? From your reading and study, and from your attendance at theatres, draw examples that will make your answers clear.
8. The writer speaks of "this puddle of petty realism," and "the current of the great tradition." Under what circumstances is realism petty? Under what circumstances is realism truly great? Prove that certain plays that you name are representative of "the current of the great tradition."
9. The "Selected List of Autumn Books" classifies some recent books under a number of sub-headings. Give a definition of the type of literature named by every sub-heading.
10. Name, and classify in accordance with the sub-headings just mentioned, at least a dozen books that you have read.
11. Select from the list of books any six that you would like to read. Tell why you would like to read those books. Name other books of a similar nature that you have already read.
12. The writer of "New Books and Old" says that there are three kinds of biography: "The full-length 'life,' . . . the book of reminiscences, . . . and the brief, biographical sketch." Define the types suggested. Under which of the types, if any, would the following be classified: Franklin's "Autobiography," Helen Keller's "Story of My Life," Booker Washington's "Up from Slavery," Southey's "Life of Nelson," Macaulay's "Johnson," Addison, Clive and Warren Hastings, Carlyle's "Essay on Burns," Boswell's "Johnson," Lockhart's "Life of Scott"?
13. In the comment on the recent "Book of Jack London" we read that Stevenson and Mark Twain both deserve long biographies. Explain why this is true. Draw up an outline of the life of Robert Louis Stevenson.
14. In what respects were the lives of Stevenson, Mark Twain and Jack London somewhat alike? In what respects were they different?

#### II. Rhetoric.

1. Point out the most effective opening sentences in the various articles in this issue. Tell what makes these sentences effective.
2. Prove that any one of the longer articles in this issue was written in accordance with a preconceived plan.

### History, Civics and Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,  
Former Principal of the High School  
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#### A—AMERICA.

##### 1. Railroad Wages.

1. What is your "knowledge and experience" which guides you to "a judgment as to whether, under present conditions, the earnings resulting from these wages are fair"? State your judgment and defend it.
2. Compare these wages with the wages of other workers of a corresponding grade in the labor world now. Compare the percentage change in wages of railroad workers with the percentage change in wages of other workers of a corresponding grade between the outbreak of the war and the time of the highest wages since. Compare the wages in the same way since the time of highest wages. Have railroad wages been deflated to the extent that other wages have? Compare the movements of railroad wages with the movements of prices since the outbreak of the war. Have railroad wages fallen in proportion to prices? Taking all these facts into consideration what is your opinion of the fairness of the wages in this article?
3. How do you account for these differences of wages in different grades of railroad workers? What other differentials of wages do you find among laborers?

##### II. What the Government is Doing About the Strike; The Threatened Strike.

1. Summarize briefly the action of the Government toward the strike. What weaknesses in the "Transportation Act" are here discussed or implied? State specifically "the policy of the Administration."
2. If the strike materializes show in what way it would affect the unemployment situation that has recently been a matter of such public concern.

##### III. Chinese Notes, Miscellaneous, The Nation's Guests, Our Treaty with Germany.

1. Why is it said of the Yorktown campaign that "perhaps" it is "the most momentous in history? If you can find any campaign that you think was more momentous argue the point.
2. What is the "very little" that we "are getting out of the treaty in the way of selfish advantage."
3. Summarize the bearing of the matters in these articles on the Washington Conference.

##### IV. The Cry of American Youth? The Unknown Dead of War.

1. What, in the reviewer's opinion, are the detestable and what the finer spiritual results of war? Does your opinion differ in any way from his?

#### B—EUROPE.

##### I. Germany—Germany, Germany Should Be Watched, Upper Silesia, The Collapsing Mark.

1. Look up "the methods of Scharnhorst" and show how the present situation is "reminiscent" of them.
2. How far can you trace the results of a collapsing mark—on imports and exports of Germany, etc., etc.?

##### II. Another Little Coup, The Conference in Ireland.

1. Investigate other attempts to restore monarchy in Europe since the war and tell which have been successful. Why?
2. If Charles gains his throne what difference will there be between his position and that of Francis Joseph I in respect to (a) the territory included in the kingdom, (b) the political position of the monarch.
3. Look up the formation of the Little Entente and see why they might consider the return of Charles very much their affair.
4. What happenings would you include in "the wave of folly" and why?

##### III. The Future of Bulgaria.

1. Give the grounds for the statement; "such a federation is probable in the rather distant future, but very improbable at present."

##### IV. Radicalism—Lenin Versus Wells, An Important Report.

1. Why would not the peasants "give sufficient food" to the Soviet Government to distribute to the industrial workers?
2. Discuss the responsibility of the Soviet Government for famine conditions in Russia.



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

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### Freedom for India—But How and When?

By Annette Thackwell Johnson

THE room, full of bright-eyed, dark-skinned, tousle-haired men talking excitedly and clacking typewriters, came to startled attention as I stood in the doorway.

My polite salaam was received in uncertain silence; but my request for certain information was answered by my being immediately ushered into an inner office, where the young man with the closest hair-cut put himself at my service.

He was going, so he told me, to be in my city before long. He was an organizer for the Friends of Freedom for India—the financial aiders of the present rebellion in India.

"From these, our headquarters in New York, we hope soon to reach out to all the large cities in the country. America will espouse our cause when she hears of the wrongs we have suffered."

"I also am a friend of Indian freedom," I told him. "I wonder whether we agree about the best way of obtaining it."

"There is but one way!" His eyes blazed, and his nostrils quivered. "The English must be forced out of India."

"But are you not a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, the opposer of force?"

"Most certainly I am. First, we tell them to go, peacefully. They do not obey. What follows?" He shrugged. "Mobs can not be restrained. The present rioting in Malabar is but a beginning of what is to come. Disaffection is broadcast. It does not take long to start a blaze from tinder."

"How did it come to be tinder?"

"How?" He was off on his speech on the wrongs of India at the hands of the British tyrant, illustrated with blood-curdling anecdotes.

He was so glib, so plausible, that had I not been born and bred in India I should have believed it all. As it was, I found myself remembering.

"Why do you keep referring to 'India's pre-British golden age?'" I interrupted at last. "You must know that when the East India Company began their trading in 1639 there was no such thing as 'India.' The country now called by that name was divided into kingdoms—peopled with races as different as the present occupants of Europe—who hated each other just as fervently as the French and Germans of the present day. Can you have forgotten Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi? Surely you must remember how, just before that, during the reign of Aurungzeb, the last of the

Moguls, the country was torn with wars and invasions of Sikhs from the Punjab, Rajputs, and Mahrattas, with the last uppermost.

"Intrigue! Murder! Pillage! spelled the 'peace' of the golden pre-British age. Men plowed their fields, their swords by their sides. Travelers went in companies, armed. No path was safe. Great tracts of land lay waste. The few roads that existed disappeared for lack of mending, so that carts could no longer be used, and men traveled on horses or bullocks. Dacoits ravaged the land, cutting off ears and noses, knocking out teeth or burning their victims' oil-soaked fingers one by one, until their wretched hoards were yielded up. Why, in my own childhood I remember seeing a poor creature bereft of ears, nose, and hands, staggering under a bundle of fire-wood, and being told that so men walked who stole from Rajahs!"

My friend of India's brown-shod foot was tapping a furious tattoo as he burst out, "You do not know my country!"

"But, indeed, I do—and, because I love as well as know it, I fear for its future. Not only was I born in the Punjab (as my mother was before, and my children after me), but the first language I spoke was Urdu; the first songs I heard sung were Punjabi *bhajans*; and the first stories, the folk-lore of the country. I have given years to working over there. And I know that to a Punjabi the word 'Hindustan' means the United Provinces. The unifying agent that has welded those fierce tribes into a semblance of a country, by stringing them as beads on a connecting string, is the British Empire. But they, Bengal, Nepal, Bhutan, Baluchistan, Rajputana, Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab are *still beads*. How long do you suppose they would form a necklace if the string were broken?"

"Moslem and Hindu now are brothers."

"For the moment—and why? Because the Moslems, wishing revenge because of the partition of Turkey, know that the best way to obtain it is to join hands with their ancient enemy, the Hindu. You have been enemies ever since the Moslems conquered India. How long do you suppose your friendship will last?"

"Always. We would no more fight each other than your own States would have fought after your Revolution."

I sighed. "So eager to loose the tiger! They did, as soon as their economic interests clashed. Few wars have been bitterer than our own Civil War. To be sure, at the first, our States, consisting of colonists, were bound to-



gether by the necessity of fighting the wilderness; but 'India' is peopled by different races and religions, inhabiting fought-over lands that have been gained and regained, cherishing ancient hates and opposite ambitions. Gandhi, your leader, demands a return to the simple life, the spinning wheel, prayer and meditation. Meanwhile the Punjab is swarming with Mohammedans; and the Amir of Afghanistan, watching from the mountain fastnesses, has no fancy for spinning wheels—his religion is the sword. Swords cut strings easily."

"Do not think to frighten me!" choked the friend of India, rising. "If we are letting loose the Moslem tiger it will be no worse than the British lion!"

"Much worse than a toothless and good-natured old lion."

"And pray, what has your toothless old lion, with his bloody paws, ever done for my country?"

We were standing now, tense and quivering, the chair between us.



*Mahatma Gandhi, India's Nationalist leader*

"We do not wish to have reforms thrust upon us. Let us attend to those matters ourselves."

"I sympathize with you there. But who are 'we'? You know as well as I do that if you were indeed 'we'—if *all* India were with you—the British could not stay in India forty-five minutes. I am in constant touch with India and receive its daily papers, and I know that there is a strong faction that does not feel as you do: Hindus who fear the Afghan, Moslems who quiver at the thought of the Mahrattas, and Sikhs who dread them both. You are going off at half-cock. India is *not* one. And until primary education has been universal for at least a decade, until Mohammedans cease to propagate their faith with the sword, and Hindus concede that their many thousand outcasts, the chumars, the workers in leather, are human beings, you can not be one. Fear, ignorance, and religious intolerance are the feeders of ancient hate. It is *for your own sakes* that I wish for time to weld you. If you work for universal education, within a generation India will be autonomous. Already she has a very large measure of autonomy. All the police, and nearly all postal and railway clerks are Indians; a tremendous number hold civil service positions: you have representatives on the Viceroy's Council. Don't

terrify, but educate your villagers. A bloody revolution now would only set back progress and foster intrigue. Let loose that welter of cruelty and ignorance at your peril. . . ."

"We'll risk it," sneered India's friend.

I insisted upon shaking hands with him upon leaving. For I pitied and sympathized with him more than he guessed.

I had known many of him in India, and met him frequently here in America. Educated, generally far beyond his family, free of charge in a Mission or Government school, and turned out a B. A. with no office stool to sit upon—the B. A.'s far exceeding the vacancies—to me he represented Britain's biggest blunder in dealing with the East.

The Government's emphasis on higher, instead of primary education, coupled with the confusion of a changing economic system, the superseding of the old handicrafts by the modern machine-made articles, is directly responsible for most of these "Friends of India." Vast tracts of country remain illiterate, while every year B. A.'s and B. A.'s *fail* (a rank proudly referred to, for has not the B. A. *fail* at least studied for the unobtained degree?), are turned out—jobless, soon to betake themselves to the villages to eke out a living as seditionists.

As I walked soberly away, I recalled my own devoted cook's infuriated refusal to be inoculated with plague vaccine—because a "well-read person," orating in the bazar, had told him that the vaccine was a trick used by the English to un-sex the Indian population. And I remembered the utter amazement of our deputy commissioner and his wife, when forced to flee for their lives one fine evening, while making their winter tour of village inspection, simply because Mr. Foster had been playing his mandolin outside their tent door, little dreaming that a B. A. *fail* was industriously informing the villagers that the music was English magic calling down the plague upon the innocent village.

As I strolled dejectedly along the sunny street, I recalled many such instances, and wondered whether it were possible for ignorance so dense to protect itself against demagogues.

In the cities, because of the faithful efforts of missionaries, education is prying open zenana doors, and Indian women are beginning to come to the crack and breathe. What is new India going to do for them?

A few months ago a guest of ours, a most handsome, up-to-date looking young Indian Parsee, so much a friend of India that he called himself *Gandhi*, contributed this to the subject of woman's emancipation:

"Woman? The only way to deal with woman is to keep her locked up—that cuts her mischief-making claws."

England's sins are many. Her rule has been far from perfect. But she has done more for India, in the last hundred years, than was done in all the centuries before. And the greatest of her gifts has been civic justice.

The first act of a native ruler upon ascending the throne was likely to be the slaying of every male relative who might some day prove a rival. Bribery and corruption were the only roads to favor. An English official is forbidden to receive the smallest sort of present from a native—any infringement of this rule means dismissal and disgrace. No official class in the world is as free from graft as the Indian Civil Service.

But old customs are hard to eradicate; and wherever public funds are largely in the hands of the Indians, there is trouble. In the famines it is the Hindu *bunias* (merchants) who corner the grain and profiteer, and when the Government gathers the famine-sufferers into concentration camps and deals out slender rations to them, it is the native official in charge of the distributing who robs his own. When any of my servants were in need of medical atten-



tion, I had to send a personal *chit* (note) with them to the hospital. For, unless I did this, they would be permitted to sit for hours in the hot courtyard before they were attended to; and then, instead of being given quinine or castor oil, as the case might be, they were given fake powders and adulterated oil, the quinine being sold at profit elsewhere. To be sure, hospital beds and drugs were all provided by the Government; but the doctors and assistants were native, and they defrauded their own. A *chit* from a European insured attention.

Nothing in the world was so dreaded by the poor as the

native police, who browbeat them, cheated, bullied, and thrashed them. The cause? They were Orientals. For many centuries the Oriental conception of justice has been the bastinado. Beat first, inquire afterwards.

The average Englishman is not a person of ingratiating ways. His complacent superiority is not likely to endear him to those of foreign birth. But in his own disagreeable way, wherever he goes, he administers rough justice. Rough justice is not perfect justice. But it is vastly better than no justice at all.

And justice is the foundation of freedom.

# What Has Been Done to Limit Armaments

By Hamilton Holt

THE first attempt in modern times to limit armaments began when the Tsar issued his famous rescript of 1898 convening the first Hague Conference. The Tsar's fondest hope was that the growing and evergrowing armaments that were impoverishing the peoples of the world might in some way be taken off their backs. He evidently did not see that armaments are not so much the causes of the world's troubles as they are symptoms of them.

The first Hague Conference started in bravely enough. The question of the limitation of armaments was the "frontispiece" of the Circular of the Russian Government, and the Russian delegation strained every nerve both in the meetings of the sub-committees and in the Plenary Sessions to get some action taken. The Conference adjourned after passing the following resolution:

The conference is of the opinion that the restriction of the military charges which are at present a heavy burden on the world is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind.

It also added the following wish (*vœu*):

The Conference expresses the wish that the Governments taking into consideration the proposals made at the Conference may examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea and of war budgets.

During the interval between the first and second Hague Conferences the Governments paid no attention to these suggestions, but went ahead increasing their armaments at a rate and on a scale theretofore unprecedented.

The only two utterances against this militarist aggrandizement, made by responsible heads of state that I recall, were those of the British Prime Minister and of the President of the United States. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in a notable speech at Albert Hall, London, in December, 1905, suggested that Britain should place herself "at the head of a League of Peace" to limit armaments, and Theodore Roosevelt in a letter to the New York Peace and Arbitration Congress held in April, 1907, wrote:

The most practical step in diminishing of the burden of expense caused by the increasing size of naval armament would, I believe, be an agreement limiting the size of ships hereafter to be built.

Britain and the United States were the only nations who "reserved the right" to bring up for discussion the limitation of armaments at the second Hague Conference. Russia had abandoned her championship of the cause and was actually proposing to bar it out of the discussion. Not, however, until after the Conference had been in session over eight weeks was the subject introduced. Then Britain made the following tentative proposal, although Russia, Germany, Austria, and Japan had announced that they would take no part in the discussion:

The Government of Great Britain will be ready to communicate each year to the Powers that will do the same, its plan of constructing new warships. Such an exchange of information will facilitate an exchange of views between the

Governments on the reduction which by common agreement may be effected.

After Mr. Choate in behalf of the American delegation had expressed sympathy for the views which had been stated by His Excellency the first delegate of the British Delegation the discussion was solemnly dropped and the whole question was tabled in the following resolution:

The Second Peace Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure, and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the Conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the Governments should resume the serious examination of this question.

Naturally, all these deferred hopes at The Hague gave rise to various movements throughout the world for the limitation of armaments. Of these I have only space to mention the Bennet bill passed by the United States Congress on June 24, 1910, which declared for the limitation of armaments in the following words:

Resolved, etc.: That a Commission of five members be appointed by the President of the United States to consider the expediency of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to diminish the expenditures of Governments for military purposes and to lessen the probabilities of war.

For some reason—perhaps because Mr. Root so advised—President Taft never appointed the Peace Commission, though he did ask Mr. Roosevelt, when the latter emerged from the African jungle, to sound Great Britain and Germany to see if they could not be persuaded to limit their mad armament rivalry. But the Kaiser told Mr. Roosevelt in effect not to meddle with affairs that did not concern him and Mr. Roosevelt stayed "squelched."

Nothing else of any consequence was done in the United States, or in the world, until the Great War broke out, though Great Britain had in the meantime notified Germany that she was ready to compare naval programmes on the theory that such an interchange of information might eventually lead to some reduction in their respective armaments.

During the first three years of the war the nations naturally put all their thought and strength on increasing armaments instead of diminishing them, though I must not forget the rider on the Naval appropriation bill passed by the United States Congress in 1917 which permitted the President to cease building the authorized battleships whenever in his judgment a League of Nations should be set up with machinery adequate to settle international difficulties.

Though President Wilson naturally did not have the opportunity then or later to avail himself of this privilege, he did make disarmament the fourth of his Fourteen Points, which reads as follows:



Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations declares that "the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations."

The League of Nations began its official existence on February 10, 1920. At the eighth meeting of the Council, held at San Sebastian, Spain, the permanent Armaments Commission of military and naval experts was appointed in accordance with Article IX of the Covenant. This commission had hardly organized when the Assembly held its initial meeting on November 15, 1920. The Assembly was naturally not unmindful of the "cosmic urge" for disarmament, but as Germany was outside the League and the final attitude of the United States in doubt, it felt it was wiser to make haste slowly. It contented itself therefore with recommending that the Council suggest to the member states that they should not increase their military budgets for the next two years, and that a temporary body of political, economic, and social experts be added to the mixed Armament Commission. The Council heeded this recommendation. The Commission was enlarged, and an appeal was sent out requesting each nation to keep its military and naval budgets for the next two years within the appropriations for the current year.

Twenty-seven replies to this request were received. Two, Austria and Bulgaria, pointed out that the Versailles Treaty had already limited their armaments. Three, Sweden, Brazil, and South Africa, were non-committal. Fifteen accepted it in one form or another, but practically all with the reservation that the other nations should do the same.

When the second session of the Assembly convened in Geneva last September, the mixed Armaments Commission, under the presidency of M. Viviani of France, and composed of political members, economists, and financiers, employers and workmen's representatives, as well as military and naval experts, made their report. It was a most significant document. In a word, the League investigators found that the world was not ready for disarmament, and that the world does not yet trust abstract justice enough to scrap national armaments. Disarmament and peace must ultimately come—there can be no doubt of that—but not just now.

The United States was praised for calling the Limitation of Armaments Conference. We were directly blamed, on the other hand, for having failed to act on the St. Germain Conferences of 1919 by which arms were to be controlled. Reading between the lines, it is evident that the League does not think that the United States has always been actuated by those idealistic motives which have so often been presented as the mainspring of America's international policy.

The one concrete suggestion made by the report is that the nations be asked to file with the secretariat answers to nine questions which include the statistics in regard to population, area, number of soldiers in time of peace, war material, annual military budgets per capita expenditure for national defense, and relation that national defense bears to the total of the budget, etc.

Here the whole matter rests. The next step is "up to" the Washington Conference. What will it do? As yet the country has only a very general notion of the details of the Administration's programme. All it knows is that the five nations of the world who have it in their power to prevent war are going to meet November 11 to discuss ways and means to do it.

The significance of the Conference depends on whether the United States will throw the weight of its influence to a thoroughgoing solution of the problem by attempting to "reduce armaments to the lowest point consistent with national security," or will merely try to effect some proportional limitation of the naval forces of Britain, Japan, and the United States.

The former can be done, in my judgment, if the United States will enter the existing League of Nations or set up a new Association of Nations. The latter can be done by a joint agreement between the three greatest naval Powers of Europe, Asia, and America.

I have no expectation that Mr. Harding will enter the existing League of Nations. I have little expectation that he will attempt to set up a new Association of Nations unless under the pressure of an irresistible demand from the people.

Unless all signs fail, Mr. Harding will not attempt to go farther than to get Britain and Japan to join with us in cutting down naval budgets. But if he can do this, even in the smallest degree, he will deserve the thanks of all good men everywhere and will have achieved a real triumph in statesmanship.

## Books on Limitation of Armaments

[There are many books on universal peace; fewer on the subject of disarmament; and still fewer wholly, or even in part, devoted to the specific subject of the limitation of armaments, which is the subject of the coming Conference in Washington. Most of the printed material is in the form of articles in newspapers or periodicals. The titles which follow are those of a few books about limitation of armaments, or containing some pages or chapters on the subject.]

ARMAMENTS AND ARBITRATION, by A. T. Mahan. Harper, 1912.

Admiral Mahan on "the place of force in the international relations of states."

ARMS AND THE RACE, by R. M. Johnston. Century, 1915.

Chapter on "Kruppism and Disarmament."

DISARMAMENT. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-sixth Congress, third session, on H. J. Res. 424, authorizing and empowering the President to invite all nations to send delegates to a convention to provide for disarmament, January 14, 15, 1921. Government Printing Office, 1921.

DOCUMENTS RESPECTING THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS, laid before the first Hague Peace Conference of 1899, by the Government of the Netherlands, edited by August

von Daehne van Varick. Published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. Pamphlet 22. 1916.

THE GREAT ILLUSION, by "Norman Angell" (pseudonym of Ralph N. A. Lane). Putnam, 1911.

"A study of the relation of military power to national advantage."

THE NEW WORLD, by Isaiah Bowman. World Book Co., 1921. Numerous maps.

THE NEXT WAR, by Will Irwin. Dutton, 1921.

A forecast of the destructiveness of future war, in the light of the one just ended, with consideration of the expenditures for military purposes.

OUR QUESTION OF QUESTIONS, ARM OR DISARM? by William W. Kimball. Navy Publishing Co., 1917.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON WORLD PEACE, including . . . Disarmament, compiled by Mary K. Reely. H. W. Wilson Co., 1916.

THE WAR OF STEEL AND GOLD; a Study of the Armed Peace, by Henry N. Brailsford. G. Bell & Sons, 1915.

WAY TO DISARM: A Practical Proposal, by Hamilton Holt. Church Peace Union, 1914.



# A New Stage in the Irish Affair

By Stephen Gwynn

WE have passed without shipwreck through the period of open diplomacy, and its lessons may be variously construed. When things came so near rupture over a mere question of form, can settlement be hoped in matters of substance? On the other hand, it is plain from what has happened that public opinion on both sides is forcing negotiations towards an agreement. As a matter of fact (so far as one in my position can ascertain such a fact), Sinn Feiners generally expect a composition which will give up the idea of a republic; but have no clear conception of the lines along which it can be reached.

The no-surrender party is putting itself very strongly on record against the acceptance of Dominion Home Rule and allegiance to the British Crown in any shape. Nevertheless I think that Ireland as a whole has clearly determined for a position within the Empire and trusts that ingenuity will find a formula to make it palatable. The idea of repeal of the Act of Union, which would have King George king of Ireland by a sort of separate right, appeals to many, and probably whatever settlement is reached in this regard will be justified as a return to a historic condition of things which was (from 1782 to 1800) accepted by England and by all parties in Ireland. The representation will be historically false, but it will serve for platform purposes. If the matter to be arranged were of the association of Ireland with the group of nations known as the British Empire, I should have no doubt that a settlement could be reached. But there is Ulster.

Nationalist Ireland as a whole refuses to admit the validity of the act by which Northern Ireland is defined and provided with a parliament; it refuses to admit the status conferred by that act on six Ulster counties. The people of those six counties, or rather the Protestant people of them, being about two-thirds of the whole, refuse to come in any shape under a Dublin parliament. No issue could be clearer, or more plainly one of substance, not of form. I imagine that Sinn Fein does not regard this opposition of aims as fatal to settlement because it thinks it can make Mr. Lloyd George force Ulster to give way. Facts, or rather appearances of fact, support that thought: Mr. Lloyd George could do the trick by holding Ulster to the letter of its bond.

Ulster has agreed to accept the Act of 1921 under which Great Britain fixes and collects nine-tenths of Irish revenue, and pays the proceeds into the exchequer of Northern and Southern Ireland on a stated proportion, deducting for imperial purposes eight millions as the contribution of Northern Ireland. Now, in the first place, none of the machinery of the act is functioning outside of Ulster under the act, in default of a parliament and ministry willing to take the oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the Northern parliament when it came into being found itself unable to proceed: hampered at every point by the lack of essential parts in the machinery; and for the moment it becomes ridiculous and to that degree discredited. It would be the easier done away with: so much is obvious to Sinn Fein. Not less obvious to all is it that the British Parliament, which set up this subordinate legislature, must provide it with a machine possessing all the necessary parts. Either the act must be brought fully into operation, if that is possible, or an amending act must re-equip Ulster. So far as this, Ulster has the pull on Mr. Lloyd George. But when we get the act working, Ulster has to pay for two years a contribution of eight millions; Ulster cannot pay it and will not. Financially Belfast is in a terrible plight. Mr. Lloyd George may then apparently stand on

the letter of his bond and say: "Very well. We promised you an independent parliament, equal in status to that given to the rest of Ireland, under no obligation to unite with the rest unless it chose. But you agreed to pay eight millions a year. If we, in the interests of your solvency, modify our demand for an imperial contribution, you must contribute your part to an imperial peace by agreeing to take your place in a central Irish Legislature, even if you preserve your state parliament and administration."

On the face of things, this should not be impossible, for everybody in Ireland knows that this is how the Irish problem must finally work itself out. But consider it as a political question. Ulster and those who back Ulster will say: "Ulster never wanted self-government. It consented to it on your urging. We accepted the principle of an imperial contribution and moreover your assessment by which six Ulster counties were to contribute, on a balance struck,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  millions against  $7\frac{3}{4}$  for twenty-six other counties. Now, you propose to the rest of Ireland, because it is and has been at war with yours, a system of complete financial independence and a complete revision of the contribution. Can you with justice hold us, who have always backed you, to the part of the compact which we accepted at your wish, while you modify it enormously in favor of those who shot your men in a hundred ambushes?" Politically, I see a possible answer—unless indeed Ulster by its attacks on Catholics in Belfast and its complete failure to respect the truce should be held to have barred itself from all consideration. That is the weak point in Ulster's position. Apart from that, it seems to me certain that Mr. Lloyd George will be inclined, and, further, will be forced, to offer to Northern Ireland separately whatever extension of powers and financial privileges he offers to Southern Ireland. He will not do anything that can be fairly represented as coercing Ulster: perhaps he will even shun the merest appearance of coercion. Rightly or wrongly, he is not prepared to coerce Ulster to accept the Irish connection further than Ulster chooses.

If any other man in Europe were in the position which Mr. Lloyd George occupies, I should have little hope. But he has proved his courage and resolution sufficiently not to fear reproach for giving ground; he is slow to take offense and skilful to avoid giving it; he has an amazing power of persuasion, which will at all events be serviceable in treating with his own side; and above all he has a statesman's eye for the essentials. On the other hand, he is hated and distrusted in Ireland as no English statesman has been since Joseph Chamberlain, and that is a terrible menace to the chances of peace. Yet between Chamberlain and Ireland there was a deep-seated temperamental antipathy; with Lloyd George it is a sympathy, limited by the fact that he is a Celtic peasant but of Protestant, not Catholic stock. For that reason, he has an insight into the mentality of Protestant Ulster and of Catholic Ireland quite unlike that of Chamberlain or any English bourgeois; but for that reason also he constantly disappoints and therefore infuriates both Ulster and the rest of Ireland by his sympathy for the other side.

Perhaps I should apologize for going beyond my brief. But to my mind the personality of Mr. Lloyd George is the most important factor in the Irish question of today. No Englishman could even understand Sinn Fein; but he may and probably will. Is Sinn Fein going to be able to understand Mr. Lloyd George—who more than anyone else represents "that group of nations known as the British Empire," which fought the war to the bitter end?

*Dublin, Ireland.*





# EDITORIAL



## The Significant Visit of the First Sea Lord

ABOUT the visit of Earl Beatty to the United States there is a significance which, perhaps, may not be fully appreciated without explanation. Earl Beatty has not come here merely as the victor of Jutland to receive compliments from his American admirers, but as the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty in London, a sailor still on duty, who speaks officially for the British Navy and therefore speaks for the British Government. When addressing the Pilgrims the other day, he made it clear that his visit was authorized by the Prime Minister and approved by President Harding. As a preliminary to the Washington Conference his attendance at the convention of the American Legion in Kansas City has thus a definite, an unmistakable meaning.

Always at the Pilgrims' Dinners "blood is thicker than water." There are amiable, if important, commonplaces which, as such, may be taken for granted. But at the banquet to Earl Beatty the ceremonial was arranged, as were the orations, with particular exactitude. Consequently it does not appear to have been entirely an oversight that Japan was ignored. The Japanese anthem was not played with the others of the Allies, and no Japanese were present. In the speeches, stress was laid upon the coöperation between the American and British fleets in the North Sea and the Pacific Ocean, especially the latter, but no mention was made of the naval patrol maintained during the war by Japan. We had the story of the Pei-Ho Forts, where Americans helped British sailors, and we had the story of Manila Bay, where British helped American sailors, but of Japan not a word. Most startling of all was Earl Beatty's blunt declaration that in the North Sea the American squadron was under his command. He made no attempt to soften or mitigate the challenging character of that statement, which Admiral Rodney, representing the American Navy, accepted not only as the truth but as the only sensible arrangement under the circumstances. Whatever rivalries there may have been between the seamen of the United States and Great Britain, due largely to very different scales of pay, it was abundantly evident that a complete and indeed an affectionate understanding had been established between the officers on the quarterdecks.

The Pilgrims' banquet does not stand alone. The vote of the Congressional Medal to the Unknown British Soldier and the award of the Victoria Cross to the American Unknown have afforded another of several occasions on which the solidarity of the United States and Great Britain has been emphasized. From President Harding at Yorktown, and from King George, there have been messages which could only mean a change for the better in Anglo-American relations. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that an entente, always

implicit in community of language and tradition, is coming to be a fact. It is not an alliance; it has not been and will not be put into words. But it will be none the less actual if and when the necessity arises. It is not a bond that need be submitted either to Congress or to Parliament, but however elastic may be the assumptions which are woven into the links they are likely to hold firm under strain. Over questions like the Panama tolls or the tariff there may be friction and difference of view, but not over essentials.

In essentials must be included Far Eastern interests, and here the entente will be put to the test, forced to it by the policy of Japan and the status of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. The fact is that while Japan has had a strong hand, she has rather overplayed it. Seeing the Old World shattered, she forgot the New World, and demanded great concessions. At what a cost President Wilson acquiesced, we now know. Yet possibly Japan might have held her gains unchallenged, at least for some time, had she not been tempted into overreaching herself in the matter of the island of Yap. With the United States outside the League of Nations and herself inside, this little mandate affair seemed simple enough. To see Great Britain and the United States manœuvred into unexpected collision over the cable station doubtless meant a triumph of Japanese diplomacy. But it was a success not likely to be repeated. The incident did not appear at once to affect the Anglo-Japanese alliance, but it meant none the less that the alliance was doomed. As a momentary safeguard, Australia and New Zealand might cling to it, but only on conditions acceptable to the United States, while Canada, as she showed by her famous "ultimatum" to the British Imperial Conference, would have none of it.

The position of Japan might have been restored if she had been wise enough at once to withdraw her claim of sovereignty over Yap and to agree to its internationalization, as desired by America, instead of long haggling over the matter. Meanwhile she has fortified her attitude with ever-increasing armaments, both on land and sea. For this she could not even make the excuse that she was defending China from Western exploitation and aggression, while her own conduct in China and Korea puts the shoe on the other foot. Even the attempt of Japan to forestall the Conference by a separate negotiation with China was not calculated to inspire confidence in the good purposes of her naval preparations.

The alliance between Great Britain and Japan, as first signed nearly twenty years ago, was never intended as a mantle under which Japan was to proceed with impunity to exclude the rest of the world from large areas in Asia, afterwards to be militarized by the suzerain against any challenge in years to come. Such a use of the alliance menaces India, Australia, and New Zealand more immediately than it menaces Canada and the United States. The moment that Japan reduced the reasons for the alliance to one single fear of what would



happen to the British Empire if it were dropped—from that moment did she drive Great Britain and the United States into each other's arms. An alliance maintained under a veiled threat and as an instrument of expansion would be intolerable. Even more out of the question was an alliance that would involve Great Britain on the side of Japan, as against America, in naval competition for the control of the Pacific. The fact that Japan was building up her land forces by conscription, as well as increasing her navy, did not tend to reassure Great Britain as to her ultimate object.

After the conclusions forced on Britain by her Dominions in the Imperial Conference, Japan should not rest under any illusions as to the choice she has to make, or as to the validity of the Anglo-Japanese alliance if she is determined to pursue the course of excessive armament. If she decides to close the door to the west of her, she must be prepared to sacrifice the benefits of her understanding with England. Japan has much more to gain by association with the liberal Powers in the arts of peace than by drilling a population of trained soldiers, for it is the liberal Powers, not the military despotisms, that today govern the destinies of mankind. Dwelling thus on Japan's alternatives and upon the fate of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, there is a cheering significance in Lord Beatty's measured words and pondered assurances of comradeship.

## A Good Amendment and a Bad One

**A**MONG the proposed amendments to their State Constitution which are to be adopted or rejected by the people of New York next Tuesday there are two which are of far more than local interest. One of them would give the Legislature authority greatly to increase the powers and enlarge the functions of the Children's Courts. The other is a Veterans' Preference bill of the most sweeping character. It is most earnestly to be hoped that the Children's Courts amendment will be adopted and the Veterans' Preference amendment rejected.

In the administration of the criminal law, our country has an unenviable distinction; our record in general is notoriously inferior to that of any of the leading countries of Europe. But there is one shining instance in which we have led the way—one reform, long urgently needed and amazingly neglected, in which America has set an example to the world. This is the establishment of courts in which offenses committed by children are dealt with as the case manifestly requires and not according to the rules of law instituted for dealing with adult criminals. But in the State of New York—and doubtless in many others—the status of the Children's Courts is far from what it ought to be. Their powers are circumscribed in such a way as greatly to restrict their usefulness, and even the objects that they do effect often have to be attained by indirection rather than by the exercise of their clear authority. The passage of the amendment would be of inestimable value in procuring beneficent and humane treatment of cases not only of wayward but also of ill-treated children.

Of the Veterans' Preference amendment it is difficult to use too strong language in condemnation. The worst, as well as the most expensive, possible way to recognize the services of those who served in the war

is to put them into civil-service posts regardless of their merit, and over the heads of persons far better qualified for the work. The proposed amendment gives to any person who has *served* in the army, navy or marine corps *in war time* an absolute preference over all other persons not only in appointments but also in promotions. How demoralizing this would be, and how destructive of the fundamental idea of a civil service conducted on the basis of merit, no intelligent person need be told. The enormous number of persons who would be put into the preferred class gives to the proposal a potency for harm such as former projects of the same nature have not had. The passage of the amendment would be a great blow to the merit system in the schools, the fire departments, and the civil service generally.

## Are Capitalists Parasites?

**I**N an authorized interview, published in the *Nation's Business*, Henry Ford gave an elaborate reply to this question, which was put to him by Mr. William Atherton Du Puy:

If you were operating a railroad such as the Pennsylvania or the New York Central, how would you proceed?

The various points which Mr. Ford makes about railroad management we do not propose here to discuss; but the thing that he put to the forefront has a bearing far wider than any question of railroad operation. "I would reorganize," he said, "in such a way as to get rid of the unproductive stockholders," and he enlarged on this idea as follows:

The first thing to be done anywhere is to reorganize by getting rid of unproductive stockholders. The real purpose of a railroad is to serve the public. There is no reason why it should be diverted from that service and set to doing an entirely different thing—putting money into the pockets of stockholders who make no contribution to the road's actual operation. Paying dividends to these people is a burden which should be lifted from the railroads.

Now if Mr. Ford had merely said that it would be a good thing if all the stock of a railroad were held by persons who were actively engaged in carrying on its work, there would be some merit in the suggestion. When he says, for example, further on in the interview, that "if the brakeman on a railroad owns stock in it he has an additional inducement to competent service," nearly everybody will agree with him. The idea of this kind of identification of the interest of the workers in any corporate enterprise with the prosperity of the corporation is one that has been urged again and again, and which has to some extent been put into practical effect. But between this and the assertion made by Mr. Ford there is an enormous gap. His talk will be understood by the ignorant—a term which, in spite of Mr. Ford's remarkable ability and phenomenal success in his own field, by no means excludes himself—as justifying the half-baked Socialist's view that the persons who supply the capital for a productive undertaking "make no contribution" to the "actual operation" of the enterprise, and are therefore entitled to no reward for their share in it. This is a silly notion which the more intelligent Socialists have long ceased to entertain; but it is one that has wide currency among the unthinking, and its dissemination, or even apparent dissemination, by a man of Mr. Ford's prominence, is calculated to do great mischief.

For the conduct of any productive enterprise three



things are essential, and all three of them are equally essential. There must be capital—that is, the material things which are necessary for the carrying on of the business: in the case of manufactures, for example, buildings, machinery, raw material, etc.; in the case of railroads the road bed, tracks, terminal facilities, rolling stock, etc. The other two essential elements are labor and skilled management. Without labor of course nothing could be done, but the labor would be futile without skilled management; and both labor and management would be helpless without capital. Now it might happen that the capital was supplied by the same men who furnished the labor and the management; but if that does not happen—and as a rule it certainly does not—then the persons who supply the capital, though taking no part personally in the work, *do* “make a contribution” to the enterprise just as genuine, and just as indispensable, as that made by those who give their personal services to it; for without their contribution it could not be carried on.

As for the reward of their service, that is purely a matter of what their service can fetch in the market—just as are the wages of the workmen, or the salaries of the managing experts, or, for that matter, the profits of a man like Mr. Henry Ford. If he makes twenty million dollars a year, while the men whose scientific researches and inventive genius laid the foundation on which *his* peculiar genius built its success had to be content with perhaps one five-thousandth of that sum, it is not because his merit is five thousand times as great, but simply because it happens that the market gives him that reward for his service. The reason that capital gets a return of five per cent., or ten per cent., or whatever it may be, is that the quantity of saving that people are willing to make is limited, and consequently that amount of inducement has to be offered in order to get the people to put into the various productive enterprises the amount of capital that these enterprises actually absorb. A small percentage of the total earnings of the “plain people” of this country would, in the course of not very many years, suffice to buy out the stock not only of the railroads but of all our big corporations; but the vast majority of people choose to consume their incomes almost completely, and it is left to a comparatively small number, therefore, to supply the greater part of the capital necessary for the carrying on of our productive enterprises. It is perfectly open to anybody to say, if he chooses, that it is not “just” that these people should get a reward for their abstinence in the shape of interest on their investments, for “justice” is a word whose definition depends, as Mr. Samuel Weller might say, on the taste and fancy of the definer; but to say that the thing for which they get the reward is no service is simply to talk nonsense. And anybody who holds that the service rendered by the *capitalist* ought not to be compensated is bound to point out some other way in which the community’s need for the service rendered by *capital* can be supplied.

We are far from asserting that no other way could be found. On the contrary, it is quite plain that under a thorough-going Socialist system the Government could take from the product of the community’s activities each year as much as it thought fit to set aside as capital for the maintenance of future production. If, instead of talking about capitalists being parasites, persons

who object to the existing system recognized the indisputable fact that they render a vital service, and planted themselves squarely on the ground that that service might better be obtained by public compulsion than by private initiative, their view might be mistaken, but it would be neither ridiculous nor ignorant. The upholder of the existing system who thinks he can shut the Socialist’s mouth by simply pointing out the necessity of *capital* is as crude in his thought as is the mushy-minded “reformer” who wants the *capitalist* abolished without troubling his head about any way of obtaining for the community the service which the capitalist now renders.

The intelligent conservative rejects the Socialist programme not because it is impossible, but because it is undesirable. And he thinks it undesirable for three reasons, above all others: that the spur of individual interest supplies to the productive forces of the country such energy, vigilance, alertness, initiative, as would be impossible under Socialism; that the paternalism and bureaucracy inseparable from a Socialist régime would make impossible the development of character and individuality which is the natural result of a régime of competition and self-dependence; and that no Socialist régime could be made to work without the sacrifice of the essentials of liberty as we have known it. Let those who object to the capitalist accept the consequences of their position; let them either say that these things are not evils or attempt to show that they would not follow from Socialism; but let them not commit the childish folly of hacking away at the roots of the existing order without the least notion of what it is that they are attacking.

## Unreasoning Communists—and Others

THE insane fury with which Communists in France and elsewhere have taken up the cause of two Italians convicted of robbery and murder in Massachusetts makes every person of common sense throw up his hands in despair at the possibilities of human perversity. But it is well to single out the essential element in their unreason, and not be led astray by minor and accidental circumstances. Many newspapers are pointing out, for instance, that the people who are raising all the row ought to know that our Federal Government has nothing to do with the case; but really one can hardly blame people in Europe for being unfamiliar with the particular distribution of governmental powers in this country.

The essence of the insanity lies in quite another direction. Any one but a madman ought to know that, however wicked the bourgeois régime may be, it could not be so idiotic as to single out as a sacrifice to its malice two obscure individuals who had never before been heard of. If capitalist America wanted to get rid of communism by means of judicial murder it would go about the business on a scale calculated to produce some effect; but even the Communists do not pretend that anything of the kind is being done.

And there are people nearer home—plenty of them, and very intelligent people—who are victims of the same kind of delusion in another field. The persons who imagine that our leading newspapers are engaged in the systematic suppression and distortion of news



are guilty of exactly the same kind of absurdity. Out of hundreds of thousands of news items and headlines, they manage to find a meagre handful which are capable of such a construction; and they never stop to think that if the newspapers were bent upon systematic falsehood, it would be exemplified not in a stray instance now and then but in their every-day conduct. The fact is that to any mind not misled by prejudice every day's issue of every important newspaper proves that the charge is absurd.

## Strike Debits and Credits

CREDIT for defeating the threatened railroad strikes belongs to the aroused people of the country, and to the Washington Administration's quietly elaborate (and it may well be added, elaborately quiet) preparations to protect the public through actions in the courts. This combined opposition, as we noted in last week's issue, daunted the Brotherhood chiefs even in the first few days following the issuance of the strike orders. Its erosive effects upon their assurance were still more plainly visible last week, even before the Labor Board's "mass meeting" of October 26. The Brotherhood chiefs began to complain that "railroad propaganda has falsely persuaded the public that a strike would be a defiance of the Government." And when the Brotherhood committees had finally voted to cancel the strikes, one of the Chiefs explained: "We cannot fight the Government."

The Labor Board's course in the affair was not what it should have been. Its statement of last Saturday ought to have been made in more downright terms as soon as the strikes were ordered. The strike orders were just as much a defiance of the Board's authority when they were issued on October 15 as they were on October 29, after they had been recalled. The Board not only missed its opportunity: it dodged its duty by delaying its official declaration of an exceedingly obvious truth until danger was passed.

The Board's "mass meeting" was of real service in putting on record the details of the strike movement and of the position of the railroad executives. But the main service of the Board was to provide, chiefly through Vice-Chairman Hooper's "unofficial" intervention, a ladder by which the Brotherhood chiefs could climb down from their mistaken position. It rendered these two services after having seriously impugned its own competence. Considering the critical economic issues involved, it seems to us somewhat extraordinary that the tribunal created expressly to deal promptly with these issues should first beg one litigant (the railroads) to delay his case in order to avoid irritating the defendant, and then to explain that anyhow the tribunal was too busy to consider the matter for a long, long time to come.

This confession by the Board of its intention not to act promptly on an issue that every competent mind (including all the minds represented in the President's Unemployment Conference) knows to be of immediate and critical importance to the welfare of the whole country, is given in the Brotherhoods' resolution of October 28 as one of the reasons for cancelling the strike orders. Another reason alleged is "the pledges of the railroad executives made to the Board" (to ob-

serve the law and the authority of the Board), pledges which were made to the Chiefs by the executives on October 14, and which were then disregarded by the Chiefs. The evasions and the distortions of fact embodied in these resolutions are perhaps natural incidents of a face-saving retreat from an untenable position. And at all events the Brotherhood leaders deserve credit for that discretion which is ranked even above valor.

In expressing this judgment on some features of the railroad strike complication we do not overlook, nor do we lack sympathy with, the desire of all workers, on or off of railroads, in jumpers or in white collars, to secure the largest incomes and the best living conditions they can attain. But the inevitable burdens of deflation must be faced and accepted by railroad workers, just as they have to be faced and accepted by all other workers. Our quarrel with the Brotherhoods is that they sought to exempt themselves from an inevitable readjustment at the cost of disaster to the rest of the country. Their resolution of October 28 declares: ". . . we believe that if the public knew the facts we could with entire confidence rely upon its decision." To this we say, Amen! The Brotherhoods will do wisely to appeal in future to public knowledge and opinion instead of to public terror.

## Not a Case for Trading

IT is reported from Washington that the farmers' bloc in Congress is willing to forgo its desires on the excess profits tax in return for a tremendous increase in the inheritance taxes. It is most earnestly to be hoped that no such dicker will be consummated. Before a measure is adopted which would seriously impair the nation's capital, and is headed straight toward confiscation of all inheritances, there ought to be a straight-out fight over that issue on its merits. To make so vital a question the mere football of the squabble over an immediate tax-raising exigency would be criminal delinquency on the part of our national legislature.

## Attack on Validity of 19th Amendment

THE Maryland League for State Defense has applied to the United States Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari in the case of Leser vs. Garnett which was brought to contest the validity of the 19th Amendment. There is also another case on the Supreme Court docket involving the same issue. This was brought in the name of Charles S. Fairchild by Everett P. Wheeler on behalf of the American Constitutional League, composed of citizens of many States, against the Secretary of State as defendant.

Whatever one may think of the contentions made in this litigation, all may agree that it will be a desirable thing to obtain from the Supreme Court of the United States an exposition of the principles underlying the power of amendment. The question turns in part on a broad interpretation placed by the contestants upon the limitation in Article V concerning equal representation of the States in the Senate, and in part on whether any limitations on the power of amendment are implied in the Constitution as a whole.





# The Story of the Week



## The Week at Home

### The Strike Called Off

THE railway strike has been called off. That is the great news of the week.

On Wednesday, the 26th, at Chicago the Railroad Labor Board held a hearing of the dispute between the railroad employers and certain organizations of employees. Since the preceding Saturday several important things had happened.

The chiefs of ten of the eleven "standard" unions (i. e., those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor) had resolved against a strike at this time. Thus of the approximately 1,828,000 members of the "Big Five" and the eleven "standard" unions only approximately 419,000 were under orders to strike. Of the "standard" unions only that of the Railway Telegraphers (78,000 men) adhered to the "Big Five."

The Railroad Labor Board had sent a formal memorandum to the railroad executives announcing their "purpose that the submissions of carriers and employees on rules and working conditions shall be completely disposed of as to any particular class of employees before a hearing is had on any question of wages affecting said class of employees."

Important statements had been issued by the Attorney General (all the more effective for a certain vagueness), importing that the railroads would in fact be run, strike or no strike. Note also the rumors abroad that the injunction might be invoked (as in the famous Debs case), that the strike might be construed as a conspiracy (word of such awful penal suggestiveness), etc., etc. Note also the (at least apparent) near-unanimity of condemnation by the great public of the strike proposal. We are trying to discover the motives which impelled the union chiefs to revoke the strike orders.

The end of the hearing on Wednesday apparently found the union chiefs only the more firmly resolved to strike. The railway executives went home, hopeless. But the union chiefs remained in Chicago to confer. All day Thursday they talked, and just before midnight they resolved to cancel the strike orders. What happened after the hearing of the day previous to induce this action? We offer an explanation.

We feel sure that the union chiefs, from a variety of considerations, some of which we have intimated above, were exceedingly eager to call off the strike, if only they might "save face" when doing so. We think that during that Thursday session they satisfied themselves that they had discovered a means to "save face." The resolution to cancel the strike orders quoted at length the memorandum from which we briefly quoted above; a memorandum in which the Board informs the railroad executives that the Board intends to postpone action on applications for further wage cuts until after "wage agreements" cases have been disposed of. What is there about this memorandum to "save the face" of the union chiefs? All the world read it in the newspapers of Tuesday. To be sure. But, says the resolution of cancellation, "it was not submitted to the representatives of the employees' organizations until after the hearing on October 26." Not officially submitted to their attention by the Labor Board, is the meaning, we take it; but, so submitted, it becomes an "acceptable basis of settlement, justifying the calling off of the strike."

This elaborate device to "save face" will only amuse some,

but it will impress others as disingenuous. We are unwilling to believe that the Labor Board or any of its members pressed the memorandum upon the attention of the union chiefs in such a way that they were justified in inferring a virtual promise not to consider an application for reduction of wages for months to come. We are happy the strike is ended, but we are not altogether happy at the manner of its ending. The air is not clear.

### Beneficent Legislation

The Foreign Debt Refunding Bill has passed the House. It proposes to give full authority to a commission of five (including the Secretary of the Treasury) to arrange with the Powers concerned the terms of refunding the huge sums owed us by the Allies—totaling about \$10,000,000,000. There seems no doubt that the Senate will pass the bill within a few days; its passage will sweeten the air for the great Conference. We hope with Mr. Mondell that the commission will propose very, very gentle interest rates.

### A Proposal to Extend Manhattan

It is proposed, says the *New York Times*, to extend Manhattan Island some six miles down the bay by building concrete walls (by the pneumatic caisson process) twenty-five to thirty feet thick and forty to ninety feet deep, pumping out and filling in as required to make suitable foundations. We are not enthusiastic. We see no genuine necessity for thus tampering with Nature's work. But, after all, it matters little to the lover of nature. Long ago that once matchless panorama of Manhattan Island and its vicinage of land and water was ruined. We wish it were the year 1609, and we on board the "Half Moon" with Henry Hudson, sailing up the bay.

### Taking the Conceit Out of Us

Of all sporting events the annual races between Canadian and American fishing schooners seem to us the most genuine, jolly and flavoured. Last year the American boat won. This year the "Bluenose" of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia (Captain Angus Walters) beat the "Elsie" of Gloucester (Captain Marty Welch) in two successive races, proving her superiority in both light and heavy weather off Halifax. Our Gloucester folk should know better than to sail against a boat named the "Bluenose." The devil, you may be sure, pushed behind and blew the sails to full belly. "A wet sheet and a flowing sea;" hey, lads? Oh, this Manhattan, which grows ever stuffier!

An All-England girls' field hockey team is touring the States, scoring at will, "putting it all over" our girls.

It's not a bad thing for us to get a few drubbings; we were getting pretty cocky.

## The Prince Sails for India

ON the 26th the Prince of Wales boarded the battle-cruiser "Renown" at Portsmouth for India. "Some natural tears" the Queen-Mother shed at Victoria Station; for the tour of India under present conditions is dangerous. The "Renown" hoists anchor; from fortress and shipping the great guns boom; the good King pulls his hat upon his brows; the gallant youth, most popular of princes since Prince Hal, not yet fall'n gloomy in this Twilight of the Kings, waves goodbye; back in London the Lords gravely consider the news from India.





International

*The Canadian fishing schooner "Bluenose" beats the "Elsie" of Gloucester in the annual series off Halifax*

## Briand Wins

**B**RIAND would not leave for Washington without a handsome vote of confidence approving his recent conduct of foreign and domestic affairs and his declared attitude toward the Washington Conference. He got it (338 to 172) from the Chamber after a magnificent speech and a brisk tussle with M. Tardieu and others. It was easy sailing in the Senate, where the vote was 301 to 9.

"The voice of France ought to respond to that of the United States," said Briand to the Chamber. "We must show America that our ideas are also those of peace." But then he added: "Let guarantees be given France and she will not be the last to limit her armaments, but these guarantees are the first essential. That is what will be the attitude of the representatives of France" (at the Washington Conference).

In other words, France will back American proposals looking to peace in the Far East and the Pacific, but the main concern of the French delegates will be to urge a guarantee by the Powers which will justify a reduction of the French army. Condemnation of the French attitude is not justified. There is no hint of bargaining. Discussion of land armaments was proposed in the invitations to the conference.

## A Weird Situation

**T**HERE followed upon the resignation of the Wirth Cabinet a furious discussion in which the chiefs of all the German parties except the Communist and the Nationalist (extremes of Right and Left) participated. The Upper Silesian award must be accepted or rejected. The decision must be made at once, because the Supreme Council demanded that a German representative for a commission to precisely draw and mark the German-Polish boundary across Upper Silesia report to the Interallied Commission in Upper Silesia by Thursday, the 27th. It was decided to accept, the People's Party dissenting. But who would undertake the unpleasant task of forming a cabinet to give effect to the decision? Only Wirth, it seems, good old Wirth. So Wirth is Chancellor again, with a Cabinet of four Centrists, four Majority Socialists and two Democrats. The Reichstag was asked for a vote of confidence on a programme of one article; namely, acceptance of the Upper Silesian award. The Reichstag obliged. Acceptance was

notified to the Allied Governments, and the commissioner was sped to Upper Silesia. The band may now discourse "Happy Days" or some other appropriate air (in the pleasant language of our old Army Regulations).

Informing the French Senate of the German acceptance, Briand made the following handsome reference to the League of Nations: "Sheltered from passions, with a serenity untroubled by all sorts of circumstances which sway governments, the League of Nations, composed of such men as Balfour and Bourgeois, men on whom no Government could try to impose its wish, has judged in all impartiality. And the judgment rendered all the world accepts. We are now certain that the Upper Silesian fire is out." Some will be saying that the eloquent Frenchman spoke with his tongue in his cheek; we doubt that, but we suspect that the dour old campaigner was translated for the moment above the "region cloud," and that, kissed by the "golden face," he failed to note the "ugly rack" below (see Number XXXIII of that impassioned sonnet sequence addressed by the soul-racked poet to himself, yes, if you please, William Himself); we fear that, while Briand proclaimed the fire out, subtle tongues of flame were licking their way beneath the surface of the Silesian bog. "Our reply to the Allies," said Chancellor Wirth to the Reichstag, "will leave no doubt of the fact that we consider the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors opposed to the Versailles Treaty and to right, and that the rights of Germany upon the territory which has been torn from us have suffered no prejudice through the state of affairs which will be created by force." Well, an agreement subscribed to under compulsion is only a "scrap of paper"; now, really, isn't it, reader? So said Saxon Harold of the agreement signed by Saint Edward, and British historians have all applauded. The two cases are not parallel, you say. No, they are not; but they seem so, quite honestly seem so, to most Germans; and that's the main consideration in a forecast of the future of the Upper Silesian question. For that issue is not dead; the fire is not out, but smouldering beneath the surface. Perhaps it may never spurt into dangerous surface flame; perhaps it may. Since Briand came down, doubtless he has reflected to that effect. We are going to be called a cynic; we are not, but dare to seem so, in our eagerness to show men and things as they are, not as we should wish them to be.

The Berliners have humorously dubbed the new Cabinet "The Cabinet of a Predicament." The only Government



parties now are the Centrists and the Majority Socialists. The Democrats have left the Coalition. The two Democrats in the Cabinet (Minister of Defense and Minister of Communications) are there as technical experts merely; they do not represent or commit their party. The Democrats will not allow Rathenau, perhaps the best man in Germany, to return as Minister of Reconstruction. The old problems of taxation, of exchange, of the Reaction, of reparation payments; what can the new Cabinet, so precariously supported, do with these? What is the Reichstag going to do about the Loucheur-Rathenau agreement, which proposes substitution of materials and manufactured products for gold marks in the reparation payments to France; acceptance and fulfillment of which agreement would go far to avert German bankruptcy?

If only the Reichstag would ratify that agreement, and then, as has been proposed, similar agreements should be concluded with Britain and Belgium, we might breathe quite freely. After all these gloomy hints, we end on a note of optimism. A "Cabinet of a Predicament," to be sure. But delicate persons and things have been known to enjoy longer life than robust ones. The Democrats may soften and allow Rathenau to join the Cabinet. The Loucheur-Rathenau agreement may be ratified, and others like it. The Reaction may be checked. The Government may draw to itself the dissenters. Confusion was certain to follow the announcement of the Upper Silesian award. It is matter of congratulation that things have turned out as well as they have.

## The Unlucky Coup

WE told last week how Charles of Hapsburg, having landed from an airplane (with Zita, his wife) at Oedenburg in the Burgenland, "shark'd up" from that unhappy district "a list of lawless resolute," put 'em on trains and proceeded with 'em by rail to Raab, about half way between Oedenburg and Budapest; how, finding the railroad out of Raab smashed up, he detrained his heroes; and how, at the time of writing, he was marching forward toward Budapest, bands discoursing the familiar Hungarian airs, flags flying, recruits joining, beautiful peasant girls in picturesque costumes showering the route with flowers. Later dispatches corrected some details. The railroad out of Raab, it seems, was easily repaired, and the little army continued by rail to the outskirts of Budapest, where it detrained. Ranks were formed, and with all the appurtenance of holiday they advanced toward the city. Suddenly to their amazement (the military details have a mediæval flavor) they found the way barred by an army of twice their numbers. Could it be? Not come to welcome? No, the Regent Horthy, that square-chinned man on the white charger over there, is not making a speech of welcome; he is urging the onset. Battle was joined, and as many as a hundred were killed, when, for all their high stomachs, the army of Charles broke and ran for it, Charles and Zita (don't forget Zita, she belongs always in the picture) spurting with the best. The royal army dispersed to the four points, and Charles and Zita were captured near the famous Abbey of Tihany and were interned within the holy precincts. Now there are those who say that, when Charles saw that army facing him, his countenance beamed; for he thought they were come out to acclaim him and escort him to the throne. They say that Horthy not only knew about the intrigue to restore Charles, but as good as sanctioned the arrangements and promised his allegiance. However that may be, whether Horthy is treacher or patriot, whether he consulted his own ambition (to be king) or the good of Hungary, the important thing is that Horthy did spoil the *coup* and that Charles (and Zita, if you please) are in durance vile, either still at Tihany or lately transferred to a British monitor on the Danube (the dispatches are not clear on the point). Ever since

Charles's capture (on Monday, the 24th) Horthy's emissaries have been at him, urging him to abdicate. Charles weeps and wrings his hands, and Zita laments for her seven children; both, rumor declares, are haunted by the vision of Nicholas. But, though terribly neurasthenic, Charles, it seems, is not a poltroon. He will not abdicate. The Council of Ambassadors have sent a note to the Budapest Government, demanding his abdication; otherwise the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Rumania) may "go to it." If Charles won't abdicate, surely the Allies will be satisfied with his deposition by the proper Hungarian power, to wit the National Assembly. But there is no certainty that the Assembly would vote deposition. Horthy's chief adherents are the smaller landed gentry and the younger army officers; he has a host of bitter enemies; indeed, except for the above-mentioned warm partisans (comparatively few), he seems to be at least distrusted by almost everybody. Why all this pother? some will say. Horthy will be glad to turn Charles over to the Allies (may already have done so). Can't Charles be whisked away to some ocean island? And can't the Allies declare him deposed? Yes, to be sure, but that won't end the difficulty. The Little Entente have sworn that never again shall a Hapsburg wear the crown of St. Stephen. We imagine that the Little Entente will not only demand Charles's abdication or his deposition by the National Assembly, but will demand also a formal declaration by the National Assembly barring the House of Hapsburg forever from the Hungarian throne. *Else war.* But could Hungary put



International

A Russian child pleading for food beneath the window of an American train



up a fight (with only the 35,000 troops allowed her by the Trianon treaty) against the very considerable forces of the Little Entente? Ah! but Hungary has never really demobilized. Under sundry disguises (some contemptuously flimsy) she has, it is credibly alleged, at least 200,000 men under arms. How can that be? What have the Allied Commission of Control been doing? We should like to know the full answer to that question. Apparently they have not been doing their duty; or perhaps the explanation is to be found higher up. Dr. Renner of Austria was saying the other day that these gentlemen were altogether too thick with the charming high society of Hungary. There may be something in that. The ineradicable snobbishness of human nature is responsible for many things.

Actual disarmament of Hungary is one of the measures most essential to European peace.

## The Future of Bulgaria

THE Premier of Bulgaria has mooted the idea of federation of Bulgaria with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (or Yugoslavia). Such a federation is probable in the rather distant future, but very improbable at present. Bulgaria is now, in consequence of the war and the treaty arrangements, only one-third the size of Yugoslavia, and cannot hope to rival her. The Bulgars are apt to call themselves Slavs; though probably the Ugro-Finnish (Mongoloid) strain predominates among them. Not impossibly they think that as part of the Yugoslav State they might some day have revenge on Greece and Rumania.

## Angora, Past and Present

IT is reported that the Angora Assembly (Angora is the capital of the Turkish Nationalists in Asia Minor) has by a tremendous majority ratified a treaty with France. In what respect this treaty differs from the Franco-Angoran treaty which several months ago the Angoran Assembly contumeliously rejected, we do not know; but from scattered hints we infer that it is more favorable to France, France acquiring extraordinary commercial privileges in several important vilayets. France recognizes the Angora Government; an important matter. Angora's rejection of the previous agreement was due to Muscovite influences; influences which, we have reason to believe, have faded away. French and British policies concerning the Near and Middle East have immemorially been opposed. There was a chance that from the circumstances of the Great War there might result a reconciliation and coördination of those policies. French and British publicists (mostly out of office) have urged a *rapprochement*, clearly showing the folly of conflict of policy. In vain; as this new Franco-Angoran treaty attests. Statesmanlike considerations are forgotten in the quest of the golden fleece. So Britain continues to nurse the Sick Man in Constantinople, and gives her moral backing to the Greeks in their war against Mustapha Kemal, the Turkish Nationalist chief, while France, after pocketing a-many affronts from that gentleman, at last achieves his friendship and the promise of his markets. There is little to choose between the French and British policies; they are equally greedy and selfish. This greed and selfishness have prevented joint action to save the Armenians, who, by the way, seem to have been almost forgotten. Lord Robert Cecil said something the other day in the League Assembly about "a national home for the Armenians"; but nobody took any notice.

The name "Angora," like "Harlem," vaguely titillates the laughing muscles. We make no doubt the Greek soldiers, when things were going nicely a few weeks back, had their little joke about "getting Mustapha Kemal's Angora." It is true that the Turkish vilayet or province of Angora has been for centuries chiefly notable as the source of that fine goat's hair from which the true mohair is made. And the

present small Turkish city of Angora is a squalid place. But the city of Ancyra (note the beauty of the Greek name from which "Angora" has been corrupted) has had a glorious history. Once a flourishing town of the mysterious Phrygians, afterwards it was one of the three chief cities of the Nordic Galatians, who settled in those parts in the third century B. C., later it was the capital of the Roman province of Galatia, and later still it became one of the most important towns of the Byzantine Empire (its most splendid phase). Near it in 1402 was fought that terrible battle in which the Turkish Sultan Bayezid was defeated and made prisoner by the Tatar Timur, the "scourge of God." For some eighteen years (ending 1360) it was held by Crusaders. The town is still happy in some important remains of the Roman and Byzantine periods, of which the chief is the *Augusteum*, a white marble temple on whose walls is cut one of the most famous of inscriptions, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which relates the achievements of Augustus. They say a mighty revival of Islam is in process. Perhaps Ancyra is destined to know another phase of splendor.

It seems to us that contemporary events become a thousandfold more interesting by being viewed against the historical background. "Angora" should not merely titillate the laughing-muscles.

## The Orientation of Afghanistan

THE influence of Moscow at the court of Kabul grows ever stronger. Moscow is shrewdly suspected of complicity in the murder of the late Amir Habibullah, whose "orientation" was British. However that may be, the present Amir is pro-Bolshevist. On the surface, with good reason. For has not Moscow ceded to the Afghans the Merv oasis, acknowledged the complete independence of Afghanistan, promised a subsidy in lieu of the former British one? Have not Bolshevist engineers extended the telegraph and railroad systems of the country and harnessed the streams for electric power? Are they not building motor roads? Have they not repaired and extended the historic highway in the north so that it is a practicable military route from Bokhara to India? But it is permitted to doubt whether Moscow has done, is doing, these things out of altruism. Muscovite benevolence has been similarly active in the khanates of Bokhara and Khiva; and these states, though nominally independent, have been effectively vassalated. It has been suggested that even now the Afghans might be won over by the British by cession of Waziristan, inhabited as it is by Pathan (Afghan) tribes; but such cession is extremely improbable.

## Miscellaneous

OF the conference in Ireland we have no authentic news. Apparently the conferees are recovering slowly from the shock occasioned by De Valera's message to the Pope.

M. Tardieu spoke to the French Chamber the other day of "the danger of a coalition between Germany, the Bolshevist dictatorship, and Chinese anarchy."—Ah, Monsieur, it is to consider too curiously to consider so.

The very important Associated Press information (it seems to be authentic) that the Moscow Government "has agreed under certain conditions to recognize the foreign debts of the Imperial Russian Government," arrived too late for close examination and discussion in this issue.

The codfish catch was so small this year that the fishermen's families along the Labrador coast are in danger of starvation.

"History is bunk," says Mr. Henry Ford, or so the New York Times says he says. "What difference does it make how many times the ancient Greeks flew their kites?" You win, Mr. Ford. You've done for the pedants, neatly and elegantly.

HENRY W. BUNN



# America's Great Living Museum

By Robert H. Moulton

**M**EMBERS of the American Ornithologists Union and other organizations are seeking to have set apart as a national bird sanctuary the great Malheur Lake Reservation in southeastern Oregon. This, the greatest wild fowl nursery in the United States, will be destroyed by promoters unless their schemes are thwarted by lovers of outdoor life. The plan of the promoters is to deprive the lake of its water supply and thus destroy the reservation.

If it were a scheme to puncture the bowl of Crater Lake or destroy the Yosemite Valley, it would surely fail because too many people have seen these wonder places. Malheur Lake is unknown. It is as different from Crater Lake as a sunbaked alkali flat varies from the most beautiful rose garden in the world. The beauty of Malheur Lake is the nurseries of untold numbers of ducks, geese, wading birds, and the most magnificently plumed birds in America. The alkali tule swamps are white with the nesting multitudes. The beauty of Malheur Lake is in its life—the flying birds that hover over the vast, flat, treeless area; the calling flocks that from time immemorial have held this spot as their own.

The value of the reservation from the bird's standpoint is that it is in the route of the great migratory flocks of swan, snow geese, ducks, and other wild fowl that go from the north to the south and back again. It is a necessary resting and feeding place. The amount of food formed by the roots of tules and other marsh plants in this lake is unlimited, a condition which can be found nowhere else in the country. The wide, shallow lake and vast stretches of tules furnish ideal protection for myriads of birds to rear their young. The flocks of ducks and geese would disappear, or become a nuisance in feeding on crops sown

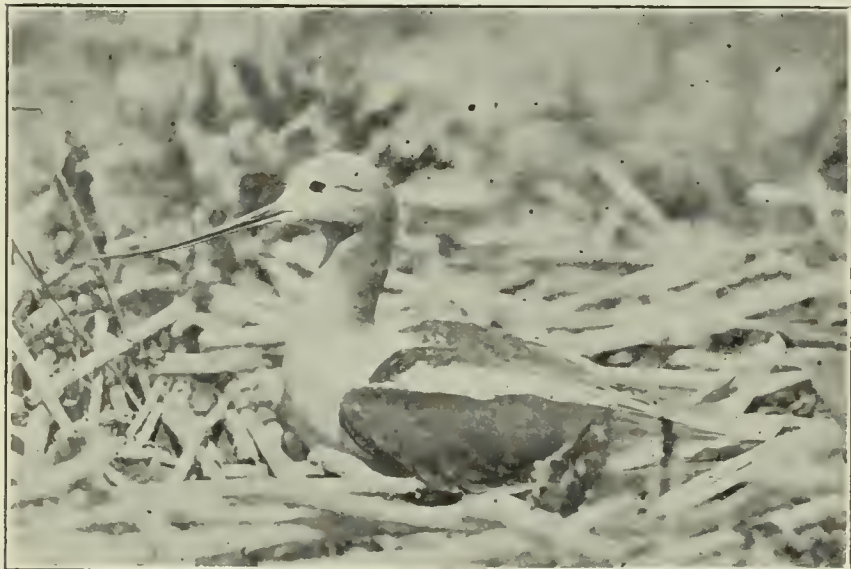
prised ducks flap along, leading away their broods—mallards, pintails, red-heads, gadwalls, runnies, and cinnamon teal. Peering through the tules out into the open water may be seen huge flocks of Canada geese and swans. Around the borders of the tule islands are vast villages of floating homes, little rafts of tule stems anchored with masses of red milfoil.

In the early nineties, these islands were brilliant with



*A view on Malheur Lake, showing thousands of wild fowl overhead and thousands of other birds in the water*

thousands of white herons or American egrets, but the plumers wiped them out. But through protection these birds have begun slowly to increase again. Here about Malheur is the only known nesting place in Oregon of this bird and of the white-faced glossy ibis, while within its confines live certain rare species of birds which cannot be found elsewhere in the United States. It is without a doubt the greatest living museum in America today.



*The floating nest of an avocet, a very rare bird, in Malheur Lake*

by man, if it were not for the abundant supply of wild food in the swamp.

From a distance the wide wastes of the marshes of Malheur, silent in the sun, hazy, mysterious, a maze that is forbidding and seemingly impenetrable, give no hint of their thousands of hidden wonders, any more than the ocean tells of the life teeming within its depths. But when one has launched a folding canoe and penetrated a short distance into the vast network of channels, winding in and around the floating island of vegetation, the air becomes literally clouded with the host of birds, frightened from their nests.

Within the tules, a rank swamp growth from eight to ten feet high, rails run lightly the jungle tangle as one approaches, coots paddle in the marginal water, while sur-

## A November Tryst

**W**HIRLS of snow, and a frost-filled air,  
Icicles fringing the tall marsh reeds,  
Copse and thicket and sedgy weeds  
Pearled and diamonded everywhere. . . .

The whirring rush of a pheasant's rise,  
Warming the gray of November skies  
With his brown and red, like a Venice sail,  
Beating the air with his winged flail.

Beasties, darting for cheerless covers,  
Wondering where are the thick leaves gone,  
That sheltered them and the hiding lovers  
When summer turned her searchlights on. . . .

Red rose hips, and the crimson haws,  
Lingering late in the friendly shaws,  
Shivering sparrows in sobered flocks  
Hopping about in bunched-up frocks. . . .

A drooping branch and an empty nest  
Where an oriole sheltered her yellow breast,  
The steely flash of a bluejay's wing  
Through black, wet cloisters hurrying. . . .

Alone, he comrades deserted trees,  
Mourning their vanished melodies.  
Brave bird! flashing your mantle blue,  
I'll keep a November tryst with you.

HENRIETTA JEWETT KEITH



# History Teaches . . .

By Hendrik van Loon

Hendrik van Loon. Oct. 21.

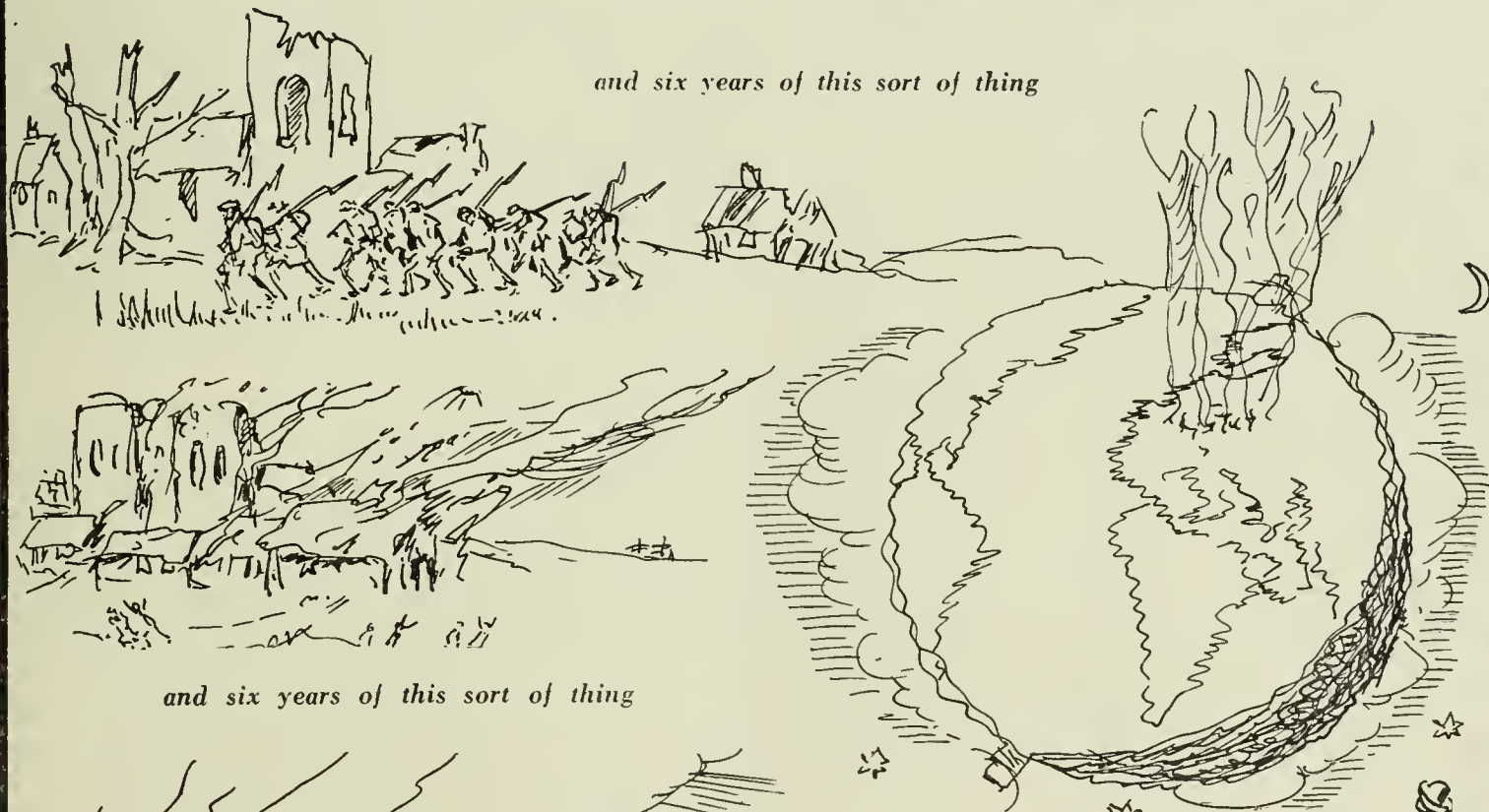
that after six years of this sort of thing



and six years of this sort of thing



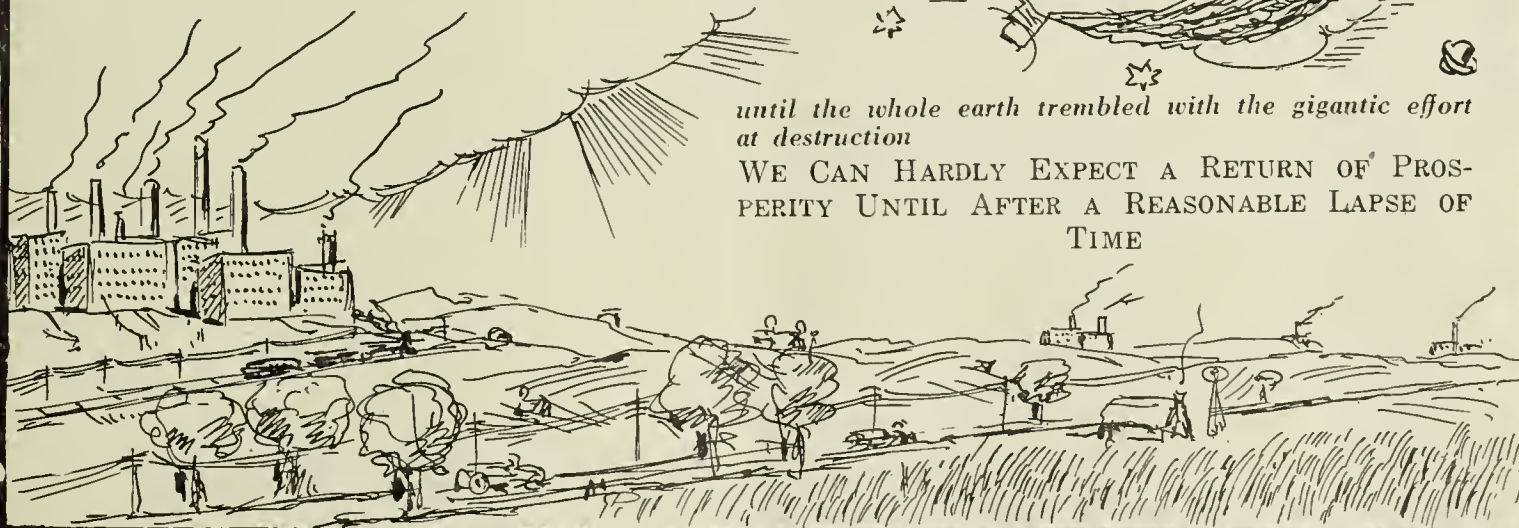
and six years of this sort of thing



and six years of this sort of thing

until the whole earth trembled with the gigantic effort  
at destruction

WE CAN HARDLY EXPECT A RETURN OF PROSPERITY  
UNTIL AFTER A REASONABLE LAPSE OF  
TIME





# The New York Concert Season Opens

By Charles Henry Meltzer

THE season has begun; and from now on the air around us will be filled with music—good music, most of it, and well performed by orchestras, quartets, and many soloists. Mr. Stokowski has already led the way with his musicians of the Philadelphia Orchestra. Hot on his traces came the New York Symphony, and in the same week came the Philharmonic. We settled down once more with eager hearts to listen to the voices of time-honored masters. But we hope, however, that besides classic works we shall this season have much modern music.

It may be hoped, too, that when our American composers have their chance they will receive generous treatment; not flattery, but encouragement enough to cheer and spur them on to further efforts. We critics should, I think, not crush ambition by measuring our beginners by too cruel standards. We should praise what is good and fine in what they do, and touch with charity on what they lack.

In saying this today I have in mind the comments of some writers on "The Hill of Dreams." This is the composition which some months ago won for its author, Mr. Louis Gruenberg, the thousand-dollar prize for the best work in symphonic form by an American. Out of the scores sent in (it seems there were eighty of them), an expert jury chose "The Hill of Dreams." It was interpreted last week at Aeolian Hall (and very well) by the musicians of the New York Symphony; and though it may not have been very "modern" it had unusual charm and grace and art. Some critics, none the less, seemed to delight in harping chiefly on its clear defects. They might have harped much more on its better qualities, its poetry and skill and other merits.

When he conceived this delicate and gracious tone-poem, the composer was in the same mental attitude as that youthful Siegfried who wove romantic fancies in mysterious woods. He lay upon a hill, alone and free, and let his thoughts stray here and there unclaimed. He heard sweet sound and saw beguiling visions. He passed from dreams of beauty to rhapsodic outbursts, and gave them shape in fleeting tones and themes. Throughout his dreaming he no doubt was haunted by memories of Wagner, Strauss, and Claude Debussy. He could not get away from—well, from "Waldweben." But he expressed himself at times in lovely forms. The orchestration of "The Hill of Dreams" was full of color. The leading themes were always fine and gracious. There were no dragons on that hill, no treacherous mines; but there were twittering birds and humming bees and sighing breezes and blue sun-lit skies. The composer made his meanings plain to me, and, I believe, to many more. And, for the sake of what he gave us all, we might have pardoned him for what he did not give.

"The Hill of Dreams" is not, perhaps, original. It is not very new or very daring. Yet it should not be whistled down the wind, I think. It is expressive, charming, and extremely delicate. Moreover, as a piece of mere technique, it could compare with almost anything so far produced—if we except Charles Loeffler's works and Carpenter's—by our composers. Before the critics are allowed to bury it, I venture to suggest another hearing.

Before the first performance of Gruenberg's tone-poem, Mr. Walter Damrosch favored us (at the second concert of the New York Symphony series) with one of Beethoven's most pleasing early works, the "Andante con Variazioni" in A for strings, which almost took one back to Haydn's style. To complete his programme, an attractive one and most discreet, as to both length and kind, he added César

Franck's enchanting Symphony in D minor, the only symphony he ever wrote. The second and third movements of this work are exquisite, not only because of their melodic wealth, but also on account of their harmonic wealth, their wondrous color, and their general treatment. Yet César Franck was close to seventy when this great evidence of his enduring art was played in Paris. And it was slighted, if not damned outright, by some strange critics who then made the law. The leading theme, which is used frequently in the symphony, is simple, and recalls the "Muss es sein" of a quartet of Beethoven. Poor César Franck, the gentlest soul, was not dismayed—he seemed unconscious of his "failure." When his wife questioned him as to the way in which the audience had received his symphony, he dodged the issue and replied good-naturedly, "It sounded as I thought it would." The opposition to the performance of the work was said to have been due to the hostility and perhaps jealousy of Gounod. But it is possible that Gounod has been libelled.

The programme of the opening Damrosch concert included a new "Marche Française" by Roger Ducasse, quite picturesque but also rather trite, though scored with skill and not devoid of spirit. Paul Kochanski, the young Polish violinist, did well and less well with the Tschaikowsky Concerto in D. He did his best in the smooth Canzonetta. But there were times when he played fast and loose with tune and tone and even rhythm. The symphony at this concert was the E minor of Rachmaninoff. Mr. Damrosch's orchestra this year seemed, in the main, as good as it has been in earlier seasons. But here and there the horns quacked painfully. The strings and woodwinds were impeccable.

As Wagner will again be prominent this season, all who enjoy "The Ring" may find it worth their while to attend the lectures in which Mr. Damrosch with much tact and humor explains and illustrates that mighty work. In prefacing his comments to the first part of the Tetralogy (or Trilogy and Prologue), the lecturer, I noticed, referred incidentally to "the unspeakable Dr. Muck." This from so warm and ardent a Wagnerian was significant. Some enemies do not deserve forgiveness. Among them might be mentioned a soprano at whose home in New York, not so long ago, another "artist," Mr. Otto Goritz, once jeered, in song, at the *Lusitania* victims.

Time does not, I regret to say, permit me to set down my impressions of the opening concert of the veteran Philharmonic, which took place last week under the leadership of Mr. Josef Stransky. But I must not omit to chronicle the great success of Edmond Clément, who reappeared some nights ago, after eight long years' absence, at what, I fear, will be his first and last recital here. Aeolian Hall was packed in every corner, both of the auditorium and of the concert platform, in honor of this rare and charming tenor. For a few moments he seemed ill at ease. Two songs which he interpreted called for power and tone, and strained his voice as it should not be strained. But when he found himself, as he soon did, he won all hearts by his delightful style, his fine facility, his taste and feeling. His rendering of the well-known "Rêve" from "Manon" has never been surpassed by the most famous tenors. And in his rustic songs he touched the very limits of French art and grace. He lent real beauty to the unpretentious melodies which are as household words to all in France. He showed how much may be accomplished by a singer when a small voice is used with faultless skill and art. Some bellow tender songs. Some murmur them. Some give them every light and shade of meaning. Edmond Clément stands in the last-mentioned class. He expresses, he interprets, and he sings. He is a model of discretion and restraint, when what he ventures on is suited to his voice. "Ne forçons pas notre talent" is his motto. And only seldom does he stray from what it teaches.



# From Our Readers

## Secretary Hughes's Constructive Ability

To the Editors:

In the very interesting sketch of the Secretary of State I find one statement that, according to my observation, requires correction. It is said that he has a "legalistic mind and is therefore a strict constructionist."

I have known Mr. Justice Hughes (as we lawyers still like to call him) at the bar, in the Governor's chair, and on the bench. He belongs to the school of liberal constructionists, of which our greatest constitutional lawyers, Chief Justice Marshall and Daniel Webster, are the chief exponents. Anyone who will read the interesting collection of Judge Hughes's opinions which was made up by William L. Ransom during the Presidential campaign, and which is a useful addition to legal literature, will perceive the correctness of my statement.

There are two classes of lawyers. One class knows how to get things done; the other class is skilful in preventing them from being done. The first class comprises those who recognize the truth of what St. Paul said, "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." The same thought is expressed in the old legal maxim, "He that sticks to the letter is like a man who sticks in the bark and never gets to the heart of the tree." "Qui haeret in litera haeret in cortice." The other class is useful as "brakes," but has no constructive ability. Constructive ability is one distinguishing characteristic of the Secretary of State.

EVERETT P. WHEELER

New York

## Maupassant on War

To the Editors:

Careful readers of Maupassant's stories will remember many allusions to war in which the author rarely fails to condemn its folly and barbarity. Maupassant had fought through the Franco-Prussian war and had used his eyes. Perhaps the most remarkable utterance on war in all his work is found in a book of travel, little read in America. While cruising in the Mediterranean, he met a squadron of battle-ships. The sight was to him a symbol of men's genius, but also of their impotence against tradition and of their innate ferocity; the whole nightmare of war rises before his eyes:

No one has the absolute right to govern others. No one can govern others except for the good of the governed. Whoso governs is as much bound to avoid war as a captain is bound to avoid shipwreck. When a captain has lost his ship, he is tried and condemned, if proved guilty of negligence or even of incapacity. Why should not Governments be put on trial after every declaration of war? If the peoples should understand that one day, if they would themselves mete out justice to murderous Powers, if they refused to allow themselves

to be slaughtered without reason, if they used their arms against those who gave them weapons for killing, that day war would end.

Maupassant is a pessimist and he adds: "But that day will never dawn." ("Sur l'Eau," pp. 68-80, Ollendorff edition.) "Sur l'Eau" was published in 1888. Let us call the attention of the delegates to the Washington Conference to these pages with the hope that they will not be too quick to accept the last phrase, for much water has passed over the dam since 1888. Let us with Benjamin Constant say to our rulers: "Apprenez la civilisation, si vous voulez régner à une époque civilisée."

BENJAMIN M. WOODBRIDGE

Austin, Texas

## Our "Practical" Agricultural Colleges

To the Editors:

The charge is frequently made that the long-course graduates of our agricultural colleges do not go in for farming, or, if they do, that they often fail. Every agricultural college, of course, has ready an answer to this charge. Yet a well-known Wisconsin dairyman told me:

When I entered the University I did not take the agricultural course, but a general one, very much like the courses the older type of universities used to present. I may know less about the cellular structure of the cow's udder, but my horizon has a wider sweep than that confined within the limits of a stanchion. I have specialized in fundamental principles.

If I may be somewhat personal, when I was a student at a leading agricultural college the major impression I received was that the courses were top-heavy with science, that they were arranged with but one purpose in view: to prepare the student for an academic position in the agricultural sciences, or for research work. Now, there is a real place for the teaching of laboratory methods, and for the study of abstruse scientific matters, but these specialized subjects should not include the entire work given to undergraduates. "What good will that history course ever be to you?" my class adviser asked when I wished to take a lecture course under a noted historian. It was not a "practical" subject, and, therefore, a waste of time. Most of the agricultural colleges seem to have a common handicap. The people who support them demand results in dollars and cents. Technical schools have to "pan out," or the Legislatures will withdraw support. We are forgetting that a great deal of the best work in the world has been done by men whose education has been general and "classical."

It would seem that the mission of our agricultural colleges should be to give that same general and cultural education which the young man of means gets when he is sent to the fashionable university. Character building

should come first. It also seems unnecessary to teach the practical steps of farming. The young man who spends four years in a good university, should he decide to go back to the farm, will farm just as well, make just as much money, and be a far more useful citizen, if his education in the agricultural college was limited to the scientific principles underlying agriculture. Their practical application comes best through experience in the field.

W. A. FREEHOFF

Waukesha, Wis.

## Panama Tolls and Ship Subsidies

To the Editors:

The article in your issue of October 8 entitled "Panama Tolls and National Honor," is a most interesting defense of the contention of Great Britain in the interpretation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. It must be remembered, however, that, though Mr. Knollenberg is backed up by eminent jurists, there are other eminent jurists, notably the late Richard Olney, who deny the validity of the position taken by Great Britain. There are also English writers who are not in agreement with their own Government in this matter. The question is one, of course, which should be arbitrated.

The point I wish to emphasize, however, is that whatever the right interpretation of the treaty may be as to the "all nations" clause, even assuming it should be decided in favor of Great Britain, we should still retain our right to give our coastwise traffic, or any of our ships, free passage through the canal, or any other form of subsidy.

This is obvious: for there is nothing in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty to prevent Great Britain or any other nation from subsidizing their ships to the extent, if they so please, of paying their canal tolls. If other nations have this right we surely have it also. Under the terms of the treaty, however, we have agreed that the tolls shall be "just and reasonable;" and if the British interpretation of the "all nations" clause be valid, then, if we subsidized any of our ships it would be our business to see to it that the canal tolls were no greater, *but precisely the same as they would be* if no subsidy were given. This would be the only honorable interpretation of the "just and reasonable" provision.

Of course, under such circumstances it would be difficult to convince Great Britain that we were acting in good faith. Some plan, however, to do this would have to be found. To surrender our right to subsidize our ships while other nations had this right, might easily place the United States at a serious disadvantage—so serious that such a surrender of our rights should not be considered for a moment.

N. S. BARTLETT

Manchester, Mass.



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

WASHINGTON CLOSE-UPS, by Edward G. Lowry. Houghton Mifflin.

Intimate views of public men; a remarkably keen, epigrammatic, and humorous book.

THE SPORT OF OUR ANCESTORS, edited by Lord Willoughby de Broke. Dutton.

Fox-hunting described in prose and verse, and beautifully pictured in color and in black and white.

ROOSEVELT THE HAPPY WARRIOR, by Bradley Gilman. Little, Brown.

By a college classmate. Another admiring biography—the coolly critical books about the Colonel seem to be scarce.

HARBOURS OF MEMORY, by William McFee. Doubleday.

Essays by a sailor and literary man who discusses the sea, the war, books, and especially some foreign ports.

THE KING OF IRELAND'S SON, by Padraic Colum. Macmillan.

Of kings and queens, of enchanters and magic swords, of the Little Red Hen, of the Fairies of Munster and the daughter of the Lord of the Sea.

THE STREET OF FACES, by Charles Vince. Dutton.

Deft sketches of London and London life, with delicate pencil drawings by J. D. M. Harvey.

IN England they have a pleasant habit of writing to their favorite newspaper or weekly about animals. The annual cuckoo controversy in the *Times* is a great sporting event; the competition is to hear the first cuckoo of the spring. Once, in a book, I quoted the letters in such a controversy, but as I did not cite chapter and verse, some readers thought I had invented it all. The victory had been claimed by a man who heard a cuckoo early in February; he had won out over duchesses, country squires, and ornithologists. At the end of a long series of argumentative letters, however, he had to make the humiliating confession that his bird had been a man shingling a roof in the neighborhood, and amusing himself by imitating the call of the cuckoo.

Some friendly and informal talk upon similar subjects is reprinted in "Dogs, Birds and Others" (Dutton), composed of natural history letters from the *Spectator*, edited by H. J. Massingham. Dogs and crows, rooks, swans, otters, and owls are described in some unusual and entertaining performances. There is a runner duck, named Humphrey (I once knew a rabbit called that), who accompanied people on their walks, paced solemnly beside the gardener for hours at a time, gave visitors a vociferous welcome in the drawing-room, walked half

a mile every day for his bath in a pool, and called on neighbors—somewhat to their annoyance, as he went right upstairs. At last, apparently, he called on someone who looked upon ducks as existing merely for one purpose. For, like the Scholar Gypsy, he returned no more.

Kipling—or it may have been Jules Verne, long before—made us expect good writing when Port Said is reached. Here things are hot and squalid and colored and various. It is, so they say, a sink of iniquity. So I turned first in William McFee's new book, "Harbours of Memory" (Doubleday), to the last pages to read the "Port Said Miscellany," and was not disappointed. As one works back through the essays, the impression may be gained that the author is at his best at sea or in harbor, but inclined to talk a little too much about the literary life.

Satire is coming in with the flood tide; the political writers are turning many pretty epigrams. To Edward G. Lowry, author of "Washington Close-Ups" (Houghton Mifflin), Vice-President Coolidge, like the Greek Urn, is the "foster-child of silence"; Mr. Bryan in office is a caged-bird and can't sing. "And he must sing. For he is a true troubadour and not a double-entry bookkeeper." Will Hays is the English sparrow of the Administration: chipper, confident, unafraid, friendly. Senator Borah is not, as we slangily say, a crab; nor is he a gloom, though he comes perilously close to it; but certainly his is the heart bowed down. And there is much to be done before the grim reaper cometh. When Mr. Lowry comes to General Pershing he stands aside and lets the photographer be epigrammatic for him. The two pictures of the General, before and after the World War, are nearly the funniest things in the book.

The Intellectuals are wounded in the house of one of their—well, not friends, but in the house of an idol, when Max Beerbohm laughs at the Russian authors. For the writer, Kolniyatsch, described by Mr. Beerbohm in his "And Even Now" (Dutton), has a name which arouses suspicious folk to trace a resemblance to Colney Hatch—a resort, in England, of the more vivid of the Intelligentsia. Kolniyatsch, the last of a long line of rag-pickers, was born in 1886. Not until he was nine had he acquired that passionate alcoholism which influenced his character and the trend of his thought. Not before his eighteenth birthday had he murdered his grandmother and been sent to that asylum in which he wrote the poems and plays of his "earlier manner." Later, he escaped and sailed for America; his genius was of the kind that crosses frontiers and seas. But unfortunately it was not of the kind that passes Ellis Island. America, to her lasting shame, sent him back. The author thinks poorly of the translations of the work of Kolniyatsch by Mr. and

Mrs. Pegaway. He wanted the job himself, but they nipped in and got it before him. "Thank heaven," he says, "they cannot deprive me of the power to read Kolniyatsch in the original Gibrisch and to crow over you who can't."

Readers of sea-stories are a hard-bitten crew, as hard-bitten as Capt. Ezra Triplett of the *Kawa*. It is not well to cross their hawse. Blood brothers fall out, pro-Conrad or anti-Conrad; old friendships are wrecked over the question; Louis Becke *versus* Herman Melville. About a year ago, I compiled for *The Weekly Review* a list of my favorite sea-stories, and a gentleman in far Hong Kong was stirred to write to the *Publishers' Weekly* to say that (a) he had never heard of me, and (b) that my list was no better than it should be. Nevertheless, I am bold enough to record the following paragraph in the *Athenaeum*, signed H. M. T.:

Last week I found myself sitting next to a little elderly man in the train, who might have been a literary character—such was his appearance—or a jeweller, or an accountant, or the proprietor of a livery and bait stable. He utterly disregarded a sensational conversation in our compartment on the civil war. He was completely retired into a book. I was not surprised at his oblivion when I saw its title; it was "Moby Dick," but it was an edition I did not know. At last I could stand it no longer, and though I am adverse from chance railway converse, I begged him to allow me to look at his book. He did so, but sheepishly. When I returned it he apologized. He said that perhaps I was surprised to find a man of his years reading a boy's book. ("Not at all, sir, not at all.") He said it was funny stuff, but he was half-way through it now, and expected to finish it, if he skipped the worse parts. He explained that someone had told him it was one of the best sea-yarns ever written, and he was fond of sea stories. He could not agree with that verdict. He thought the best sea story he had ever read was "My Shipmate Louise," by Clark Russell. "Moby Dick" was not a patch on that.

I am full of joy that here, at last, is somebody, this little elderly man, saying a good word for "My Shipmate Louise," a book which would be notable if only for the opening chapters about life on an East Indiaman. I am sure this novel by Clark Russell was on my list—the list which maddened the man from Hong Kong. Whether the novel is better than "Moby Dick" I cannot say, and dare not, if I could, so fierce is the admiration which that formidable-looking book arouses. I keep looking at "Moby Dick," and trying to get up my courage. I think the little elderly man was not a literary character; more probably he was a jeweller or an accountant or the proprietor of a stable. Literary characters usually have bad judgment about sea-stories—witness the furore they have created about the novels by —, but I will start no controversies. There is one serious problem about "My Shipmate Louise"—where is an edition to be found which is not in abominably small type?

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## The Mazes of Socialism

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By James Edward Le Rossignol. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

THE title of Professor Le Rossignol's little book, "What is Socialism?" might easily be understood to mean either of two very different things. Socialism has assumed, both in theory and practice, a great variety of forms; and an author undertaking in a brief space to enlighten the average man on the subject might conceive that it could best be done by brushing all this aside and exposing the essential character inherent in the case irrespective of all variations. On the other hand, he might feel that what the average man stands most in need of is a guide through the mazes of socialistic theory and socialistic agitation—a defence against that helplessness which so many feel, or profess to feel, as to the mere definition of the term Socialism.

What Professor Le Rossignol has attempted is a combination of these two things; and the result, while less impressive as an argumentative whole than a discussion of the first type might have been made, is far more illuminating, and far more useful, than a mere description of the various types of socialistic thought and socialistic action could possibly be. The unifying thread that runs through the thirteen chapters into which the book is divided is furnished by the name of Karl Marx; Professor Le Rossignol never lets the reader lose sight of the fact that, whatever deviations, concessions, modifications—even reversals—socialistic doctrine has undergone in the hands of its professors during the past seventy years, it has ever remained Marxian at heart. Accordingly, to show that Marx's doctrine is not science but dogma; to show that it was subjected to great variations in his own hands, and to still greater variations in the hands of his followers; to show that not only have its prophecies of the future been belied, but its descriptions of the past and the present are in glaring contradiction with outstanding facts—to do all this is to present a most damaging criticism of the whole of the modern socialistic movement.

But while all this is undertaken—and, considering the brevity and simplicity of the book, very satisfactorily accomplished—Professor Le Rossignol's book is, after all, primarily descriptive. His criticisms and exposures form not a solid array of argument but a sort of running accompaniment to his statement of what Socialism, in its various aspects, actually is or professes to be. He gives Marx and the Marxians a fair chance; setting forth, partly by direct quotation, partly by fair and honest summary, the Marxian Theory of Value, the Marxian Law of Increasing Misery, the Socialistic Theory of Crises, the Marxian Prophecy of the Extinction of the Middle

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Class, etc., etc.—a separate chapter being devoted to each of these main branches, or rather roots, of the Marxian tree. Without rancor, with many admissions of the evils of existing conditions and of the elements of truth there are in the Marxian position, Professor Le Rossignol sets over against its claims the considerations which compel their rejection. As all this is done in a straightforward and simple style, with frequent thrusts of shrewd epigram, and with many illustrations drawn from the facts of our own history and condition—"familiar matter of today"—this little guide through the mazes of Socialism should prove attractive to a great body of readers.

## Mr. George Gives Himself Away

URSULA TRENT. By W. L. George. New York: Harper & Brothers.

PERHAPS it is not much of a give-away, since this "younger novelist" proclaimed himself, when he was considerably younger, a playboy of life and letters, whose job was writing for money, and whose chief recreation (see "Who's Who") was self-advertising. Still, he has always tried to look a little sober about women. When his first novel, "A Bed of Roses," was strongly attacked and widely advertised by people who saw no art in its indecency, he claimed a serious purpose for it: "'A Bed of Roses' is the hot, controversial production of a young mind, anxious to strike a blow for woman, to make society swallow the ugly fact that under present conditions woman is driven into abominable trade, to make society ashamed." Society, that arch-hypocrite, seems to have been mainly ashamed of Mr. George, greatly to his amusement. . . . Later came better books, notably "The Second Blooming," wherein we found such depth and gravity in the interpretation of the married woman as we could rightly look for from a joint disciple of Messrs. H. G. Wells and Anatole France. Feminists and anti-Victorians rejoiced greatly in the coming of this new apostle, the idea being that he was opening a new window on the free world. In fact, some seemed to have the sensation of being pushed and locked into a stuffy and over-populated bedroom, by a joker named George, a fellow with a titter and a leer, not very well mannered, and with dubious notions of what is amusing and edifying; well-meaning enough, a creature of this period; one part minor prophet and nine parts smart Aleck.

It would be of interest to know whether Mr. George, the declared feminist, thinks he has struck another blow for woman in "Ursula Trent." His Ursula is another of the androgynous heroines who, from Ann Veronica to Sylvia Scarlett, have obediently uttered their makers' opinions in the pages of recent fiction. These people bore me, partly, I know, because they are uncongenial, but chiefly, I am sure, because they are unreal. Ursula Trent



is not a woman, she is a Mr. George in petticoats, uttering his favorite witticisms and profanities in falsetto. Often even the falsetto is forgotten and the wig falls awry, and here is Brother George before us, being modern and daring, saying "damn" and "hell" in his own smooth tenor, just within the doorway of that crowded bedroom. He commits a sad error, as an artist, in attempting to make Ursula tell her own story, for he thereby robs her in advance of such verisimilitude as a clever use of the third person might have given her. Ursula Trent is the daughter of a country baronet, more than a little restive at home, but about to marry a fitting Lord Oswald when the war takes him off. Then, not out of grief or ambition or anything but the determination to do as she likes where she likes, she cuts loose from home and goes to London. She becomes a manicurist. She takes to the "petting" of her men customers like a duck to water, though she assures us she hates to be touched. However it is not till she has become secretary to a female novelist that she "gives herself" to the nephew of her employer, with all the more squalid accessories of deliberate assignation, a private dining-room, and unlimited champagne. She feels no regret, and repeats the experience under the same conditions, on demand; till the nephew, having assimilated her gift, makes off into space, to be no further beheld or endowed by Ursula Trent. Her next step is to become the public mistress of a mandrill-maker, with whom she exhausts the pleasures of vulgar night life in London until his indiscriminate "infidelities" and an offer of marriage from a tolerably decent man pave the way to another phase of experience.

Mr. George has been oft marveled at for his intimate knowledge of feminine character or "psychology." This book, through his error in trying to make a woman tell her own story, betrays the quackery of his method. He cannot create an Ursula, he can only invent one in his own image. She is a smart Aleck with a vulgar fancy and an unreliable falsetto. Her observations upon men and sex are—whatever come into her head as clever and startling things to say. She cannot even remember her own personal traits or tendencies. She talks about hating to be touched, but in practice anybody can kiss her, and she recalls her multitudinous experiences with at least complaisance: "To this day I don't quite know what pleasure I have found in so many caresses." This alleged baronet's daughter can write "and etc." one moment, and express herself in the best literary Wells-George style the next: "These county families, you can watch them for generations as you can for hours (which to sea anemones are a great part of a generation), watch the brown, semi-opaque animals held up in placid pools in effectual and lovely hands to nutriment which they need not seek: a kindly destiny has so arranged it that nutriment shall of it-

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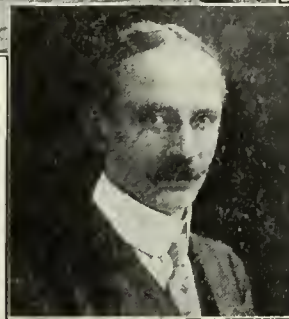


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From Peking crowds on Peking streets Mr. Reinsch made many deductions.

Paul S. Reinsch, American Minister to China during the World War, and a firm personal friend of President Yuan.

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### Contents of November ASIA—Philippine Number

#### GIVE AND TAKE AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

By William Hard

The Philippines as a strategic liability in a war with Japan, the necessity for measures at Washington to stabilize China's government as the fundamental to peace in the Far East, the usefulness of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and other "practical world politicians" in getting a practical result out of the Washington Conference—are points that make Mr. Hard's entertaining, clear-visioned analysis a real contribution in understanding the possible accomplishment of the Conference.

#### THE PHILIPPINES INSIDE OUT By Gertrude Emerson

What Philippine program will be adopted as the result of the Wood-Forbes Mission? Do the Filipinos want dyed-in-the-wool Patrick Henry independence or do they want the kind that includes a protector in the background ready to jump to their assistance at the first S.O.S.? Gertrude Emerson, associate editor of ASIA, recently made a six months' personal survey of conditions.

#### BETWEEN

By A. Dale Riley

Sitti Rajma, hedged in by ancient Mahomedan tradition, but struggling toward the new freedom of which she has had a glimpse in the Central School; Arip Datu, the rascally old gambler, her father; Ah Fong, the elderly Chinese trader who is willing to cancel Arip's debt to him if he may have the little Sitti for his wife; young Casim, whose passionate song drifts across the water to Rajma's window—these are the characters of a story of Moroland by a young writer who has lived the past eight years among the people he portrays so vividly.

#### A FRIENDLY ESTIMATE OF THE FILIPINOS

By David P. Barrows

David P. Barrows, President of the University of California, gives a very human picture of the Filipino, whom he learned to know and admire during his long official service in the early years of American administration.

#### AMERICA'S PLEDGE TO THE PHILIPPINES

By Manuel L. Quezon

Quezon began his public career as a staff-officer under Aguinaldo. Since then, he had been resident commissioner for the Philippines in the United States, and is today, President of the Philippine Senate and leader of the "left" in the Nacionalista Party. He presents the Philippine side of the independence question.

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believe that the gravest peril to the cause of world union for peace lies in a far too prevalent misconception of the meaning and mandate of the phenomenal Harding vote. If that is true, it follows that no greater service can be rendered to mankind than to cure that misconception. They who have read its page-proofs (and they are qualified to know)

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self enter their languid grasp." There is no woman here, nor any person save that brilliant talkative monologist of many costumes, half-French, half-cockney, who through sheer cheek and ventriloquism has got himself accepted in divers quarters as an earnest interpreter of life, at least of women, and an accomplished artist. If this were a true story, it would be dull enough; it is little better than a collection of Georgisms, and rather cheap ones. I enjoy this writer as an acute and lively commentator on manners, but it is an odd sign of the omnibus duties of the current novel that he should produce fewer "Hail Columbias!" than "Ursula Trents."

H. W. BOYNTON

## From Hayes to Harding

RECENT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Frederic L. Paxson. Boston:  
Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$5.

THIS work should be brought to the attention of Mr. Henry Ford, in connection with his justly famous pronouncement, *ex cathedra*, that "history is bunk." It has been generally agreed that this was a fairly accurate characterization of the kind of history with which Mr. Ford manifested an acquaintance, and it would be interesting to know whether the same emotions would be aroused in him by a work which duly recognized as among matters worthy of record in recent history his own philanthropic adventures in pacifism and in politics.

The concise chronicling of Henry Ford's various activities by Professor Paxson suggests very well the general character of this volume as a whole. It is a McMasterish kind of history, aiming to sketch not only the political and economic, but also all the other salient phases of the people's life. The period covered is marked by political terminals, namely the inauguration of Hayes and the election of Harding. Within this period appears the record of a vast range of events, the importance of which will in many cases fail to impress the reader. There will be pleasure to elderly persons, however, in having brought to their recollection incidents that were momentarily exciting, but quite evanescent in the memory. Professor Paxson displays much ingenuity in suggesting reasons for including in a short history some of these unimportant matters. Few of his readers, however, will readily recover from their surprise on finding an account of Mark Twain's speech at the Whittier dinner; of the founding of the League of American Wheelmen, with a full page illustration of the organization on parade; of the establishment of Tuxedo Park; of the enterprises conducted by Buffalo Bill and P. T. Barnum; of John L. Sullivan's decade of pugilistic preëminence, established on the battered body of Paddy Ryan and maintained on that of Jake Kilrain; of the vogue of roller-skating and that godmother of modern athletic sports, croquet; of the origin and activities of the Ananias Club and the Order of the Carabao.

For the political events of the time,



Professor Paxson's narrative is admirable. It is adequate, well-proportioned, impartial, and readable. The inevitable tendency of historians to undue fullness on the more recent years, emphasized in the present instance by the unprecedented character of the World War, is repressed as successfully as is humanly possible. It is a notable achievement to write a history of six hundred pages on a period of forty-three years and devote but eight pages more to the period 1913-1921 than to the period 1897-1912. Professor Paxson was of course aided by the fact that the earlier of the two periods was filled out by the Spanish War and the multitudinous activities of Theodore Roosevelt in the White House.

Our national career from the close of the Civil War to the close of the World War will for a generation form the subject of many histories, but few of similar length are likely to surpass in excellence and attractiveness this volume of Professor Paxson.

WILLIAM A. DUNNING

## "Indianism" as a Mexican Peril

THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO. By Wallace Thompson. New York: Harper and Brothers.

IF there is any other book which gives so much of what the average reader wants to know about the people of Mexico, it has so far eluded the search of the present reviewer. How they live and work or idle their time away; what they eat, drink, and wear; how they are divided by race, class, and sub-class; what their history has been, what are their customs and their relations to their Government—the information is here, told simply by one who knows Mexico at first hand. The reader may dissent from many of the interpretations; he may radically differ as to the main conclusions; but he cannot refuse tribute to the mass and range of information given and to the explicitness of statement. Yet, for all that, it is a biased book, and certain things vital to a proper understanding of the subject are omitted.

In the author's view Mexican history is a history of race struggles. However these struggles disguise themselves, and whatever the battle-cries shouted by the contending parties, at bottom is the strife for racial power by Indian, white, and mestizo. First, the white Spaniards ruled. By the strong hand they kept the Indians down, and they gave to Mexico virtually everything of cultural value and political stability which it has known. The revolt of 1810 was an Indian revolt. It failed, as all other Indian revolts had failed, until it was taken over by the creoles, the pure-white descendants of the Spaniards. The victory and independence of 1823 were possible only by white leadership. Afterward, through weight of numbers, the training given them by the whites and the cunning to bamboozle the Indians, the mestizos rose to power. The anarchic

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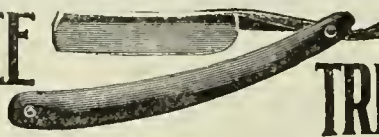
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chaos that followed until 1876 was an inevitable fruit of mestizo rule. Diaz, though himself part Indian, restored white supremacy. His reign was a glorious epoch. The revolution of 1910 was one of mestizo intellectuals, using the Indians as tools. It has succeeded in overthrowing white supremacy and abolishing the color line. But the mestizo is an unstable hybrid; he is more Indian than white, and constantly he tends to revert to the aborigine. In time Indianism, unless checked, will prevail. The hope for Mexico—and it is not a promising one—is the restoration of the whites to power.

This, in brief, is the thesis of the book, and it is skilfully presented. There is a hint, here and there, of the rightfulness of intervention. "Sooner or later," writes the author (p. 12), "unless the white world again takes up the burden, Mexico must inevitably slip back to the plane of pre-Spanish barbarism." He writes again (pp. 45-50): "The final deathblow to the mestizo domination and perhaps to all white or near-white control in Mexico from within herself was given by the Carranza Constitution of 1917, wherein the fair words of the white man's democracy and the white man's socialism were bent to the expression of Indian anti-foreignism, communism and license to loot and kill." But his idea of intervention may be no more than that of moral and economic support given by the outside world to the white element of Mexico. The passage at the end of the chapter, "The Melting Pot" (p. 55), implies this, and so does the concluding sentence of the book. The Indian may in time be educated and improved so that he is no longer a menace, so that indeed he may become a contributing part to Mexico's welfare, but the task is a white man's task and can be undertaken only with the whites at the helm.

Diaz is the subject of frequent and extreme laudation. To the liberal and radical verdict that the dictator, though he brought political peace and economic progress, left the great social problem utterly untouched, the author replies that the revolution, in raising the social problem, has only made matters worse. Under Diaz the Indian had at least "a place to call home, a tiny corn patch where he could raise his food unmolested, and a church wherein, for all its faults, his soul found surcease." The revolution, in its formulæ, has borrowed liberally from our Anglo-Saxon constitutions, from Teutonic Socialism and even from Russian Bolshevism; but its net result so far has been anarchy and misery.

This laudation of Diaz compels a re-examination of the social and industrial conditions under the Diaz régime which have been the target of so much violent criticism, and which, in most judgments, were the cause of the upheaval of 1910. The task is ably, even if unconvincingly, performed. The Diaz tyranny is translated into terms of benevolence. The system of land-grabbing, by which huge estates were



built up at the expense of Indian communal holdings, and the peonage system, both of which flourished under Diaz, are explained at length. The break-up of the communal holdings, despite the abuses which accompanied it, was justified, he maintains, by Mexico's need for increased agricultural production. As for peonage, though the shocking brutalities which attended it are inexcusable, the thing itself in its milder forms cannot be abolished so long as the Indian remains what he is. For an advance payment of money he will bind himself to the most burdensome contract. The root of peonage is to be found in the psychology of the Indian.

Mestizo dominance has told heavily against the white man's numbers. In 1910, the author believes, there were not more than 1,150,000 whites of pure blood in the country. Since then anti-foreignism, and even anti-Caucasianism, have done their work, and the number has shrunk considerably. Against this small fraction there are 8,000,000 mestizos ranging from near-white to near-Indian and 6,000,000 pure-blooded Indians. What the white man can do in the face of such numbers would seem to be a negligible quantity; and yet, unless fate throws a large measure of control into his hands, the final outcome can be nothing but the restoration of Indianism, with its blend of childishness and savagery.

All this, cogently set forth and strongly supported by data, makes fascinating reading, even though the tone is pessimistic and alarmist to a degree. Its validity, however, is quite another matter. For the whole story is not here. Regarding the past the data are too palpably selective; while regarding the newer turn in Mexican affairs, since the overthrow of Carranza, there is small sign of recognition. Of the purposes and achievements of the men who have recently come into power and of the new hope that awakens throughout Mexico, the author can find little to chronicle. In what proportion this altered state of things is due to Indian or white or mestizo we can not stop to inquire. But there can be no doubt that it arises from the Mexican people themselves. Whatever the explanation, something of moment and promise has happened in Mexico. The Government seems a little more stable; banditry is being suppressed; reconstruction is going on, industry and agriculture are reviving. What has so far been done may presage even more important things. The despised Indian and the distrusted mestizo may after all prove themselves the possessors of latent qualities not apprehended by their critics. At any rate the well-wishers of Mexico will do well to avoid far-flung generalizations which deny to the Mexican people the power to set themselves right before the world and work out their own destiny.

W. J. GHENT



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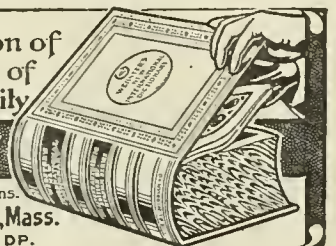
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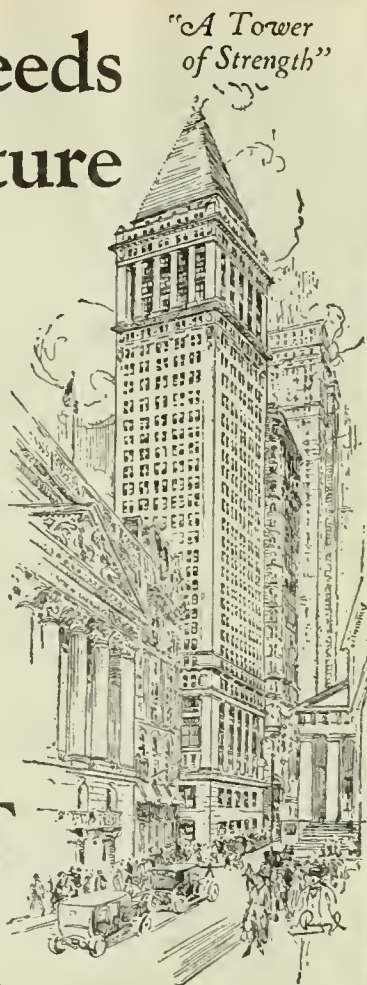
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## The Industrial Trend

LOWER wages and greater efficiency of production, as the means of attaining lower prices which will revive general business activity, are the outstanding features of the trend in every branch of the country's industry. The threatened railroad strikes forced on the attention of the public this dominant industrial trend as it appears in the single field of rail transportation. The railroads are in essentially the same predicament that confronts most other employers with goods or services to sell: their market is unprofitable and fails to sustain them because they cannot finance their services at a low enough selling price to stimulate a profitable buying movement on the part of the public. The proposal of the railroad managers to reduce their prices as well as the wages of their workmen is the solution that industry in general is seeking to apply. The railroad train brotherhoods are the most conspicuous examples of employee resistance to the solution that economists and business men consider inevitable. There are many smaller bodies of objectors, who hold to Mr. Gompers's view that it is better to resist wage cuts and lose, than not to resist at all. But on the whole, all such resistance yields to the overpowering pressure of economic facts.

Among recent wage adjustments one that is notable for several features is the award of a board which decided on a 10 per cent. reduction in the wages of the shoe workers of Rochester, N. Y. The board of three members was headed by Sanford E. Thompson, a noted production engineer, who was a member of the Hoover Committee on Industrial Waste, and the award reflects both Mr. Thompson's experience in the shoe industry and the Hoover Committee's standards and methods.

The board found that prices must come down in order to sell shoes, and that the manufacturers would have to stand a large part of the decrease in price, even to the point of selling temporarily below cost for the sake of re-establishing the current of purchasing. The 10 per cent. reduction in wages was in place of a 25 per cent. cut asked by the manufacturers. "The trend of labor costs," said the board, "since the cost of all products is made up largely of labor, must be downward along with the prices of commodities and the general decline in values."

Workers' standards of living, the board held, ought not to be reduced in full proportion to the fall in prices, because the standard of living ought to be continually rising: reductions in cost, apart from lowered wages, could and should come also by improvements in management and in manufacturing methods. The board found that average earnings of shoe workers in Rochester this year were 146 per cent. above the 1914 average; while cost of living was about 60 per cent. higher.

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A movement that is likely to attract much attention because it involves a seasonal industry of sharp fluctuations and recurring unemployment on a somewhat notable scale is the decision of the New York manufacturers of women's cloaks and suits to abolish the week-work system that the unions secured during the war, and to set up instead the piece-work system. Leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which controls the workers in this industry, announce a determined opposition. The piece-work basis is generally recognized as the indispensable condition of satisfactory production. In the New York market this issue has been patched up between the union and the employers for some months, but with the season's work out of the way, the employers are evidently bent on getting to a new basis before the spring season. On the issue of production, the New York officers of the International have been consistently obstructive. The very remarkable contracts between the manufacturers and the unions of Cleveland—representing the greatest advance in worker-employer relations anywhere in the country—were bitterly opposed by the New York officers of the union.

What will seem to most Americans a curious industrial excrescence is the reported, and apparently actual, re-emigration back to Soviet Russia of Jewish clothing workers and other craftsmen from this country. The *Economic Life* of Moscow, an official Soviet Government organ, confirms reports current in New York City several months ago, that a coöperative body of 120 clothing workers, with a complete equipment for a shop to employ 600, had arrived in Moscow, welcomed by the Government. The movement, which contemplates supplying impoverished Russia with units of Jewish workers in various crafts, is in charge of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, which has been established in New York for about two years past. The official Moscow report, reaching New York along with dispatches referring to the presence in Moscow of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, naturally raised the query whether the frankly socialist Amalgamated was interested in the tailors' unit. The Society for Technical Aid denies all connection with the Amalgamated.

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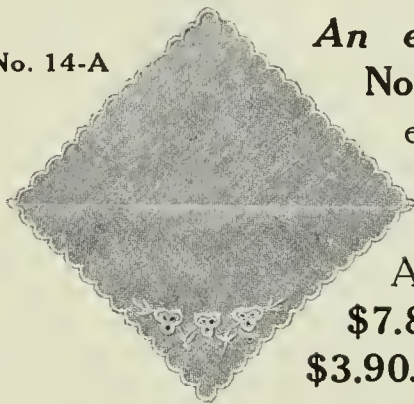


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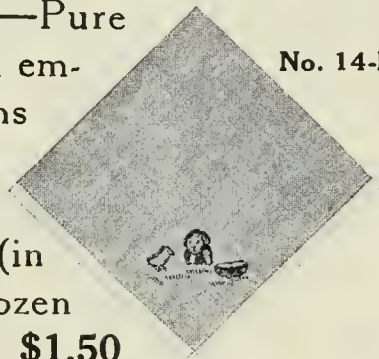


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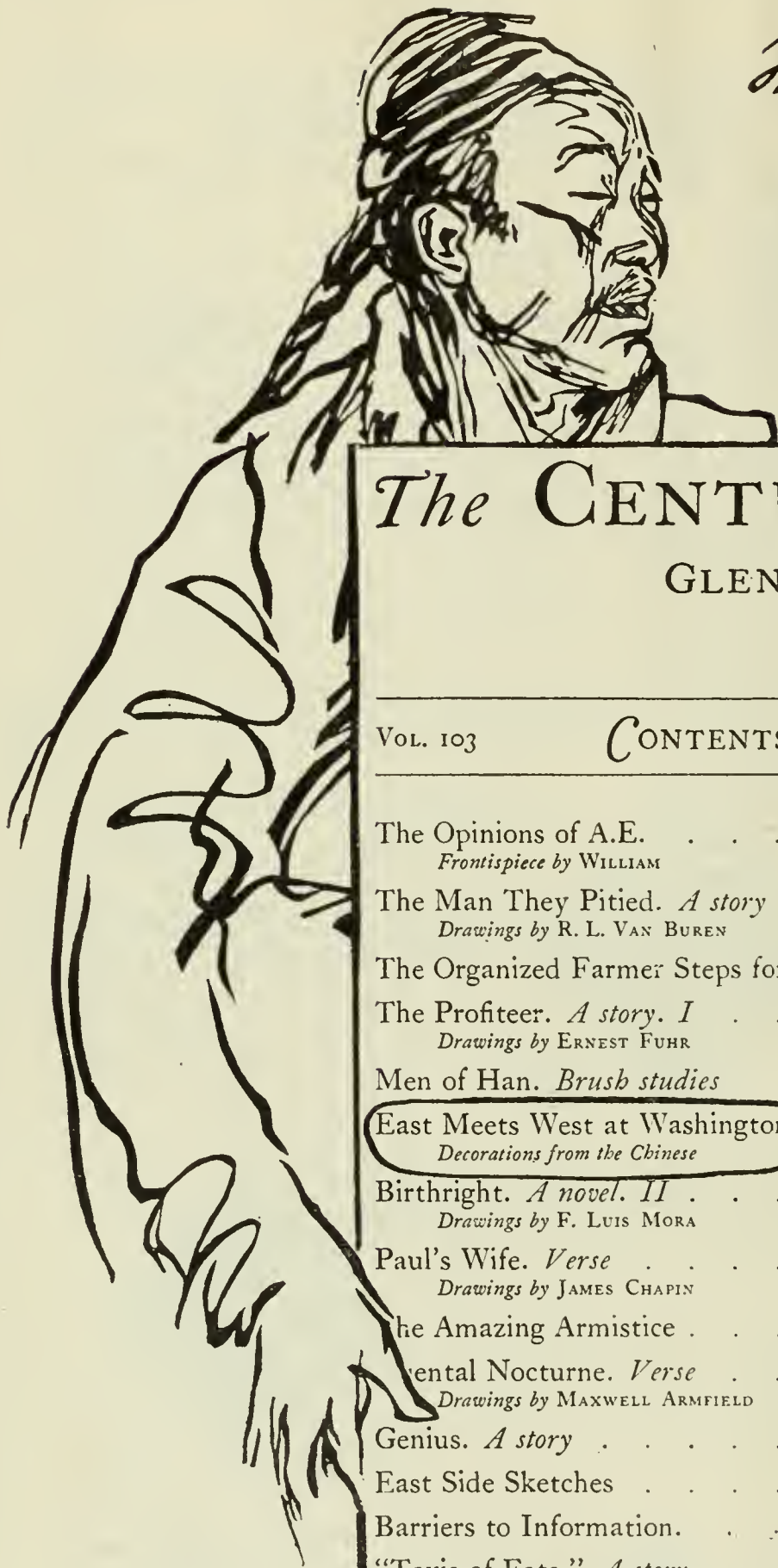


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GLENN FRANK, *Editor*



VOL. 103

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Mr. Hornblow's story of the false peace news;  
Robert Frost's poem; the paper on "A.E.;"  
in fact, every feature of this interesting issue.*



*By James Branch Cabell*

## *A Review of "Messer Marco Polo"*

(Reprinted here by courtesy of *The Nation*, in which it appeared on Nov. 2.)

NOT often does one sustain the sense of having long awaited just the book which time and chance and a kindred desire in another's being have combined to produce at last, and to make at last a vended commodity as easy now to come by as blotting-paper or bad whiskey. I have this sense about "Messer Marco Polo." It is, to me, the most delightful of surprises, a bit of unanticipated flotsam washed up from the wide sunless sea of "realism." Nobody, I think, could possibly have looked for its coming through the auctorial welter—whose susurrus is after all but a more literate vast "Ain't it awful, Mabel"—among those fretful waves of indignation over the dreariness of small-town life and the loneliness of the artist in this unappreciative country, and over how terribly our army swore in Flanders, and over the venality of our press and pulpit and every other institution, and (lonely lisper of good yet to come) over the imminence of several more stupendous wars that will wipe out us and all our sordid existence. And yet through these gray floods of portentous information (here neatly to round off my simile) comes floating this carved spar of loveliness with absolutely startling irrelevance.

That "Messer Marco Polo" should have "happened" at this precise moment seems to me a small miracle so pleasure-giving that I hastily waive all consideration as to the book's ultimate value. I only know that I have joyed in the reading of it, somewhat as the partially starved might rejoice in an unexpected windfall of savory food, without any need to deliberate the viands' durability.

None the less does the tale appear, some two weeks after that first keen greedy gulping of its delights, and after a more leisured second reading, a very fine and beautiful strange book. It is, to summarize, the tale of how young Marco Polo, loitering through youth's amiable iniquities in thirteenth-century Venice, became enamored, through report, of the Khan of Tartary's daughter, and of his adventuring as he crossed Asia to win her. It is, in brief, the old high tale of Geoffrey Rudel and his Far Princess, adorned with vivid curious ornament, and brought to a denouement no less sad but more soul-contenting.

Yet the essential thing about this book is that it is prodigal in the transforming magic which—heaven knows, in how few books—quite incommunicably lends romantic beauty to this or that not necessarily unusual or fertile theme, somewhat as sunset tinges the wooded and the barren mountain with equal glamour. Mr. Byrne is a practitioner, in fine, of that rare and unteachable wizardry without which one writes only words, and without which the most carefully made sentences tend but to bury one another like neat undertakers.

Technically, though, the construction of "Messer Marco Polo" is to a novelist peculiarly interesting. To Mr. Byrne, in Westchester, N. Y., comes the old Irishman Malachi Campbell of the Long Glen; and it is the Celt who tells of what Cataia seemed to Marco Polo the Venetian in a far golden yesterday. So then does Mr. Byrne set about his magicking, to lure you from the prosaic to the wonderful, and thence to the more wonderful, at last to leave you contentedly cuddled in the lap of the incredible. He raises for you, to begin, the milieu of his Westchester—"the late winter grass, spare, scrofulous, the jerry-built bungalows,

the lines of uncomely linen, the blatant advertising boards." It is in, seen through, and continuously colored by, this almost Gopher Prairean atmosphere that Malachi evokes the gleaming world of tall Dermot and Granye of the Bright Breasts and amorous fierce Maeve and Cuchulain in whose heroic looks were love and fire—and evokes thereafter, even as if beyond and colored by the glow of this Celtic wonderland, not merely the strange opulent sleek life of medieval Venice, "that for riches and treasures was the wonder of the world," but past even that, illuminate and tinged by all, the Venetian's notion of the inscrutable, good-tempered, shining evil East. So near as I can word it, then, this tale is a fantastic and gracious pageant, saddened tenderly by the evanescence of its beauty, seen through three opalescent veils: or rather, what happens—as we upon reflection prefer to have had it happen—in the Chinese jasmine garden by the Lake of Cranes, is viewed through a rose-tinted gauze of medieval fancies seen through thin aureate Celtic mists observed through the unhued but glazing window-panes of a Westchester, N. Y., drawing-room. I am not sure that this curious tour de force was worth performing, but I am unshakably convinced that Mr. Byrne "brings it off" to a nicety.

And it is all told, too, in words that are "warm and colored," and are so adroitly marshaled as to drive at least one reader to the confessional. I confess, then, to being uncritically seduced by the fact that Mr. Byrne, without apparent effort or shame, writes perfectly of beautiful happenings and seems no whit afraid of elaborated diction. I confess to thinking that many of the episodes, perhaps most notably the efforts of Marco Polo to convert to Christianity the pagan girl who while he talks is merely conscious of the circumstance that she loves the talker, have a queer and heart-wringing loveliness that is well-nigh intolerable. I confess to finding the brief chapter that bridges seventeen years and winds up the story to "the true rhythm of life" a small masterpiece of wisdom and art. I confess, in fine, to have been so agreeably swept off my feet by this book that I indite every word of its encomium with a teasing faint suspicion that I am almost certainly writing high-pitched nonsense which I shall some day reread with embarrassment.

At all events, while the first rapture lasts, I must profess that I most cordially admire this story, and seem to find no praise too exquisite. You may derive from it a more temperate pleasure, you may not even like "this pseudo-Celtic stuff," and in fact, the tale can hardly appeal to any considerable audience just now, since it "exposes" and "arraigns" nothing whatever. With that I have no concern: it is merely my business to tell you that to my finding "Messer Marco Polo" is a very magically beautiful book.



# The Limitation of Armament

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

#### I. The Limitation of Armaments.

1. Explain the following sentence: "Armaments are not so much the causes of the world's troubles as they are symptoms of them."
2. Assuming that the above sentence is true, tell what are the real causes of the world's troubles.
3. Prepare a short article that will tell clearly exactly what the United States has done with regard to the limitation of armament.
4. Explain in full the significance of the sentence: "The world does not yet trust abstract justice enough to scrap national armaments."
5. "Five nations of the world who have it in their power to prevent war are going to meet November 11 to discuss ways and means to do it." Write an editorial article in which you show that it is true that five nations have the opportunity to do much to prevent war. Point out what your readers can do to aid the attempt to make war less likely.
6. Write a short history of the attempts that have been made to limit national armaments.
7. Prepare an exposition in which you show the work the League of Nations has done toward the limitation of armament.
8. Prepare definitions of the following terms: universal peace; disarmament; the limitation of armament.

#### II. A Friend of East Indian Freedom.

1. Explain by what literary means the writer conveys a serious message concerning India. Tell what advantage the writer gained by making use of the means employed.
2. What makes the introduction of the article effective?
3. Prove that the conclusion emphasizes all that the writer says in the body of the article.
4. Explain why the writer gives facts concerning her own life.
5. Draw from the article material for a composition of contrast on "India, Before and After the Coming of the British."
6. Develop a paragraph of detail from the following topic sentence: "India is not one."
7. Write an argumentative composition in which you support the proposition: "A high development of primary education is necessary for the well-being of any country."
8. Summarize the writer's statements concerning the best means of bringing happiness to India.
9. Consult books of reference, such as "The Century Dictionary," or any encyclopedia, and prepare reports on the following topics: The East India Company; Nadir Shah's Sack of Delhi; Juggernaut; Thuggee; The Races of India; The Religions of India.
10. Point out effective use of figurative language in the article. Tell what thoughts are emphasized by the figures that you point out. Name the figures.

#### III. A November Tryst.

1. Define the following words: tryst, copse, sedgy, pheasant, flail, beasties, hips, haws, shaws, cloisters.
2. With whom does the writer hold tryst?
3. What is the purpose in naming so great a number of details? How do the various details affect the reader?

#### IV. Book Reviews. New Books and Old.

1. "Like the Scholar Gypsy, he returned no more." Read Matthew Arnold's poem, "The Scholar Gypsy." Explain its meaning. Tell why the writer of the review of "Dogs, Birds and Others," referred to the poem.
2. "Kipling—or it may have been Jules Verne." Prepare a report on the literary work of the two writers.
3. "Satire is coming in with the flood tide." What is satire? What is the purpose of satire? Name some famous satires. Name their authors.
4. Herman Melville and Clark Russell are mentioned enthusiastically in column three of "New Books and Old." Prepare a report concerning the lives of the two writers, and the literary work they produced. Ask your librarian for a copy of "Typee," or "Moby Dick," or any one of Clark Russell's novels. Write a short review of the book you obtain.

### History, Civics and Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,  
Former Principal of the High School  
of Commerce, New York

#### I. ECONOMIC.

##### A. Are Capitalists Parasites?

1. Work out careful conceptions of the economists' meaning of capital, capitalist, abstinence, and profits.
2. Make a list of things you would call capital in the case of a railroad. Give as many examples as you can where capital is productive.
3. Make a list of people who would save without any payment for saving. Would that meet the needs of modern industry?
4. In "a thorough-going Socialist system," (a) is capital necessary, (b) is abstinence necessary? If you decide abstinence is necessary, who does it, and why?
5. State carefully the objections to socialism in the last paragraph. Upon what spur to production does the Socialist rely? Why do you think the author considers that inadequate? What has been the experience in Russia on each of these points?

##### B. The Industrial Trend.

1. In how far can labor unions affect wages?
2. As employees are asked to take lower wages to get back to lower prices, how are the employers taking losses to attain the same object?
3. Explain the exact meaning of "standard of living." Explain how a rising standard of living can be maintained with falling money wages. Do you think that the standard of living of workers that you know is remaining stationary, falling, or rising? Carefully state the grounds for your conclusion.
4. If the "piece-work basis is generally recognized as the indispensable condition of satisfactory production" why is there opposition to putting it into effect?
5. What parts of the procedure in the Rochester case are to be commended as parts of a good method of settling industrial wage disputes?

##### C. The Strike Called Off, Railroad Strike Debts and Credits.

1. Summarize briefly the reasons why the strike was called off.
2. What is the reason for the statement: "The air is not clear"?

#### II. THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE—Beneficent Legislation, Briand Wins, What Has Been Done to Limit Armaments?, The Significant Visit of the First Sea Lord.

1. Summarize the record of the position of the United States on the limitation of armaments.
2. Summarize the effects of events that have a favorable bearing on the Washington Conference.
3. Look up the history of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. How does the situation differ today from that of the time the alliance was made?

#### III. BRITISH DIFFICULTIES.

##### A. A Friend of East Indian Freedom, The Prince Sails for India, The Orientation of Afghanistan.

1. What is the author's idea of the best way for India "to attain a permanent freedom"? Show why she thinks that "the way of the Friends of Freedom for India would not attain their object."
2. After summarizing the author's statement of India's "very large measure of autonomy" look up the present Government of India and see what part is not in the hands of the natives. Compare the governments of India and of Canada.
3. Investigate and describe India's changing economic system. How has it affected England's foreign trade?
4. Look up England's policy toward the present discontent in India.

##### B. A New Stage in the Irish Affair

1. Look up the "historic condition of things (from 1782 to 1800)" accepted by England and by all parties in Ireland. Why is the "representation . . . historically false"?

#### IV. EUROPE—A Weird Situation, The Unlucky Coup, Briand Wins, The Future of Bulgaria, Angora, Past and Present.

1. Make a brief summary of the present situation in Europe.
2. What can you find to prove that "French and British policies concerning the Near and Middle East have immemorially been opposed"?



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

November 12, 1921



### Farmers in the Saddle

How They Are Showing Their Power at Washington

By Theodore M. Knappen

THE "farm bloc"—the one sensational development of the present do-little Congress—marks the reappearance in the national legislature of the doctrine that legislative representation is properly of a group or class nature. The bloc is the result of a deliberately determined and thoroughly organized movement by the agricultural population to improve its economic position by law. True, the engineers of farm legislation insist that to improve the position of the farmers is to benefit all classes, and the nation as a whole: but they frankly admit at the same time that they are supporting the present programme primarily because it will help the farmers as an occupational group.

So successful is the bloc at the moment that all important legislation in Congress revolves about it. The bloc is not only jamming through the particular bills the farmers favor, but it is shaping or checking the tax and tariff bills and railway adjustment measures. Scarcely a measure is proposed in Congress or advocated by the Administration but the first step is to propitiate the farm bloc. It is the master of the legislative programme, and party leaders and the President himself do not venture a move without consulting it. But though the bloc is feared, it is also reviled, and every effort has been made by appeals to party loyalty, and through the seductions of patronage, to weaken or dissolve it—but so far in vain.

Not a spontaneous rallying of Congressmen from agricultural districts and States, the bloc is on the contrary the creature of the militant farmers' organizations that have risen to authority with cumulative speed after years of vociferous ineffectiveness. While virtually all of the numerous commercial, social, political, technical, and coöperative associations of farmers are solidly behind the programme that has been framed and delivered to the bloc for enactment into law—and the great majority of the country's 6,000,000 farm operators or owners belong to one or several such organizations—the greatest factor in creating and animating the farm bloc has been the American Farm Bureau Federation.

This giant of farmers' groupings is scarcely two years old and its roots go back but a few years more. There were scattering county farm bureaus before 1914, but the Smith-Lever law of that year, giving Federal support to the plan of having an expert agricultural adviser—the

so-called county agent—in every county, raised up a multitude of such agents, paid jointly by the Federal Government, the State, and the benefited farmers themselves. Around each of these agents, chiefly at first by their own initiative, was built up a local organization called the farm bureau. The original purpose was wholly to assist the farmers to solve the problems of production and marketing peculiar to their calling. The farm bureaus thus won the enthusiastic support of that solid and prosperous type of farmer who had not previously been much of a "joiner." The bureaus inevitably took up local collective marketing, then experimented with a measure of community buying, and rapidly drifted into the full tide of the agricultural coöperative movement which is now sweeping over the rural regions on a scale that city dwellers do not dream of. The next step was to form State federations of these bureaus; and then, less than two years ago, the national federation was formed. It is a solid growth up from a broad foundation, and not a shaky structure built from the top down. It has gained enthusiasm and fire with growth. By the time the national federation was formed the purpose of assisting agriculture by specific legislation was dominant, though all of the numerous and amazingly organized self-help activities were reinforced and enlarged thereby.

"The farmers stand at Runnymede," said President Howard, a solid Iowa farmer, at the first national gathering. But it is doubtful if their stand would have been so successful had not the collapse of the war boom soon afterwards put the spirit of revolt into every farmer in the land. The burden of readjustment fell on the farmers more suddenly, developed more rapidly, and went further than in any other pursuit. Almost over night there was a tremendous depreciation in practically all farm products on the farm, while at the same time those products remained costly for the consumer, and manufactured products were still high-priced to the farmer. Thousands of the poorer farmers lost their lands by mortgage foreclosure, all saw the profits of a year's work swept away, many lost the savings of a lifetime, and in some sections there resulted such poverty and misery as no Jeremiah would have predicted a year before.

This disaster clinched the long-forming conviction of most farmers that something was radically wrong in the



body politic if such a fundamental industry as agriculture must always be the under dog. The American Farm Bureau Federation, while not neglecting other functions, immediately opened a legislative branch office in Washington, conceived the idea of the farm bloc in Congress, and with indomitable energy and consummate shrewdness hammered it out of the rather reluctant material of Congressional representation from agricultural regions. Time and again some of the weak-kneed faltered, but the pressure from the farmers "back home," through the tireless and audacious agents at Washington and the vast Farm Bureau organization—1,500,000 strong—and other farmers' associations, was irresistible. The bloc was wrought and then driven and kept in action and discipline. Twenty to twenty-five Senators and a hundred Representatives compose it. They meet weekly with the legislative agents of the farmers to consider ways and means and to maintain the integrity of their ranks and their firmness of purpose. The initial timidity is gone; the bloc rules in Congress and the members consider themselves of the fortunate elect.

Through the bloc the farmers, once the bitter opponents of Trusts and combinations, seek legislative sanction for the collective selling plans of their corporations and coöperative associations which aim at the regulation of the marketing and distribution of farm products with a view to securing equilibrium of supply and demand. This purpose involves amendment of the anti-trust laws and legislative restriction of commercial agencies and practices which, in the opinion of the farmers, now obstruct their free access to the markets. In addition to legislation which promises freedom for the evolution of their comprehensive plans for self-help—which are too numerous even to list here—the farmers are demanding the enactment of measures that call for the expenditure of public funds or the positive exercise of governmental power for the improvement of their economic position.

Before the August-September recess of Congress, the agricultural bloc had driven through legislative channels to a yielding though not always complacent White House—

A law amending the act relating to the War Finance Corporation, previously revived in the agricultural interest, in such a manner as to authorize that body to advance \$1,000,000,000 for commercial agricultural credits.

A law increasing the interest rate on Farm Loan Bank bonds to 5½ per cent., but leaving the rate to the farm borrower the same as it was.

A law diverting \$25,000,000 from the Federal Treasury for additional working capital for the Farm Loan Banks.

A law bringing the meat packers and stockyards as thoroughly under Federal control as the railways already are.

A law abolishing all trading in "privileges" in grain exchanges, curbing trading in futures, making exchanges freely accessible to farmers' co-operative organizations, and generally illuminating them with publicity and binding them with Federal control.

Emergency tariff law clauses that make importation of competitive agricultural products virtually impossible.

Flushed with victory, the farmers are now driving hard on the remainder of their current legislative programme, which includes—

A bill giving full Federal sanction, the anti-trust laws notwithstanding, to farmers' co-operative marketing associations.

A bill to prohibit the manufacture of filled milk.

A "pure wool" bill, intended to improve the market for wool by restricting the use of shoddy and substitutes for wool.

A bill regulating cold storage in such a manner that none but producers of certain agricultural products may keep them in cold storage beyond a certain period.

A bill to increase the maximum of individual Federal Farm Loan Bank loans from \$10,000 to \$25,000.

A Federal highway aid bill along lines favored by farmers and opposed by automobilists.

A bill to put a representative of agriculture on the Federal Reserve Board, with a view to making the practice of that body more helpful to agriculture than at present.

A bill to authorize the Farm Loan Banks to extend

medium-time commodity credits to farmers on the security of their products and livestock.

Retention of the higher brackets of the income surtaxes, up to 50 per cent.; defeat of consumption taxes as a general source of revenue; retention of excess profits taxes until 1922; repeal of transportation taxes; reduction of railway rates; and the incorporation of acceptable agricultural and other schedules into the permanent tariff law.

If the farmers should succeed in compelling substantial adoption of their legislative programme, they would enjoy an exceptional legal position in trade, and become the beneficiaries of a large measure of paternalism. The farmers frankly concede that on paper they would then have monopolistic control of the marketing of their products. But they argue that selfish use of their power would be impossible, even if the millions of highly individualistic farmers could be roped into tight associations, because the conditions of agricultural production are peculiarly responsive to the law of supply and demand. All they want, they say, is to establish an orderly marketing of their products, so as to escape the consequences of dumping a year's production on the markets within a short period, as at present. Such orderly marketing, with some sequential elimination of middlemen, would result, the farmers explain, in mutual benefits to themselves and the consumers of their products. They also contend that amendment of the anti-trust laws in their favor would merely enable them to do with the sanction of law what the manufacturing industries do notwithstanding the law.

But right or wrong, privileged or not, the present outlook is that the farmers are going to get from Congress a large measure of what they demand.

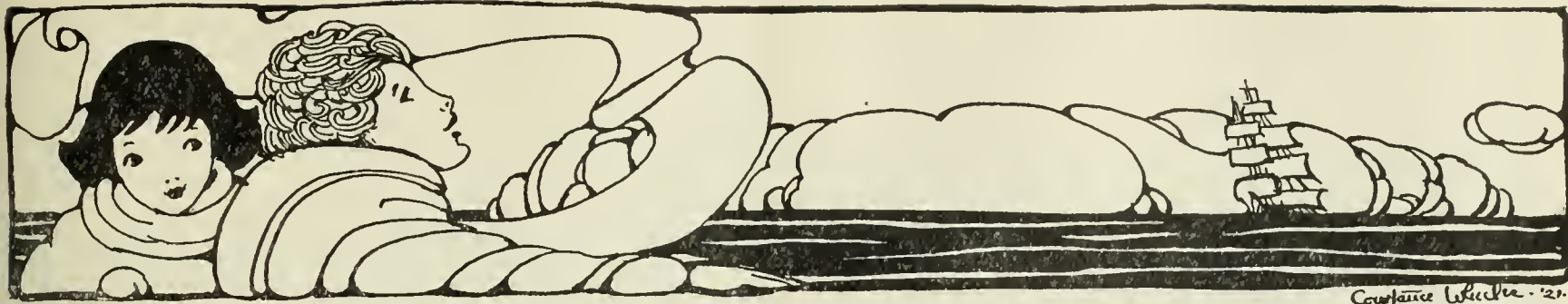
## Prices in Germany

THE best hotels in Berlin are now charging from \$1.20 to \$2.50 per day for a single room, cheap enough in view of the accommodations, but even these prices shock a man who has come from Frankfort, where he paid \$1, or from Munich, where he paid 80 cents, stopping in each place at the most expensive hotel in the city. From Berlin to Weimar or Eisenach or any other small town the transition ranges by no means from the sublime to the ridiculous in the matter of comfort, but it does in point of price. The Fürstenhof in Weimar charges from 25 cents up for a single room, the Golden Lion in Eisenach from 15 cents up. Meals cost proportionately. The standard breakfast of coffee, rolls, and butter costs from 6 to 15 cents; dinner consisting of soup, fish, meat and vegetables, and dessert ranges from 20 to 60 cents; supper, almost invariably, must be ordered from the card. According to the Speisenkarte of a first-class Munich restaurant on October 5, the visitor might order a thick or thin soup for 2 or 2½ cents, pike or halibut for 14 or 16, a salad for 2 or 4, an omelet for 12 or 14, pork roast with salad for 12, roast beef with spinach for 12 or with a variety of vegetables for 16, filet beefsteak with a fried egg on top of it for 18, roast goose with salad for 15, cold ham, beef, pork, veal, or fowl for 12 or 15. The wine card of the same restaurant starts with a vin ordinaire at 13 cents a bottle and then lists, among other wines, Niersteiner at 23 and 25, Liebfraumilch at 28, Zeltinger Schlossberg at 36, Brauneberger and Hochheimer at 54; St. Emilion and St. Julien cost 28 and 36 cents, 1917 Sauterne 54, Italian vermouth and Madeira 54. Such is the present cost of living in German hotels and restaurants in general. German pensions ask from 30 to 80 cents a day for room and board from those who can stand a constant diet of potatoes, salads of unfathomable contents, and cabbage, cabbage, cabbage. One crafty pension on the Kurfürstendamm in Berlin is trying to lure Americans with a flat rate of "a dollar a day without regard to the fluctuations of the exchange"! If eating and sleeping were the only factors of living in Germany —.

Weimar, Germany

GEORGE M. PRIEST





## As a Child Reads

By Emily Z. Friedkin

**C**HILDREN are commonly dogmatic. With them it is not so much whether an opinion is right or wrong but whether it is the same as the one they know. In a word, children would not hanker for a Hyde Park; to them the knowledge that there is more than one true way of thinking and doing a thing comes hard.

And what more seductive means of gaining this desideratum than Daniel's? Daniel, you want to know, is a boy of nine who lives in Montclair with his bookseller-father, his mother, and his five-year-old sister Nancy. The way of Daniel's parents is to have books in the home and let Daniel discover for himself. Not an incurious child, Daniel has learned well, albeit unconsciously, that others' ways and ideas may be right.

With his large volume of Cinderella on his lap Daniel took me through the metamorphosis of a lizard into a footman by way of Arthur Rackham's silhouette illustrations. The turn of pages brought him to a black witch flying across the words in haste to transform commonplace things into wondrous ones for Cinderella's joy.

Daniel hauled out another large, illustrated book, the old French Fairy Tales retold by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Standing up behind my kneeling figure he watched over my shoulder. Here was Dulac's version—a different conception from Rackham's—but no less imaginative and beautiful. In Dulac's drawings, so fancifully lined and wistfully or weirdly tinted, Cinderella's benefactor is a lovely fairy with raiment of diaphanous hue so unlike Rackham's and the more traditional notion of the witch-like godmother. In a word, Dulac has made the witch herself bewitching. So has the author of this edition with his

### Moral

Better than wealth or art,  
Jewels or a painted face.  
It is when a natural heart,  
Inhabits its natural place,  
And beats at a natural pace.

### Another

Yet youth that is poor of purse,  
No matter how witty or handsome,  
Will find its talents no worse  
For a godmamma to advance 'em.

With their books Daniel and Nancy can wander the world. The fairy tales of England, Russia, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Flanders, Italy, and Arabia bring them into more than the supposed realm of the random and surprisingly similar fancies of writers for the nursery in different countries. This origin for the stories is an invention not borne out by such scholarly researches as Anatole France's, the fruits of which he gives us with his inimitable charm and erudition in that chapter on Fairy Tales in "My Friend's Book." The tales are the persisting fragments and variants of the primitive nature-myths and heathen poems; they deduce from the ancient gods themselves. Anatole France inclines to the belief that the resemblances are due not to the continuous interchange of ideas between the peoples concerned but rather because the narratives

come from a great original *epos* which belonged to the human family as a whole before its separation into its several parts.

But it is enough for the children that in their modern forms these fables give their imaginations free play as they have fired the talents of Kay Nielsen, Willy Pogany, Dulac, Jean de Bosschère, Rackham, Bilibin, and Harry Clarke to creative genius.

From contacts with the immemorial folk-lore of the nations the children go for knowledge of their modern life to the Twin books. With the twins they live in Iceland, Holland, France, or Sparta and learn from Lucy Fitch Perkins what to do in different lands and how and why they do it. This series is, as a whole, commendable; they are well-written volumes and appealing because they have atmosphere and excitement; their illustrations are simple outline drawings by the author.

Even so far you can see, can you not, that Daniel's and Nancy's library is perfect soil to dispel prejudice and to grow a cosmopolite? Although there is no evidence, happily, of deliberately influencing and teaching the children, their father is conscious of a purpose and significance in his children's books.

Because the attractiveness of life and books have not been spoilt for them by moralizing, the children were playing quite unconcernedly with their tracks and trains in the corner of the room. "Would you like to be an engineer?" I asked Daniel.

"No," Daniel answered without diverting his attention from his toys. Daniel didn't know he was being interviewed.

Then a visitor told the boy of an engineer who constructed plans for a bridge and became a millionaire over night!

"What's a millionaire?" Daniel looked up into her face until the reply came, "A man who has a million dollars."

"Oh," said Daniel nonchalantly, busying himself with his train curving round the track.

If you told me this I should be inclined to disbelieve it, to call it chimerical. Such divine ignorance! You call it folly? Then you have never understood nor said with Stevenson, "For God's sake, give me the young man who has brains enough to make a fool of himself!"

Librarians and booksellers tell of an ever-increasing demand for the "know-how-to," the "realistic," in short, the "useful" book for boys and girls, which did not lead me to anticipate this beatitude, this felicitous indifference and ignorance of millions of money. Yes, Daniel is impractical. He will, doubtless, pay too much for his whistle and, like Moses, in "The Vicar of Wakefield," buy green spectacles. Then he will learn that he must not altogether despise this wherewithal to purchase and that a modicum of money is needful to live and enjoy life. But his accumulation will be beyond that of the eminently sane and striving citizens in our midst who have theirs in banks and



bonds out of which the bottoms may fall. His storehouse is his mind and imagination.

There is a refreshing absence of the book-ridden child in Daniel. Indeed, neither of the children is of the chlorotic type; they're healthy, scrappy youngsters, everything you wouldn't include under the invidious term "highbrow." Daniel knows most of "Gulliver's Travels" "by heart" and he has voyaged with Stevenson and been lost with Hudson and wandered Wonderland with Alice, but he tells you about them with a spontaneity which has nothing in common with recitativeness. Nancy's favorites are the Russian Fairy Tales, Hugh Lofting's "Dr. Doolittle," and the child-poems of Walter de la Mare and Stevenson.

Criticism has been directed against our schools because although they teach the child *how* to read they do not teach him *to* read. Perhaps this is because the child cannot be taught but must be seduced? I know that this is so with Billy, who, because he is nine years old and considers himself quite a man, tries to dissuade me from reading to him from, say, Oscar Wilde's Fairy Tales. They're girl's stories, he says. But the ultimatum is: Oscar Wilde or nothing. And Billy accepts. Then the following evening he requests, a bit sheepishly but with never a suggestion of a sneer, "the same kind of story you told me last night." He not only finished and reread "Robin Hood" after an aural introduction to it but altered the manner of his speech to imitate Pyle, falling into such an incongruity as "'I'll throw mine ball to yon base,' quoth Billy." Left to his own devices Billy is not so apt to subsist on whole series of trash manufactured in poor English around mediocre adventures.

Daniel's mother tells me that she can always recognize the child who has been read to and the child who has been neglected. The children of the neighborhood frequently

are present when Daniel and Nancy are hearing stories told, but only a few of them remain. Many parents don't see the necessity for bothering to read to their children although they feed them, patiently enough, through their infancy. Is it because the latter is instinct and the former intelligence?

Nor do books need to be bowdlerized as if they were so much milk to be diluted for babes. There is, among the minority of parents concerned with whether and what their children read, a feeling tantamount to an aversion against books of battles and of fairies and outlaws and pirates and of ridiculous nonsense because of fear of corruption and uselessness. The child-mind, at once innocent and unmoral, with its double faculty of loving mystery and detail and of interpreting these literally and imaginatively, has no such reaction. The child doesn't want mere prettification; he is more apt to be like the lad of eleven who asked the librarian for "a book to make me shiver, please." For upwards of the space of an hour I watched him, seated more in air than on the chair in the children's room, fascinated by the Doré drawings to the "Ancient Mariner," drawings ghastly and terrible enough to be horror's own.

Look at the actual witnessing of natural horror and cruelty in Hudson's "Far Away and Long Ago," and yet see the sanity and sweetness of the man. There is no need for patience with over-solicitous protection of the child from life, in the activities either of its imagination or of its environment. For hasn't a boy's soul as many lives as a cat, as Robert Louis Stevenson said, adding that "those who go to the devil in youth, with anything like a fair chance, were probably little worth saving from the first. They must have been feeble fellows—creatures made of putty and pack-thread, without steel or fire, anger or true joyfulness, in their composition."

Besides, forbidding a child to read a book is certain incentive to read just that book. That's why, Daniel's mother told me, when—and if—Daniel wants to read dime detective stories, he'll get them. More than that, they'll be read aloud to him, a sure way of showing up their shoddiness. Daniel will then, no doubt, prefer Poe for detective stories and Scott for tales of robbery. For their stories are told in a style worthy of his past reading, which has been of cadenced rather than careless prose. He will prefer tales with a proportion of hardships and glories, rather than records of successes turned out by the yard like ribbon. Great books, as we know them, were not written to measure. They were written in the love of the work and in the love of the story, and their writers were poets. Daniel, with his growing knowledge of truth and beauty, is in a fair way to become a poet himself.

## To a Little Girl

YOU taught me ways of gracefulness and fashions of address,  
The mode of plucking pansies and the art of sowing cress,  
And how to handle puppies, with propitiatory pats  
For mother dogs, and little acts of courtesy to cats.

O connoisseur of pebbles, colored leaves and trickling rills,  
Whom seasons fit as do the sheaths that wrap the daffodils,  
Whose eyes' divine expectancy foretells some starry goal,  
You taught me here docility—and how to save my soul.

HELEN PARRY EDEN

*In The Home Book of Verse*





# Strauss and His Music

With Some Account of Recitals by Zimbalist and Vecsey

By Charles Henry Meltzer

IT is the duty of all critics who respect themselves to discriminate between art and the creators or interpreters of art. They should be careful not to allow mere personal issues to affect them when they voice their judgments. At times this is less easy than it seems. For critics are not saints. They are all human. And there are cases in which they must find it hard to praise the achievements of some artists who offend them.

As an example, take the case of Madame Gadschi, who reappeared some nights ago in a Wagnerian recital, which, as I hear, was well attended by the Germans and pro-Germans of New York. Another case in point is that of Richard Strauss, who is notoriously unfriendly to Americans.

In the first instance I avoided the temptation to confound art with such trifling things as decency and patriotic feeling by ignoring the recital. But Strauss is too important to be slighted. We may admire him or dislike him—I do both—but he compels attention. Though over-rated, I believe, as a composer, and not the great, outstanding figure we once thought him, he is, beyond doubt, with the possible exception say, of Schoenberg, the most skilled musician Germany has so far had to show since Wagner's day.

He gave the first of his projected concerts here on Monday of last week, when every foot of space in the vast Carnegie Hall auditorium was filled with listeners. His work, both his compositions and conducting, was applauded wildly. And, to a large extent, his triumph was deserved. As a conductor he is still one of a few. He is dignified and simple and impressive. He does not worry one with needless tricks and gestures. Each movement of his baton has a meaning. His programme was made up of his own works, and he directed the performance of those works with fine restraint; with tact and balance, and with clear authority; at moments, too, with splendid eloquence. Our own conductors might take lessons from him, not only as to how they should comport themselves as directors of orchestras, but also as to how they should interpret.

Under the leadership of its inventor, the "Don Juan" tone-poem lost much of its inherent tawdriness. It put on richness and grew more expressive than it seemed last season, when it had sounded rather hackneyed, thin, and stale. The weak spots in the score were hidden, and some passages were lent real poetry. But, as might have been prophesied, it was in his rendering of "Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks" that Strauss did best. The composer has himself some of the attributes of the quaint rogue who inspired the work—a rogue who is supposed to "have recognized his faults as an ape or owl does when he views himself in a mirror." Till's pranks and jests are household words to Germans. They are suggested in the score with genuine skill. The music is informed with wit and irony. And these were brought out most effectively at many points by the conductor and his thoroughly trained followers.

Till flourished in the fourteenth century; and, if the legend woven round him may be trusted, was sentenced to the gallows but escaped. Strauss, taking liberties, suggests in his tone-poem that Till perished. His rogue is hanged, and, after his demise, we get an epilogue—Strauss has evolved some more pretentious works. But his "Till Eulenspiegel" seems to some of us his most successful and delightful effort.

To complete his programme, Strauss gave a performance of his "Domestic Symphony" devoted, in a disrespectful mood, to the trite incidents of daily family life.

Besides his orchestral concerts, during his short stay in the United States Strauss is to favor us with a series of recitals at which he will have, as an interpreter, Elena Gerhardt, and a new soprano whom he has brought from Germany, Elisabeth Schumann. It may be hoped that when he leaves these uncultured shores—with many dollars—he will refrain, at least for the next year or two, from insults to Americans. It may be hoped, too, that his admirers in this country will let us look on him, while he remains with us, not as a German superman (which he is not), but as an artist who in his own way and field can claim a hearing, just as Vincent d'Indy claims one.

And talking of recitals, among others we had one by Efrem Zimbalist. The programme—not the best he could have chosen—included Sinding's showy and exacting Suite (presto, adagio and tempo giusto) in A minor; Schelling's Concerto (bristling with technical difficulties in two of the three movements); and the performer's Phantasy on the "Coq d'Or" of Rimsky-Korsakoff. Mr. Zimbalist did very well indeed in his legato work, and not so well in certain brilliant episodes. His tone was now and then the least bit scratchy.

To be less than nearly perfect as a soloist on the concert boards to-day is to brave failure. We have been spoiled by hearing countless great interpreters. And now we turn away from virtuosi who, in a simpler time than ours, would have been hailed as marvels. Before last week six violinists of high rank might have contented us. To these we may now add a gifted seventh. In Ferenc Vecsey we have heard a violinist who, in five years or so, may rival even Kreisler. Some may remember him as a boy prodigy, who appeared here with success under the management of Mr. Daniel Frohman. Since then, and until lately, he has studied hard. His reappearance, after many years, at Carnegie Hall the other day was an event of real importance. He is still young and rather lacking in expressive power. But he has merits of a quite unusual kind. Among them I name first his lovely tone and next his most remarkable facility. He plays with finish and with charming taste. His *pianissimi* astonish and delight one. His trills are flawless and though once or twice his high notes sounded slightly flat or sharp, his intonation as a rule was very true. As I have hinted, he has not yet the ability to interpret feeling of a deep or poignant kind. But give him time, and life itself will teach him much. To express deep feeling one must have lived much, perhaps, and loved much. One must, above all, have known suffering and sorrow.

The works which Mr. Vecsey played did not call for emotional profundity—a well-worn Bach Chaconne and the Concerto in D minor of Vieuxtemps. His programme seemed to me extremely dull, and there was little besides imitative art in three Caprices of his own ("The Cascade," "The Wind," and a "Staccato") to lend it brightness.

At the first concert of the season the reorganized Philharmonic Orchestra performed nothing new. Since last spring the most venerable of our Symphony organizations has been strengthened (or at all events enlarged) by the absorption of some members of what was, for a short time, the National Symphony. It is too soon yet to say much in detail of the remodelled orchestra, which will this year have less to fight against than formerly. The conductors of the Philharmonic will again be Mr. Stransky and Mr. Hadley, with Mr. Mengelberg as an illustrious guest conductor and Mr. Bodanzky to direct some extra concerts at the Metropolitan.





# EDITORIAL



## The Great Conference

UPON the outcome of the great international gathering at Washington are centered hopes and fears to which no limit can be assigned. Although nobody has the slightest expectation that its labors will result in a definitive solution of the world's greatest problem—the prevention of war—yet it is felt, and justly felt, that a clear and substantial step towards that end must be made if the Conference is not to be a melancholy and disgraceful failure.

To the success of the Conference two things are equally essential. There must be a profound realization of the high end to which the Conference is dedicated; and there must be a sober recognition of the fact that the utmost practical sagacity in dealing with conditions as they exist is an indispensable means to the attainment of that end. High purpose without practical sagacity will not suffice to show the way in which any of the great obstacles with which the Conference will have to grapple can be removed; and on the other hand, practical sagacity without high purpose will not suffice to supply the driving power which is necessary actually to effect their removal.

Upon the people of the United States, as represented in their press and in their public men, rests a duty incomparably less difficult than that which rests upon the members of the Conference, and yet comparable with it in importance. Not only is the Conference held at our national capital, but its inception at the hands of our President necessarily makes its success or failure dependent chiefly upon the stamp put upon it by the actions and the attitude of the representatives of our Government. Those actions and that attitude cannot fail to be influenced by the spirit which is shown, or which seems to be shown, by the American people. And it should be clear, we think, to all right-minded men what ought to be the character, and what the limits, of that influence. Every one of us ought, so far as in him lies, to strengthen the feeling that the American people are counting on the Conference to achieve what all the world will recognize as a great service to the cause of peace. And along with this devotion to the great end should go a proper modesty as to the means. We must assume—and for this assumption there is solid ground—that the President and the American delegates are sincerely devoted to that purpose; and, unless substantial evidence appears to the contrary, we must assume that they are going about that purpose in the best way which is open under the circumstances.

Of the broadest aspects of the Conference, there are two which, at this opening stage, should be present in the minds of all of us. In the first place, it should be recognized that there are two great reasons why the endeavor to place the situation in the Far East on a footing favorable to permanent peace is of more fundamental importance than the endeavor to effect an

agreement for the limitation of armaments. The first reason is that persistent causes of international discontent or enmity are almost sure in the end to break through any barriers which an agreement to limit armaments may set up; the second is that even if the limits are strictly observed, the stupendous development of new agencies of destruction which are quite independent of armament may make the limitations futile in their practical effect. This is not to say that limitation of armaments is not important; on the contrary it is of tremendous importance both in its saving of frightful economic waste and in its moral effect. But the removal of underlying causes of strife is of still more vital importance.

The second aspect which we have in mind has reference to our new realization of what any future great war must mean. The war which laid Europe waste during four terrible years surpassed in horror and destructiveness anything that the world had theretofore imagined; but, incredible as it would have seemed in advance, it is nevertheless a fact that the three years that have since passed have opened up vistas of destruction in any future world war so appalling as to make even the experiences that we have undergone seem trifling in comparison. Let us hope that the members of the Conference will not for a moment lose sight of the awful significance of this fact; that whenever any danger of failure may loom up they shall be braced in their determination to overcome it by a consciousness of the stupendous stake which mankind has in the result; and that, armed at once with a high purpose to succeed and a profound sense of the awful consequences which would be invited by failure, they will rise superior to all difficulties and make the Washington Conference of 1921 an event ever memorable in the annals of mankind.

## Prime Factors at Washington

*To ease the strong of their burden;  
To help the weak in their need.*

THESE words of Rudyard Kipling might well serve as the motto of the momentous Conference that begins this week at Washington. To the little group of distinguished statesmen gathered there, representing great nations, myriads look with eager hope, praying that their efforts to lift heavy burdens and dispel corroding fears may be crowned with success. The conditions surrounding the Conference are propitious. The fierce passions bred of war have somewhat abated, while its aftermath of ruin and despair is more clearly realized. More important still, the Conference has not met to find a panacea for all the troubles that vex the world, but to make a practical beginning in solving those near at hand.

During the past two months we have endeavored to analyze basically the problems implied in the agenda of the Conference, problems upon the solution of which



hangs its success or failure. At the same time we have sought to suggest lines of constructive policy calculated to meet these problems. Now that the Conference is about to begin its work and the eyes of all are upon it, we regard as useful and timely a review of the situation that confronts it and a brief survey of the issues involved.

The main purpose of the Conference is to call a halt in the ruinous race in competitive armament, especially naval armament. To achieve this purpose it is necessary to remove the causes of competitive armament. No one but a fool would suggest disarmament as a cure for the conflicts of interest that give rise to it. If these conflicts are not harmonized, the war that would sooner or later ensue would be all the more terrible and costly because of disarmament. Today but three navies survive, the British, the American, and the Japanese. They are concerned with but one ocean, the Pacific. Therefore any limitation or reduction of naval armament must depend upon a satisfactory settlement of the respective interests of these three nations in the Pacific and the Far East. This is the real work of the Conference.

We maintain that the prime requisites for success in this work are mutual confidence and the acceptance of the principle of justice rather than bargaining as the basis of settlements. We appeal therefore to the press not to endanger the work of the Conference by arousing unwarranted suspicions or stimulating national animosities. We also appeal to the public not to hamper or compromise the efforts of our own delegates by a wave of hysterical disarmament emotion. This is neither a revival meeting nor a poker game; it is rather a council of insurance experts called to examine risks, eliminate hazards, and reduce rates. Remember that there is no one in the whole of our country more anxious to succeed in attaining the objects of the Conference than the men who represent us there, and few if any better fitted to do so.

The backbone of the Conference, the only sure foundation upon which to build a lasting settlement and assure relief from the increasing burden of naval armament, is an Anglo-American entente. We believe this exists; if it does not, the outlook is dark. There is in existence an Anglo-Japanese alliance, the chief reasons for which disappeared with the defeat of Germany and the collapse of Russia. There are business interests in England and the Far East that would continue to utilize it for the division of the spoils of China between the two countries; Japan intimates that it protects Britain in India. But there is abundant evidence that the statesmen of England and of the Dominions now see the danger of a compact that would first serve Japanese imperialism only to lead to a Japanese hegemony in Asia that would threaten the British Empire. Common language and traditions, common interests, and above all, common ideals of justice and public welfare, all make for a working entente to avert this danger, while not in any way infringing the legitimate interests of Japan.

Have we a quarrel with Japan, and if so can it be composed? The belief that there is a conflict is primarily responsible for the present competition in navy building. If Japan should stop her navy construction tomorrow, America would stop also. As a matter of fact, neither country could hope to carry on offensive

war against the other across thousands of miles of ocean, unless perchance new discoveries in air and chemical warfare should make it possible. Where then the danger? America has rights and interests in the Pacific which other nations are bound to respect. Japan occupies an almost invulnerable strategic position and seems inclined to take advantage of this, under the plea of economic necessity, to satisfy imperialistic ambitions which conflict with our rights and interests. The field primarily is China, but the control of the Pacific is involved. While the need of the Japanese population for room in which to expand is doubtless exaggerated—since the Japanese do not willingly emigrate to the regions concerned—and while we see no reason why for the obtaining of food stuffs and raw materials she should require occupation or annexation of territory, good sense and consideration of practical realities demand that we do not attempt to interfere with Japan in certain rights and privileges already acquired. We are not called upon to be knights-errant in the defense of China, certainly not unless we are prepared to go to the limit of war in protecting her. We can demand that hereafter the doctrine of the open door be strictly observed and China's integrity be respected. At the same time we must view sympathetically Japan's special problem and avoid offending her national dignity.

China is a great mystery. There are within her limits four hundred million industrious, pacific people, crystallized in tradition. Like bubbles on the surface are two rival Governments and many independent bands following rival leaders. The situation is ripe for a universal Boxer outbreak. It would be easy to precipitate the general militarization of China, the prospect of which is appalling. The only way out seems to be for the nations together to aid *some* Chinese government to restore order and then assist the Chinese in their own economic development, turning their energy and keen ability into peaceful channels. This can not be done unless all are willing for the future to forgo claims to special privilege and exclusive spheres of influence.

A lasting settlement of Far Eastern problems can not be made without due regard for the rights and interests of Russia. Siberia, with a vigorous and progressive white population of eleven millions, of whom a million and a half inhabit the eastern portion, is white man's Asia, a link in the chain of white civilization around the world. Japan now holds her Pacific border and seems inclined to evacuate only on condition of the retention of economic domination. It is inconceivable that this white population should be subjected to yellow control or its outlet to the sea be cut off. A restored Russia securely planted on the Pacific will set at naught the strategic naval superiority which Japan owes to vast intervening stretches of water, and is the one sure guarantee for the preservation of China. Secretary Hughes's declaration that the Conference as a whole must assume a moral trusteeship for the rights and legitimate interests of Russia during the period of her disability gives assurance that this point, perhaps the crux of the whole negotiation, will not be overlooked.

These, in brief, are the essential and outstanding issues before the Conference. Their settlement depends upon the establishment of certain broad prin-



ciples, an end to be achieved only by frank and confidential discussion in the Conference. Once practical agreement has been reached on these questions, and we believe it can be reached, it will not be difficult to work out a programme of naval retrenchment and limitation in which all will concur.

Gentlemen of the Conference, we greet you. We invoke God's blessing upon your labors. We are confident that you will not disappoint the high hopes with which good men everywhere are awaiting the outcome of your efforts.

## American Diplomacy Justified

IT is the fashion in some quarters to speak slightly of American diplomacy and to draw unflattering comparisons between our State Department's conduct of foreign relations and policy and that of certain other Governments, notably Great Britain. According to these critics we are sadly handicapped by ignorance and naiveté and are therefore easy marks for our astute and experienced rivals. It must be admitted that America did not shine in the peace negotiations at Paris, but this was the result of the personal diplomacy of President Wilson and is not to be charged against the State Department, which he disregarded and overrode. That the above characterization of our foreign policy and its makers is far from just is strikingly shown by the recent history of our policy toward Russia.

When on August 10, 1920, Secretary Colby addressed to the Italian Ambassador a letter containing a comprehensive statement of the attitude of our Government toward Russia and the Soviet Government, the policy announced was sharply attacked both by the "liberal" journals of opinion and in certain financial and business circles. It was asserted that this policy was not "realistic"; that in laying too much emphasis on the moral aspect of dealings with the Soviet Government, the ethical character of which did not concern us, we were simply playing into the hands of Great Britain and other commercial rivals, who would straightway take advantage of our stupid simplicity to monopolize the golden opportunities of Russian trade which we were closing to ourselves. It was further noted as particularly stupid that this declaration was made at the very time when the Red armies were at the doors of Warsaw and Soviet triumph seemed complete.

The outstanding point in the epoch-making Colby statement was that it was not possible to recognize the present rulers of Russia as "a Government with which the relations common to friendly Governments can be maintained" because "the existing régime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith" and that "the responsible leaders of the régime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign Powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements." The note further stated that, through the Third International, with which it was inextricably bound up, and which it was heavily subsidizing, the Soviet Government was promoting its openly avowed aim of Bolshevik revolutions throughout the world, and "inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevik Government would become a channel for in-

trigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened Governments can not subject themselves." In conclusion the note refers to the inevitable arrival of the time when the reason and self-respect of the Russian people would address a challenge to "a social philosophy which degrades them and a tyranny which oppresses them."

The policy announced by Secretary Colby, and since reiterated and amplified by Secretary Hughes, was based on knowledge of the facts and a painstaking examination of evidence. Great Britain had equal opportunity to ascertain these facts, yet the British Government deliberately proceeded to conclude a trade agreement with the Soviet Government, an agreement interpreted in the British High Court of Appeals as *de facto* recognition. It is therefore extremely interesting to read, more than a year after our own enlightened announcement, not only the confession of Sir Robert Horne, who conducted the negotiations with Krasin, that the trade agreement was a farce and worthless, but the admission of the London *Times* editorially that the British policy was materially disadvantageous and morally wrong. In sentences that burn, this editorial brings home to the British Government the blunders of its Russian policy, and each charge recalls to mind a corresponding statement in the Colby note. The parallelism is extraordinary—had the British authorities adopted its wise attitude they would have been spared the humiliation of their present position. As the London *Times* says, "the policy expressed in the Trade Agreement has shown itself to be unprofitable, humiliating, and increasingly dangerous," it "affords no protection whatever against subversive propaganda in various and perilous forms," and "we are deprived by the Trade Agreement of the power of expressing the moral indignation to which this country would surely give utterance were it not confused and embarrassed by its Government, against the abominations that are now being committed by the Bolsheviks in this the darkest hour of the Russian tragedy, against the renewal of the worst forms of terror, and against the cynical defiance of the opinion of all civilized countries." As to British policy, "it is time to replace it by measures that will display, with some greater regard for our self-respect, the difference between England as the representative of ordered liberty and that Bolshevik tyranny which has ruined and degraded Russia, and is now trampling upon her unspeakable misery."

All of which tends to show that sound moral principle applied to ascertained facts forms the best basis for enlightened foreign policy, and that the American people need not be ashamed of the showing of their own State Department in comparison with the Foreign Offices of other countries.

## Good Roads and Green Whiskers

JULIUS CÆSAR built some good roads. We marvel how good they must have been when we find remains of them to-day. If he had had mastodons, instead of oxen, horses and elephants, to draw his supply wagons, or if he had tried to carry a whole legion on one wagon, his road would have been reduced to powder.



Even our railways keep some proportion between strength of rails and weight of rolling stock. But as to roads. First we built flimsy highways that were mussed up by every rain storm. Later came better roads that were just right to be roughed and fluted and plaited into ridges by the passing flivver. Now we have stripped to the waist and built trucks as big as a house to destroy those good roads. Rule:—Always make your vehicles heavy enough to destroy the best roads you can build. Then you will soon be back where you started, with no decent roads at all. Motto for Highway Commissions:

For I was thinking of a plan  
To dye one's whiskers green  
And always use so large a fan  
That they could not be seen.

Is there any reason why the roads, made for the use and enjoyment of the whole people, and paid for by the people, should be destroyed because a few firms make a *little* more money by using trucks of quite monstrous size and weight?

## A Blatherskite Senator

WHEN a blatherskite like Senator Watson of Georgia sets out on one of his sensational performances, he counts on the short memory and good nature of the American people for escape from the just consequences of exposure. In his speech on Monday, October 31, he made charges of wholesale atrocities of the most monstrous kind perpetrated by American officers in France upon the soldiers under their command. He threatens to keep this tale before the American people by further harangues, and by the parading of so-called evidence, on the floor of the Senate. What he does not want is the sifting of this so-called evidence by a responsible committee; his plea being partly that the witnesses would be in danger of persecution by the army authorities and partly that the delay and secrecy attending a committee investigation would prevent that publicity which the facts ought to have.

But a way must be found to hold this man responsible for the charges that he made, and not allow him to take refuge in a jungle of charges wholly different. The outstanding passage in his speech was this:

How many Senators know that a private soldier was frequently shot by his officers because of some complaint against insolence; and that they had gallows upon which men were hanged, day after day, without court-martial or any other form of trial? How many Senators know that? I had and have the photograph of one of those gallows upon which twenty-one white boys had already been executed at sunrise when the photograph was taken, and there were others waiting in the camp jails to be hanged morning after morning.

If this is true, Mr. Watson was justified in taking any method, however spectacular, to bring it before the country; but if it is false, he is a scoundrel unfit to sit in the Senate of the United States, and that body owes it to its own honor, and to the honor of the country, to expel him. Make Watson prove his charge, or brand him as a person with whom decent men cannot be asked to associate. It does not matter whether he knew the thing to be a lie or not. Unless a man be an idiot, and Watson is not that, he cannot accept and sponsor a tale so wildly improbable—a tale which could not, upon any reasonable supposition, have been kept from the public all this time—except upon evidence of the most

extraordinarily convincing character. To thrust it upon the country and the world and vouch for its truth, without such evidence, is an act for which the term infamous is far too mild a designation. Let this thing be probed to the bottom. If Watson's charges are true, let all those guilty of the outrages he alleges be punished with relentless severity; but if they are false, let Watson himself be put in the pillory in such a way that other blatherskites will not soon forget the warning.

## Exit Townley and His Soviet

LENIN is having troubles of his own in Moscow but he must have experienced a pang of sympathetic regret when the radio flashed the sad news that a recall election in North Dakota had overturned the promising—much promising—young Soviet there and cut short the career of his faithful congeners. And with regret doubtless was mingled apprehension, for he also may have to face a recall and the recall in Moscow will not be a pink tea.

The Non-Partisan experiment in North Dakota was a much milder performance than its prototype in Russia but it had many points of similarity. The farmers of North Dakota had real grievances. In the matter of marketing their crops, insurance, banking facilities, and the like they felt themselves at the mercy of the elevator men, commission merchants, and bankers of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Chicago. Working on these grievances Townley and a corps of glib-talking adventurers came into the State and quite carried the people off their feet with pictures of a sort of State Socialism that would save them from their oppressors and bring them Utopia. So the Soviet was set up and the precious gang started to carry out the socialistic programme. How it worked is now a matter of history. All the various State institutions, the State Bank, elevators, mills, hail insurance, and so on, collapsed from graft and incompetence and left the farmers groaning under a burden of debt. Like their Muscovite brethren the Non-Partisan Leaguers ruled with a high hand, controlled the press, and resorted to corruption, coercion, and chicanery, but the people finally found them out, rose in their anger, and overturned them by means of the very weapon, the recall, that they themselves had introduced for their own purposes.

The lesson is clear. The North Dakota farmers, like all farmers, are a sturdy lot of individualists. To them Socialism is something utterly foreign. They were fooled for a brief space by the blandishments of the glib agitators and the taking garb under which the socialistic schemes were concealed. But when they saw it for what it was; when they experienced its tyranny, incompetence, and corruption and found themselves at the mercy of a band of unscrupulous adventurers, they turned and drove it out of power. This does not mean that they have given up hope of running State-owned enterprises or are entirely disillusioned with other "progressive" measures, but the Soviet is down and out.

Another thing is clear. Townley, Frazier, and the rest were entirely too squeamish. In Moscow they do these things better. The hangman's noose and the firing squad are the proper means to keep in the saddle when you really start out seriously to build a Utopia of brotherly love and mutual helpfulness.



# The Story of the Week

## The Week at Home

### Some Statistics

SENATOR SWANSON in a speech the other day gave out the following statistics: "Prior to the World War England expended in taxes 9 per cent of her annual earnings, now she expends 22 per cent; prior to the World War France spent in taxes 16 per cent of her annual earnings, now she expends 40 per cent; prior to the World War Italy expended in taxes 13 per cent of her annual earnings, now she expends 30 per cent; prior to the World War Germany expended in taxes 8 per cent of her annual earnings, now she expends 23 per cent." We ourselves expend, he says, 10 per cent of our annual earnings (the latter being approximately \$50,000,000,000) in taxes; more than three times the pre-war percentage. The Senator also made the statement, often made but always striking, that 93 per cent. of our Federal expenditures are for past wars or in preparation against future war, 38 per cent. going for current army and navy expenses. But for such expenses for wars past or apprehended, declares the Senator, our tobacco revenues would cover Federal necessities. If the Senator's statistics are correct, *ergo, ergo* . . . Well, *ergo*, among other things, Germany at any rate should not "squeal," her plight being compared with that of France and that of Italy. But statistics are so illusory; to ascertain precisely the incidence of taxation, one should know in each case the total amount of earnings.

### Equality

The following bit of dialogue from Lucian sets forth to a T the spurious ideal of equality gaining ground among us much as de Tocqueville predicted it would. Thersites, in life hideous and always snarling at his betters, is now a dead 'un in Hades. He is disputing with Nireus, in life the comeliest of the Achæans, now an anatomy, as to which is the handsomer. They appeal to Menippus the Cynic.

*Nireus:* Am I not handsomer, Menippus?

*Menippus:* You are not handsome at all, nor any one else either. Hades is a democracy; one man is as good as another here.

*Thersites:* And a very tolerable arrangement, too, if you ask me.

That is it. Reduce all to a dead level, Thersites' level; the result will be very satisfactory—to Thersites.

Speaking of de Tocqueville, why is it that his *Démocratie en Amérique* is not more read? We know it is not much read, for we have made diligent inquiry among our acquaintance. It ranks with Aristotle's *Politics* and Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* as one of the supreme philosophical treatises on politics (in the wider sense of the word); it is incomparably the most valuable appreciation and interpretation of our national genius and tendencies; had it been widely read and considered from the time of its appearance (1835-40), our worst national blunders and disasters might have been mitigated if not averted. It has proved uncannily prophetic. We would have it and Mill's *Essays on Representative Government* and *Liberty* the chief textbooks of that School for Legislators we hope to see established in Washington (no non-graduate to be allowed to sit in Congress). Not the least of our debts to France is upon the account of de Tocqueville's book about us; to that France to whom we owe our independence and whose ideas and culture have entered more largely into our making than we are apt to acknowledge.

Lucian of Samosata (in Mesopotamia), that amazing Semite of Greek culture, was a greater genius than de Tocqueville. From him as well as from the immortal Frenchman we can learn much concerning the good and the bad in democracies and concerning false notions of "equality."

### An Injunction and a Strike

Judge Anderson of the Federal District Court at Indianapolis issued an injunction forbidding the United Mine Workers of America to attempt to unionize the West Virginia coal field where such serious disorders occurred recently. He enjoined also what is known as the "check-off" system, i. e., collection of union dues by the operators, who, under this system, have deducted the dues from the miners' wages and turned them over to union officials. Twenty-five thousand bituminous coal miners have struck in protest; 350,000 more throughout the country may strike.

### The Sacco-Vanzetti Affair

The Communists of Havana join in the world Communist denunciation of "the American bourgeoisie" in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, threatening the life of General Crowder should either of these Red saints be executed.

The American Consul at Lisbon escapes death from a bomb placed in front of his door, by vigorously kicking the obstruction. The precious interval was just enough. A note discovered nearby declared the bomb a protest on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. But, this vivid instance apart, Communist agitation in Europe over the two Italian murderers seems to have somewhat subsided.

### Senator Watson's Charges

We are pleased to note that the Senate has voted a thorough investigation of the charges made by Senator Watson of Georgia concerning the conduct of our officers in France. We confidently expect that the Senator will be required to eat his words.

## The British Empire

### The British Imperial Census

PRELIMINARY reports of the 1921 census of the British Empire give the following figures (we disregard smaller numerals): England and Wales, 37,900,000 (an increase in the last decade of only 1,800,000); Scotland, 4,900,000 (an increase of only 121,000); India, 319,000,000; the Union of South Africa (exclusive of aborigines), 1,521,000; Australia (exclusive of aborigines), 5,426,000; New Zealand (exclusive of aborigines), 1,218,000. For obvious reasons a census of Ireland was not taken. In Great Britain the females outnumber the males by 1,721,000. The corresponding figure for 1911 was 1,180,000; the war may account mostly for the difference.

### A National Loss

The Duke of Westminster has sold to the Duveens Gainsborough's "Blue Boy" (or "Master Buttall") and Reynolds's "Mrs. Siddons and the Tragic Muse"; the Gainsborough for £170,000 and the Reynolds for £30,000.

Why should the richest peer of Britain part with these glories of British art? To pay his taxes. The pressure of taxation on the rich of Britain since the war is by this instance seen to be a terrible thing. The two pictures will be



brought to America and doubtless sold to some American millionaire or millionaires. We do not rejoice thereat. England is grieved and humiliated, and the satisfaction to America is limited and plutocratic. We think that the great masterpieces of art should remain in or be returned to the countries of whose genius they are the most genuine and the fairest record. Dresden is no place for the most beautiful of Italian Madonnas, nor New York or Chicago for "Master Buttaf" or "Mrs. Siddons." The case is somewhat different with the Hellenic masterpieces, for intellectual and artistic England and France are more Hellenic in spirit than is modern Greece, where the Hellenic strain has been pretty well bred out.

We hope some American millionaire will buy "Blue Boy" and "Mrs. Siddons" and present them to the National Gallery in London; or, if that is asking too much, to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. If the latter, he should build (and endow) an English hostel in the park adjacent, for the entertainment of British pilgrims; no doubt the New York aldermen would vote the ground.

### The Irish Situation

By the extraordinary vote of 439 to 43 the House of Commons on the 24th expressed approval of Lloyd George's Irish policy and his proposal to continue the negotiations, after the Premier had drawn a picture of the long-drawn-out horrors of the sort of guerrilla warfare which would be required to subdue Ireland. He pleaded for exhaustion of every effort toward an "honorable peace" before invoking Mars.

What is going on behind the doors closed on the Irish conference? One may infer what he pleases from the fact that Lloyd George canceled his booking on the *Aquitania*, which sailed for New York on the 5th. Every one must regret his absence from the opening of the great Conference, hoping he may join later. And we trust that his attendance, even if delayed, may signify that the Irish question has at last been amicably settled.



International

Poilu scattering seeds in No-Man's Land

## Germany

### Latest Developments

NOTHING startling has happened in Germany since Wirth's resumption of the premiership and the Reichstag's acceptance of the Upper Silesian award. Wirth seems to be gaining strength. He has announced that he sticks to his "policy of fulfillment" (of the London programme) up to the very limit of the country's capacity to pay, though he of course declares that that capacity has been sadly prejudiced by the Upper Silesia award. It is good news that Rathenau will probably return to the Cabinet as Minister of Reconstruction. The Government obtained from the Reparations Commission permission to postpone payment of the next reparation installment (500,000,000 gold marks) from November 15 to December 1, promising to have the money by the latter date through a loan from the industrial magnates.

### A Speculation

The press of late has been full of rumors and gossip about Bavaria; about the new Premier, the present status of the reaction, the separatist tendencies, etc. The new Premier gives the impression of amiability and moderation. He made a compromise with Chancellor Wirth. He says he has ended the "state of siege" (by which expression is meant the system by which all non-reactionary elements have been kept down—excluded from a share in Government, silenced, etc.). If a tolerant conservatism has been substituted for the violent reactionism of von Kahr, and Bavaria is no longer to be a headquarters for the reactionary extremists, that is excellent. But we must wait a little to be certain. Count Lerchenfeld, the new Premier, is amiable, to be sure, but somewhat non-committal. He is for maintenance of order (but by what means?) and for "absolute fidelity to the German nation" (a statement sufficiently ambiguous). Except for a new Premier and a new Minister of Justice, the new Bavarian Cabinet does not differ from the old.

There doubtless are strong separatist tendencies in Bavaria; but how strong, how well defined, nobody knows. If Bavaria could be insured against Prussian domination of the *Reich*, separatist agitation would probably cease. But Prussia threatens to dominate as effectively as a part of the Republic as formerly under the Hohenzollern. Therefore the idea of a German Catholic State to include at least Bavaria and Austria, with a Wittelsbach as King (Magyar Hungary perhaps to join later), is very alluring. France, perhaps even Britain, might not be unfriendly to such a development. There is the alternative of admission of Austria to the German *Reich*, and consequent formation of a Catholic *bloc* within the *Reich* strong enough to effectively check Prussian domination. But such a development the Allies will not tolerate for the present. This much is certain: that Bavaria will violently struggle to preserve her recovered individuality.

Had Clemenceau been a prophet, he would probably have bestirred himself for dismemberment of the *Reich*. He refrained in the hope of larger reparation payments from a united Germany. Many wise heads think that hope will prove fallacious. Perhaps as large a reparation sum might be procurable from a dismembered Germany as from a united Germany dominated as much as ever by Prussia; besides the inestimable boon of security to France. The above is only a speculation; in no sense an argument for dismemberment of Germany.

### The Hungarian Business

CHARLES of Hapsburg and his wife Zita are now at Galatz in Rumania (conveyed thither in a British gunboat), awaiting orders from the Council of Ambassadors. Charles will not oblige and save trouble all around



by abdicating. The Hungarian National Assembly is now debating a bill submitted by the Regent Horthy, which proposes to bar the Hapsburgs forever from the Hungarian throne. The opposition, led by Apponyi, is fierce; but with the Czechoslovaks and the Jugoslavs mobilized on the borders, and the Allies showing unwonted firmness, the Assembly can hardly be so mad as to vote down the bill. The Governments of the Little Entente have, with commendable restraint, submitted themselves to the direction of the Council of Ambassadors; which has promised speedy disarmament of Hungary in strict fulfillment of the Trianon Treaty, and has also promised to duly consider the claims of these powers for reimbursement of the sums expended on two mobilizations because of Charles's escapade.

The bill declares indefinite postponement of the election of a new king. It is difficult to find a man for that job at once acceptable to the Allies, to the Little Entente, and to Hungary, and willing to accept. A German prince, alas, is out of the question. It is said the Hungarians favor a British or a Belgian prince; but none of 'em, we are assured, would accept. There is Horthy, of course; but the opposition to him is growing hourly more numerous and bitter. We suggest one of the Ch'ing (Manchu) princes; the Hungarians, you know, are Mongoloids of sorts.

It is rumored that one of the Madeiras has been chosen for the honor of receiving Charles and Zita as permanent guests. The exiles might fare much worse. The scenery and climate are fine; fish, fruit, and vegetables are abundant; the natives are amiable and picturesque; the wine is justly famous. If Charles should drown himself in a butt of Malmsey, we should record the fact without excessive emotion. [A report just come in states that the still royal pair are already *en voyage* to Madeira.]

## The Strange Case of King Alexander

AT last Alexander, the new King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, has returned from Paris to Belgrade, to be crowned and to assume his royal functions. It will be recalled how at the time of King Peter's death Alexander was reported stricken with appendicitis in Paris, and so unable to attend his father's funeral. That was many weeks ago; an old story. Lady Rumor was delighted to have such a subject as Alexander. If the Belgrade Government would settle a competency on Alexander, he would abdicate, said Lady Rumor; if for no other reason, because he saw his kingdom moving swiftly toward transformation to a republic. The bombs hurled at him several months ago in Belgrade took away his stomach for kinging it, said Lady Rumor; "in fact," whispered that busy little person, "I suspect the gentleman's ailment isn't appendicitis, but a bomb-wound in the stomach." And of course Lady Rumor could not forgo a spice of romance. She hinted the inevitable Parisian witch. About three weeks ago, Mr. Pachitch, the Premier of Alexander's kingdom, arrived in Paris, and day and night thereafter he was closeted with King Alexander. Then, you may be sure, Lady Rumor's thousand tongues clacked as never before. With all due respect to that very interesting lady, we form our opinion of the matter quite independently of her. We suspect that Mr. Pachitch was pleading with Alexander not to abdicate.

Well, Alexander is not to be denounced as lily-livered because he delayed to return to Belgrade; nor even had he abdicated would he deserve such denunciation. During the war he comported himself bravely and honorably as regent. Does he not deserve a life henceforth free of apprehension of the bomb or the dagger? Not only are communist bombs to be feared in Belgrade, but 'tis said the Obrenoviches have not renounced thoughts of vengeance. It will be recalled that Alexander's father, Peter Karageorgevich, mounted the Serbian throne upon the assassination of the Obrenovich Alexander, in 1903. [It is now generally admitted, how-

ever, that Peter had no connection with that crime.] There's no fun in being a king anywhere these days; perhaps least of all in Belgrade.

## Soviet Russia

### A Distress Signal

CHICHERIN, the Bolshevik Foreign Commissar, announces that "the Russian Government is prepared to recognize its obligations to other States and their citizens on Government loans concluded by the Tsarist Government up to 1914, on condition of being granted privileged terms giving it a practical chance to fulfill these obligations," and "provided the great Powers conclude with it final universal peace and its Government is recognized by the other Powers." He proposes an immediate international conference, to solve the questions involved and to "work out a peace treaty."

Lord Curzon, in a very sarcastic note of reply for Britain, says among other things:

His Majesty's Government wish to know whether recognition of other classes of obligations—e. g., loans to the Tsarist Government since 1914, municipal and railway loans, and claims by foreign owners of property in Russia confiscated or destroyed by the Soviet Government—also corresponds with the intentions of the Soviet Government at the moment, and they invite that Government explicitly to define their attitude in regard to all such other classes of claims.

The French press is contemptuous and hostile to the proposition, which seems like a frantic signal from a ship in distress.

### The Causes of the Russian Famine

Paul Miliukov is with us again, giving a course of Lowell Institute lectures in Boston; in duplicate, for all Boston wishes to hear him. He says:

Let it be clearly remembered that the famine in Russia has been caused not alone by the general breakdown of production, which was inevitable under communism, but also that it has been aggravated in a very direct sense by measures adopted by Lenin's Government. When Moscow became aware of the hopelessness of securing money-taxes even distantly commensurate with the immense expenses of running the Government, in view of the depreciation of the currency, its next step was to decree the collection of taxes in goods. From that moment the famine of 1921 was a foregone conclusion. The peasants, unwilling to grow a surplus of wheat only to see it confiscated by the Government, at once greatly reduced the acreage seeded. In the autumn of 1920 it was but two-thirds of what it was before; in the past year it has sunk to one-half of its former extent.

The above statement should be weighed in connection with Colonel Haskell's statement quoted by us two weeks ago: that, "whatever has been requisitioned by the Soviet Government or Red and White armies, there would have been nothing in the nature of serious starvation danger had not the drought occurred."

Both Colonel Haskell and Miliukov are honest men and there is probably little to choose between the opportunities of the two for ascertaining the truth of the matter considered, nor may we believe that either of the two is coloring his statement for politic or other reasons. Which of the two, then, is right?

## China

### The Chinese Delegation

MR. BULLARD has stated in the *New York Times* that the Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference "will not in any true sense represent the vast mass of the Chinese; they will be the agents of the clique now in control at Peking." Happily (if our information is correct) Mr. Bullard is mistaken. There may be members of the Peking Government who have compromised themselves by huggermugger dealings with Japan; but the Government has a wholesome fear of public opinion (vividly demon-



strated by its holding out against a dual negotiation upon Shantung, against the menacing urgency of Tokyo). With Celestial cunning or true wisdom (whichever you please) it devolved upon a commission (quite above suspicion, we understand, of Japanese "orientation") the task of selecting the delegates for Washington. The result is a group of patriotic men as fairly qualified as any conceivable group to represent China as a whole. And here is a significant thing. Three of the chief delegates are, we believe, Cantonese by birth, and one of them is the son of Dr. Wu Ting-fang, Foreign Minister of the Canton Republic.

#### Sun Yat-sen Rebuffed

Some weeks ago we noted a report that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, President of the Canton Republic, had started north with a numerous army with Peking as his objective. We expressed a doubt of the wisdom of such an enterprise. Apparently General Chen Chung-ming, Governor of Kwang-tung province (in which Canton is situated), felt the same way, for he refused his backing. So the campaign is off; in fact, the Doctor never started. We are interested in a report that General Chen Chung-ming and General Wu Pei-fu (military commander for Peking in the central or Yang-tze provinces) are to meet. These men are reported to be of much the same mould and temper. Both are understood to be eager for the evolution of China along liberal lines: but not too fast, not too fast. They are equally removed from sympathy with Chang Tso-lin, the hard-boiled old Tory who lords it in Peking, and from flighty schemers like Sun Yat-sen. Chen Chung-ming might probably, if he chose, have the solid backing of the South (which Sun Yat-sen cannot secure), and Wu Pei-fu is a popular idol in the center and north. Together they might, they might . . . But we are not a seer.

### Japan

#### The Assassination of Hara

PREMIER Hara of Japan was stabbed to death on Friday by a crazy Korean. Of late many Japanese officials, including delegates to the Washington Conference, have received threatening letters from Koreans. On learning the news, Admiral Kato, the ranking member of the Japanese delegation to the Washington Conference, burst into tears: an astounding thing for a Japanese, and one which starts us on a train of thought. Hara, a discreet Liberal, was desperately needed at the Japanese helm. It is possible that his death at this critical juncture will profoundly affect the course of history.

#### Japanese Intentions

The following statement made on October 29 by Premier Hara to the Chicago Tribune's correspondent at Tokyo, is not very reassuring. We quote, italicizing the words of chief importance:

The Japanese are firmly convinced of the justice of their case in the Shantung question. No effort has been and will be spared on the part of Japan to settle this question to our mutual satisfaction, it being our constant hope that China will embark on negotiations in a conciliatory spirit and settle this question once and for all *on the conditions laid down in our recent communications*. As to Siberia, Japan is still in the course of negotiations with the Far Eastern Republic, and it is expected that a definite settlement will be arrived at before long.

The "conditions laid down" (not "proposals submitted;" note carefully the language) by Japan as the basis for a dual negotiation upon Shantung, are, as the Chinese note of reply points out, some in plain contravention of Chinese sovereignty and integrity, others so cloudily worded as to admit of construction favorable or unfavorable to China, as Japan might choose.

As to Japanese intentions regarding Siberia, we give that up.

#### Birth Control in Japan

A movement for birth control has recently made considerable head in Japan. According to the *New York Times*, a strong opposition has been aroused, and the Government may try to block the movement. The Chief of the Sanitary Bureau of the Home Department has announced that "data on birth control in relation to food supply and over-population are not yet sufficient to draw conclusions as to its value." If the Government disfavors the movement and at the same time recalls the lessons of history, it finds itself in a dilemma. For efforts to suppress the movement might give it a fanatical turn. And, as everyone knows, anything is possible to fanaticism.

A warm controversy is going on between those who contend that the population of Japan is very close to the saturation point and those who say that a very much larger population than the present one can be sustained in comfort on the Japanese islands. There is a portion of truth in both contentions. Doubtless, if Japan should become an industrial country like Britain, and if the present petty methods of agriculture (those of small holdings) should be supplanted by western American or Argentine methods, a very much larger population could be comfortably sustained; but such changes would involve a social transformation, a radical alteration of character of Japan—greatly for the worse, many think. There would be more factories and rice-paddies, but fewer cherry trees. The character of France is largely due to the fact that it is a land of small holdings. We would lament that change in France which many of our journals sneeringly urge upon Japan. That question of Japanese population; let us consider it sympathetically.

### A Number of Things

PRESIDENT Masaryk of Czechoslovakia is restored to health and Czechoslovakia rejoices. Some say the people of the Succession States have not really profited by the new political arrangements. What American would say that? The new arrangements have brought to the Czechoslovaks equality of opportunity, the one genuine, desirable equality; in consequence of which the best man in the country, though son of a coachman, is placed at the head of affairs, and hailed as father of his country.

No news for two weeks now of the war in Anatolia.

The Russian Bolshevik troops have evacuated Persia in accordance with the treaty between Teheran and Moscow.

The Chita Government (Far Eastern Republic) is sending a delegation which hopes to get a hearing from the Washington Conference.

The total population of Siberia was in 1915 some 15,000,000, of whom about 75 per cent. were whites. In the same year there were some 1,600,000 whites in the Siberian region east of Lake Baikal; in the Maritime Province there were 600,000 whites.

On October 13 last Prince Yamagata declared: "The moment that the Russians do not have to rely upon Japanese troops for the maintenance of order, and that Japan has nothing to fear from the more or less chaotic state in Siberia, these troops will be withdrawn, and I sincerely hope that that moment will come soon.—But when shall that moment be?"

The "Majestic," greatest of ocean liners (56,000 tons, 2,000 tons bigger than the "Leviathan"), is nearing completion at Hamburg. She will enter the service of the White Star Line. A floating drydock, built for her and drawing seventy feet of water, will be towed after her, and emplaced at Southampton. The "Majestic" will carry 5,200 persons; 4,100 passengers and a crew of 1,100. She probably represents the limit in these monsters. She is tentatively scheduled to start on her maiden trip across the Atlantic on April 5.



# From Our Readers

## Publicity at the Washington Conference

A WASHINGTON dispatch relating to the probable attitude of our Government as to publicity for the Conference sessions says:

The impression was given that this Government might lay before the delegates after they assemble here on November 11 a proposal that all full sessions of the Conference be open to the press. The recommendation, it was said, would not apply to the meetings of individual national delegations, committees, or other subordinate bodies where the real decisions of the negotiations may be made, but would give publicity to such gatherings as that which will mark the opening of the Conference and to the sessions where formal votes on pending questions are taken.

This has led me to crystallize certain thoughts in regard to secrecy versus publicity of proceedings, applicable to the Conference on Limitation of Armaments, which have been working about in my mind, as doubtless in the minds of many others, since the time of the Paris Peace Conference.

The chief dangers in *secrecy* of discussion are:

1. The possibility that in a secret discussion before a limited group things may be said, or left unsaid, in such a way as to create serious and misleading imperfections in the testimony, unrecognized by some or all of the parties to the discussion, which would be corrected if the discussion were known to a wider circle.

2. The greater facilities for secret trading or bargaining between two or more of the parties to the discussion, based on selfish or unworthy motives and essentially adverse to the general purpose of the discussions.

3. The creation of a hostile or distrustful attitude toward the whole undertaking on the part of influential bodies of public opinion.

The chief dangers in *publicity* of discussion are:

1. The checking of frankness and fullness of discussion through fear of its effect on partisan or ignorant constituencies, and the encumbering of the discussions with buncombe intended for political effect at home.

2. The creation of false impressions and misleading or dangerous opinion and sentiment outside of the group engaged in the discussion, based on hasty or ignorant or partisan reaction to parts of the discussion.

The attitude which would demand unlimited publicity of discussion is certainly mistaken and futile, because if any two or more parties to a discussion choose to confer in private outside of all official meetings, no possible regulations could stop them from doing so, but could only drive them into a surreptitious and illegitimate secrecy most unfortunate for the morale and spirit of the whole undertaking.

There must be adopted some middle

ground between unlimited publicity and complete secrecy, and the practical problem is to find the best workable arrangement. Let us examine the Washington dispatch in this light.

That the requirement for publicity, in the sense of admitting representatives of the press to the discussions, should not apply to meetings of individual national delegations is clearly sensible. No other course would be practicable or proper any more than it would be to require conferences of a party in a lawsuit with his counsel to take place only in the presence of the jury and the opposing counsel.

As to the discussions of "committees or other subordinate bodies where the real decisions of the negotiations may be made," it is again clear that an attempt to open all such discussions without reservation to representatives of the press would rush into all the dangers of unlimited publicity, including the substitution of surreptitious, illegitimate and unregulated private discussions and bargains on many points. But is it not possible to provide certain other safeguards against the dangers of secrecy in these meetings of committees and subordinate bodies?

First, the committees and subordinate bodies could be requested, and at least in the case of some of them required, to keep full stenographic records of their discussions, to decide either before or after each discussion whether there was any sufficient objection to making it public, and either to make the entire record of that discussion public or to issue a statement that publication of that particular discussion is withheld by vote of the committee. This procedure would be parallel to that of ordinary legislative committees. The emphasis and the presumption would be for publicity, but with a frank recognition that some discussions must, in order to further the purposes of the Conference, be held confidential, in whole or in part, temporarily or permanently.

Second, with a view more especially to guarding against the first of the dangers of secrecy mentioned above, could it not be provided that the stenographic reports of non-published discussions of a committee or subordinate body should be promptly furnished to the members thereof, and might be submitted confidentially by any of them to other members of the general Conference or its attachés. No one taking part in such a discussion can be prevented, as a practical matter, from talking it over in confidence with other members of his national delegation for example, and to give him for reference a complete and correct report of what was actually said would sometimes give better results than reliance on his unaided memory.

The chief practical drawback to such an arrangement is probably the danger of unauthorized and undesirable leakage. Court stenographers who can be

relied upon not to betray the confidence reposed in them can certainly be found, and if the members of the Conference could not be trusted to use honorably and wisely the amount of discretion involved in such an arrangement the Conference would be doomed from the start. On the other hand, the degree of frankness implied in such arrangements should have an immensely valuable effect in guarding against the terribly real third danger from an atmosphere of secrecy about the Conference, namely, that of a hostile or cynical and suspicious public attitude towards the whole proceedings.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED

Brookline, Mass.

## The Adamson Law and the Eight-Hour Day

To the Editors:

When my subscription expires in December you need not mail me any subscription blanks for renewal. Your editorial of October 22 on The Railroad Crisis is enough for me. It shows that you are against the eight-hour law for the railroad man. In the past I have worked from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., twelve hours Sunday and weekdays; since the Adamson Law, 8 hours. I am sure you will be shy of \$4, and I hope many others will see it as I do. Why should the working man subscribe for The Independent?

W. N. CRAWFORD

Blue Island, Ill.

[It was not the substance of the Adamson Law, but the passage of it under the pressure of terrorism, that we objected to. And as for the substance of that law, it was not a genuine eight-hour law, but a law which, under the pretense of being an eight-hour law, established a certain scale of wages based on the eight-hour day as its unit.—Editors.]

## A Psychological Explanation

To the Editors:

Your article "The Railways and Unemployment," in the issue of September 24th, impels me to the belief that the whole trouble is due to one fact only, that of fear.

How can capital or business have the necessary confidence in the stability of the country if an organized minority can make of the Constitution a "scrap of paper"?

This state of fear is undoubtedly the reason the railroads can not obtain sufficient capital to carry on much needed work; and for the same reason the Government can not pay its just debts to the railroads and ex-service men.

JOHN CLEVES SHORT  
Major, U. S. R.

Heidelberg, Ky.



# Drama

## Bernstein versus Barker

"The Claw." By Henri Bernstein. Broadhurst Theatre.

"The Madras House." By Harley Granville Barker. Neighborhood Playhouse.

"The Grand Duke." By Sacha Guitry. Adapted by Achmed Abdullah. Lyceum Theatre.

TWO plays now current in New York offer a striking and illuminating contrast. Against the Broadway background of superficial, inept craftsmanship and poverty of idea, "The Claw," by Henri Bernstein, seems to exhibit elements of greatness. In these days, when critics prostrate themselves before claptrap and ingenuous playwrights confess in the public prints that they can write an act a day, one can no longer share in the general condescension toward the drama of Henri Bernstein. He knows his theatre. "The Claw" reveals great theatric power. Bernstein knows how to generate a conflict, how to prolong it, how to intensify it by retardation, how to saturate his audience with the sense of impending, pent-up, but inevitable violence. When most of our native playwrights fail to reveal any firm grasp of dramatic values, and are no less deficient in any conviction concerning life, Bernstein at least exhibits an unflinching sense of the theatre. It is only when we compare "The Claw" with such a play as Granville Barker's "The Madras House," produced at the remote Neighborhood Playhouse, that the fatal flaw in the Bernstein dramaturgy is exposed.

Adequately and even brilliantly mounted by Arthur Hopkins, with Lionel Barrymore and Irene Fenwick surpassing all their previous interpretations, this earlier play of Bernstein deals with the downfall and disintegration of a Socialist *arriviste*. Achille Corthelon is a radical newspaper owner who has grown rich and powerful by peddling to the proletariat watered stock in the Marxian paradise. The malignant flaw in his character becomes apparent when he marries a pretty but greedy girl thirty years his junior, the daughter of a mercenary employee. In trying to satisfy the insatiable demands of this young wife he craftily compromises with his principles. This Antoinette brings out all the ignobility, the brutality, the cupidity, and hypocrisy in the man's nature. After sixteen years he discovers that this faithless female is about to become the mistress of his bitterest enemy, the man who first discovered his lack of integrity. The ultimate depth of Corthelon's degradation is reached when as an old, broken-down demagogue he pleads with his enemy, now in the plenitude of power, to spare him this final disgrace. In the last act, at the very moment of the public exposure of his corrupt criminality, the woman deserts him: she cannot afford to live, she explains, under the same roof with a criminal. His house is stoned. The windows are smashed. The senile old man is bereft even of that last weapon of the charlatan—a

glib tongue. He tries to face the disillusioned mob. Words fail him; and, staggering back into the salon, he falls dead.

The elements of a great play are here. But at the moment when we expect the dramatic revelation of some great truth about human nature, some flash of spiritual insight, Bernstein, as though blinded by the sunlight of truth, turns his back upon life and seeks refuge in the cheap chiaroscuro of the theatrical. Like Corthelon himself, he blames Antoinette for the man's degradation, instead of probing much more deeply into the nature of the *arriviste*, and showing that the woman is but the outward symbol of his inner corruption—just as Vincent Leclerc, his enemy, represents Corthelon's long-lost integrity.

As revealed in "The Claw," Bernstein possesses the newspaper man's infallible instinct for "a big story." He scents scandal from afar. He is sure and certain in his projection of unpleasant people, in exposing the mechanism, in diagnosing the symptoms, of corruption in human character. But his understanding of life never equals his understanding of the theatre. So that his play never becomes any more truly significant or interpretive of life than a front-page exposé in a newspaper. His drama, therefore, might be said to be of the theatre, for the theatre, by the theatre. And while, at the present low ebb of our native drama, we must recognize and acclaim Bernstein's ability to construct solidly, to project sharply and vividly, we cannot give him a place among the truly significant dramatists who bring life into the theatre and the theatre into life.

It is this quality that makes so significant the splendid production at the Neighborhood Playhouse of "The Madras House" by Granville Barker. It is difficult to restrain one's enthusiasm for this play, difficult not to acclaim it as the most significant play in New York, and to enforce compulsory attendance by all American playwrights, incipient or confessed. It may be dismissed by the followers of Freytag as undramatic, as plotless, as "trailing off into talk," as defying all the unities. But, on the other hand, one may defend its essential unity of theme—a unity even classical—the cumulative and progressively illuminating effect of its action. One carries away from "The Madras House" a complete and adequate conception of what the dramatist thinks of a certain important phase of life. In this play Granville Barker has successfully dramatized his own mind. He has made a play of a point of view. This comedy reflects life in no petty realistic fashion, though its scenes are painted in the sober tones of real life. It reflects life in another and more refreshing fashion: by objectifying concretely and in the richest colors a definitely conceived idea and an inspiring ideal.

It is a play of sex, of the relationship of the sexes, but of sex viewed sanely and maturely. Not in the theme, however, which is treated with dignity and decency, but in the refreshing method of the dramatist is to be found the true

significance of "The Madras House." In the ordinary routine life of the English middle class, Granville Barker has discovered those eloquent contrasts in life and custom that are neglected by the ordinary hack dramatists. He has discovered drama not in the unique crucial instance or situation, but in customs so routine that we have lost consciousness of them. Our everyday life, our petty accepted behavior and conduct, the slow accumulation of unsurmountable habits—in these, Granville Barker seems here to tell us, is the great drama of life. To dramatize it, to make it all theatrically effective, he has used the method of contrast, the means of cumulative revelation. The hopeless Miss Huxtables with their sterile, unlovely lives, the mannequins of the Madras House in their "aphrodisiac" costumes, poor sentimental Amelia Madras, the defiant Marion Gates, Jessica Madras, and the adamant forewoman, Miss Chancellor, all fit into the "composition" of Mr. Barker's vivid canvas as logically and as organically as Henry Huxtable, Major Hippisly Thomas, Philip Madras, and his Mohammedan father, Constantine. Extraordinary is the dramatist's achievement in the fact that our interest is never scattered, never dissipated, but on the contrary becomes increasingly concentrated upon his dialectic.

No less admirable is the fashion in which the dramatist leads us through laughter to the serious and intelligent consideration of his theme. There is a far greater proportion of wholesome fun in "The Madras House" than in two-thirds of the comedies on Broadway, and it is fun that does not insult the intellect. "The Madras House" is a comedy at which we need not check our intelligence with our overcoats at the door.

The professional company which interprets this play in Grand Street is thoroughly adequate to that difficult problem, and much is undoubtedly due to the intelligent acting and direction in teaching us that such plays as "The Madras House," heretofore considered as unfit for the stage, are infinitely more entertaining than those cut according to the conventional threadbare pattern. Written at least a decade ago, it has "dated" scarcely at all, and provides an altogether refreshing and exhilarating evening in the theatre. Its performance is of the utmost significance because it suggests the infinite variety and possibility that awaits the young dramatist—variety of theme and technique, and possibility of delving into the inexhaustible treasury of material for real drama that surrounds us on all sides. The most important requisite of the dramatist, this noteworthy play suggests, is not mere theatrical craftsmanship, not the skill to create the *scène à faire*, as exemplified in the Bernstein dramaturgy, but the power to study life at first hand, long enough and steadily enough to arrive at some definite and concrete conviction, and express that conviction by whatever method makes it eloquent and compelling.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

MEMORIES AND NOTES OF PERSONS AND PLACES, by Sir Sidney Colvin. Scribner.

Recollections by the friend of Stevenson.

THE WOLVES OF GOD, by Algernon Blackwood. Dutton.  
Supernatural tales.

A PENNY WHISTLE, by Bert Leston Taylor. Knopf.

Poems by the late "B. L. T." of the Chicago *Tribune*.

MYSTERIOUS JAPAN, by Julian Street. Doubleday.

COLLECTED POEMS, by Edwin Arlington Robinson. Macmillan.

UNDER THE MAPLES, by John Burroughs. Houghton Mifflin.

Last essays on nature.

THE OLD TOBACCO SHOP, by William Bowen. Macmillan.

For parents to enjoy with their children.

IN "Pastiche and Prejudice" (Knopf) A. B. Walkley reprints from the *London Times* a score of essays upon dramatic and literary subjects, all done with a light touch. But the especial novelty is in the early pages of the book (and it is a gay little volume, with its sides of cardinal red and green) where the author imagines what Shakespeare and Dr. Johnson would say at a modern theatre, how Sir Roger de Coverley would comment upon the Russian ballet, and what Dr. Johnson would make of Carpentier in the ring.

Sabrina fair,  
Listen where thou art sitting  
Under the glassie, cool, translucent wave,  
In twisted braids of lilies knitting  
The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair:  
Listen for dear honour's sake,  
Goddess of the silver lake.  
Listen and save!

If you speak of "Comu" the temptation is too great. You cannot resist quoting those lines, whose sibilant music brought the nymph to the surface of the water. Arthur Rackham has painted her in the new edition of "Comus," published by Doubleday, Page & Co. The fiendish rout of Comus, Circe and her swine, pert fairies and dapper elves—all these are in Mr. Rackham's own field, and he has made a lovely book with his paintings and decorations. He has departed in most of the pictures from the twisted and gnarled trees, which have been his stand-by for years, and made a volume, this time, not primarily for children. The fine, strong figure of the huntress Diana, the exquisite fantasy of Daphne as she turned into the laurel, are two of the most beautiful pictures in this edition of Milton's great masque.

An American Senator in an English book must, of course, have a goatee. The pictures of Uncle Sam are to blame, or perhaps it all began with a play—remembered by elderly people—called "The Senator" and enacted by William H. Crane. At any rate "The American Senator" from Anthony Trollope's novel of that name, appears in the pictures in "The Sport of Our Ancestors" (Dutton), edited by Lord Willoughby de Broke. I had always supposed that the scenes of that novel were on this side of the ocean: Trollope had been here, and perhaps knew as much of America as did his mother, who made her memory revered in this country. But the Senator is shown at an English fox-hunt. It is but one chapter, chosen by the editor from many sources, both in prose and verse, in praise of fox-hunting. Surtees and Whyte-Melville and others are drawn upon; G. D. Armour has illustrated the book in color and in black and white. A fine book for a gift—but the recipient should have some regard for that noble sport in which everybody has such a good time. Well—except, perhaps, the leading character: the fox.

A miserable conspiracy of silence has kept me from the knowledge, until today, that W. D. Lyell's "The House in Queen Anne Square" (Putnam) is a novel founded upon the Madeleine Smith case. And that case—but everybody with a taste for the classics in murder knows of the young Scottish beauty who went upon her trial on a June day in 1857, and how her winsome appearance prevailed upon a majority of the jury to declare that it was not proven that she put arsenic into the cocoa which she made for her lover. But now that I have this information, I have risked expulsion from the book-reviewer's union, and hurried off to buy a copy of the book.

A member of Parliament rests upon a bed of roses no more than a member of Congress. Michael MacDonagh in his two readable volumes, "The Pageant of Parliament" (Dutton), describes some of the trials of the M. P. One of them was upbraided by a constituent for ingratitude—"I voted for you under thirteen different names," wrote the indignant elector, "and could I do more for you than that?"

Members of Parliament are besought by post to try enclosed samples of tonics and throat lozenges, and become more euphonious. One member received a book of poems from a constituent. "If you would quote in the House a verse from my volume, 'Twitterings in the Twilight,' what a grand advertisement I'd get! You might say something like this: 'One of the most delightful collections of poems it has ever been my good fortune to come across is Mr. Socrates Wilkin's "Twitterings in the Twilight." Could the situation in which the empire finds itself be more happily touched off than in the following verse of that eminent poet?' and then go on

to quote some lines from my book, which I enclose."

The following story reminds one of the abrupt decline in ambition of that office-seeker who came to the White House asking to be nominated Minister to Italy, but finally reduced his demands to a request for "a pair of Mr. Lincoln's old trousers." A female voter writes to a member of Parliament:

Honored Sir:

I hear that Mr. Balfour is not a married man. Something tells me that I would make the right sort of wife for him. I am coming to London to-morrow, and will call at the House of Commons to see you, hoping you will get me an introduction to the honourable gentleman. I am only thirty years of age, and can do cooking and washing.

AGNES MERTON.

P. S. Perhaps if Mr. Balfour would not have me, you would say a word for me to one of the policemen at the House.

Mr. Heywood Broun's sense of humor is all but perfect. He can say any number of amusing things about Dr. Roach Straton (not difficult game!) and about President Harding or Mr. Wilson or anybody or anything representing orthodoxy. His lip only begins to quiver and his eyes to fill when good old Gene Debs is mentioned or the Soviets are laughed at. There are some subjects, you know, about which we do not jest. But, with this entirely human exception, his writings as represented, say, by his "Seeing Things at Night" (Harcourt, Brace) strike me as invariably amusing, good-humored, and readable. He must be loved if only for his paper called "Some of My Best Friends Are Yale Men." It required not only originality but daring for a New York newspaper man to begin to break down the aged tradition that while Harvard is given to effeminacy and spats, Yale is the nursery of sturdy American democracy. Mr. Broun pointed out to New York newspapers that an athletic victory by Harvard cannot always be set aside by the Supreme Court on the ground that Yale was not looking when it happened.

The writer's best and most amusing style is employed in Simeon Strunsky's "Sinbad and His Friends" (Holt). The Sinbad papers are about a place which purports to be an Oriental city, somewhere in the domain of the Caliph of Islam, but really it is the town where O. Henry lived and wrote and died: Bagdad-on-the-Subway. There is a citizen who has to welcome Marshal Joffre, and wished he had enough French to speak to him. All he can say is "Have you the pen of the gardener's wife?" Someone reminds him that the Marshal can reply: "No, but I have the goat of the Kaiser." The other items in the book are about Mr. Strunsky's friend, Williams, a New York journalist. Mr. Strunsky aims only to make his readers smile, but he does better than that with me. I find myself laughing aloud with pleasure and unrestrained merriment, again and again, as I read his pages.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## The Religion of the Day

A NEW ENGLAND GROUP AND OTHERS. By Paul Elmer More. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

THE ideal object of criticism is to exhibit the whole truth regarding all matters which concern us. The mission of the ideal critic is therefore one of mediation and reconciliation: it is his concern to occupy all the tenable ground between the embattled extremes. At the present time, however, the more serious criticism is, the more it tends toward a violent partisanship and a repression of such aspects of truth as are offered by rival exhibitors. The situation is like that described in John Stuart Mill's subtle examination of the affinities between Coleridge and Bentham: "Conservative thinkers and liberals, transcendentalists and admirers of Hobbes and Locke, regard each other's speculations as vitiated by an original taint, which makes all study of them, except for purposes of attack, useless if not mischievous." With a readiness to receive truth—though from the devil himself—which marks a comprehensively critical mind, Mill insists upon "the importance, in the present imperfect state of mental and social science, of antagonistic modes of thought: which, it will one day be felt, are as necessary to one another in speculation, as mutually checking powers are in a political constitution."

Mr. More is important to those who care for "the whole truth," precisely because he meets current popular tendencies with an inveterately "antagonistic mode of thought." It is popular nowadays to scoff at the Puritans and their sense of sin; in his essays on early New England poetry and Jonathan Edwards, Mr. More treats the stammering Puritan muse almost tenderly, and he inclines to think that a revived sense of sin is the need of the hour. It is the mode to speak with relief of our emancipation from "the fear of God"; through nearly all of the essays, especially through those on Emerson, Norton, Henry Adams, Economic Ideals, and Oxford, runs the sense that we must, somehow or other, "get the fear of God back into society." The current social watchword is "universal sympathy"; Mr. More preaches individual self-respect and a stern discrimination of values. The keynote of contemporary education is "power and service," a phrase which Mr. More, championing an older ideal of self-realization, characterizes as "maleficent." It is the fashion to magnify "the people" at the expense of their leaders; Mr. More intimates that the first step toward wise and effective leadership is a renaissance of the old-fashioned contempt for "the vulgar herd." We have generally viewed with democratic complacency the dwindling power of the English House of Lords; Mr. More presents Lord Morley's part in dimin-

ishing that power as a grave piece of ingratitude and a kind of blot on his character. Most of the agreeable people today profess themselves sexual-equalitarians; Mr. More mildly protests against being taken for a misogynist, while at the same time he reminds us that the Puritan Church started toward the innocuous desuetude of Unitarianism when Anne Hutchinson undertook to explain the sermons, that Henry Adams lost his head when he began to worship the whimsical Virgin, and that English gentlemen lost Oxford and God when Mrs. Humphry Ward and the rustle of petticoats were heard in the cloisters.

Mr. More has, I think, deliberately invested his conservatism with a humorous crustiness and expressed it with an old blue-Tory violence, for the sake of irritating sentimental pale red radicals into thought. With this understanding, one can perhaps enjoy his apparent preference of the indolent, Greek-quoting, unproductive, bibulous Oxford don of the old school to President Eliot's scientific young man bent on "power and service." But is there really any important truth to be conserved at those points where Mr. More runs up the blue flag? Indubitably there is, an entire aspect of truth, neglected by the radicals, which runs through history and persists in human nature, solid as bed-rock. The Tories are always right—more often right, perhaps, than their adversaries, because they shun experiment and settle back in the easy chair of experience, and build solidly and stolidly on the experiments of the radicals of other days. Mr. More is indubitably right when he insists that most of us think we are far better than we are; that we need a new sense of sin; that we need the idea of God; that organized society is impossible without a stern discrimination of values; that scientific without moral progress points to Gehenna; that the leadership of superior men is an everlasting necessity; and that women are, in many respects, a whimsical and troublesome sex, and have led us into much mischief. The sooner we admit these truths, the sooner we shall emerge from dream to daylight.

But I find a certain vagueness in Mr. More's thought at a vital point. He insists that in this world of whirling change the wise man should fix his heart upon the unchangeable—upon, more specifically, "the idea of God." He rebukes more or less sharply Emerson, Norton, Adams, Morley, Jowett, Pattison, George Eliot, Mrs. Ward, and many others for having lost all substantial and positive ideas of God. In contrast to them, he holds up for at least a relative admiration men like Michael Wigglesworth and Jonathan Edwards, who had positive ideas of God, and even men like Mr. Henry Holt, who cling to the shadow of a positive idea with the help of the Society for Psychical Research. He thinks the definite religious opinions of these men disreputable, yet he respects the men—for precisely what that Jow-

ett did not possess? For a mere attitude, for a mere fixity in their attitude of awe toward the disreputable? Hardly that.

Mr. More speaks with contempt of those who use words like "truth" and "God" without any definite notion of their content; but, though I have searched diligently, I cannot find that he uses the word God with much more definite sense of its content than is possessed by most modern men who, like himself, are of a temper at the same time serious and skeptical. To such men generally, to men, for example, like Mill, Henry Adams, and Morley, God is at least a figure of speech by which they objectify their sense of what ought to be done.

Looking at the matter historically and charitably, what can we say was the God of Jonathan Edwards and Michael Wigglesworth but a figure of speech by which these dreadful Calvinists objectified their sense of what ought to be done? Their positive "idea of God," so much admired by Mr. More for its positiveness—what did it mean actually but that they placed such customs and beliefs of their times as met their approval under the patronage of God? And this positive idea included, we remember, their sense that unbaptized infants ought to be damned, that a large part of mankind ought to burn forever, that smallpox ought to be endured as a divine visitation, that slavery is a religious institution, and that war is one of the chief means for extending God's kingdom on the earth.

Faith in these ideas has been shattered or utterly destroyed by the radical intellectual tradition of which Lord Morley is a representative. For my part, I cannot feel that our modern skeptics and positivists of the type of Emerson, Mill, and Morley, and our Liberal contemporaries of the more serious sort, have destroyed anything that was very precious in the religious life of their ancestors. The human necessity in which all forms of religion generate, they did not affect, they could not alter. Moreover, I will back the religious sense of Emerson or Mill or Morley against that of Mather or Bunyan or Shepherd for depth and high seriousness, and for all good purposes of a religious sense. Their idea of God is far less mixed with our idea of the devil. The customs and beliefs which our contemporaries place under the protection of God are of a different order from those of the old worthies, but they are no less sincere and no less positive. For infant damnation, they substitute child welfare; for slavery a living wage; for the doctrine of a select saved remnant the humanization of all the people; for superstitious fatalism preventive medicine; for interdenominational and international strife the gospel of human neighborliness and the international mind. Here is a sufficient positive content in the modern "idea of God" to save it from the charge of being "defalcated to a pure transparency." Here are



tangible objects for the religious sense to work upon or to pray for, if one likes, with all the rapture of Edwards in the Great Awakening.

When Mr. More asks us in this world of change to fix our hearts upon that which is unchangeable, he does not mean of course that we should fix them upon any of those brimstone doctrines of Edwards; for they are all gone like a bad odor from a laboratory, whiffed away by the breeze. They were "of the flux." He cannot esteem the modern objects of the religious sense which I have enumerated; because they are connected with his favorite topics of denunciation, social service and social sympathy. He cannot mean that we should fix our hearts on the doctrines of the Republican party, for even these are in a state of flux; nor on the doctrines of any of the modern churches, for these are in a process of amalgamation and recrystallization around the Christian doctrine of neighborliness, which for Mr. More is quite overshadowed, almost negated, by the other Christian doctrine about the love of God. Yet when you "scrap" your theology, what is there left, for the modern skeptical mind, what is there left of positive content in the "idea of God" but some more or less impassioned sense of what ought to be done on earth by men? What he should mean, as it appears to me, is that we should cultivate and foster that which remains as a formative centre in an intelligent man, when all his traditional beliefs dissolve around him, namely, his human instinct and passion for perfection. That is, in a sense, permanent. That does, through all the kaleidoscopic changes of opinion, persist. And the very proof of its persistence is, that modern Puritans discard a large part of the intellectual impedimenta of their ancestors. To obey the highest law of one's human nature, which bids one seek perfection, one must lop off one's dead and worm-eaten ideas and cast them into the fire.

Mr. More is right when he places stability of character under the protection of God. But the radicals are also right when they place freedom of the mind under the protection of God. Mr. More praises his New England group justly for their stability of character, but he quite undervalues the honesty and freedom of their intelligence. The importance of the New England tradition for us today lies, however, neither in its morality nor in its intelligence, but in the strength of its passion for perfection. We have elsewhere stability of character without freedom of intelligence, and elsewhere freedom of intelligence without stability of character. The Puritan effected a union. Because his radical intellect is steadily in the service of his passion for perfection, his character can be trusted for stability and amendment, as, from age to age, men improve the quality of the positive customs and beliefs which they place under the protection of God.

STUART P. SHERMAN

## Portraits of the Nineties

PORTRAITS OF THE NINETIES. By E. T. Raymond. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921.

THE fact that Mr. Justin McCarthy wrote "Portraits of the Sixties," Mr. G. W. E. Russell "Portraits of the Seventies," and Mr. H. G. Hutchinson "Portraits of the Eighties," is advanced by Mr. Raymond—with modest depreciating of any suggested comparison—as a reason why he should himself give us "Portraits of the Nineties." Perhaps the argument that the chronological sequence needs to be thus completed is as good as any other plea that the author could have devised. Prefaces often speak of that "long felt want" which is to be supplied by the volume they introduce. It may, however, be doubted whether the precedents which Mr. Raymond quotes are as well known or as much valued as he seems to suppose, and whether the gap in the historical narrative which he has set himself to fill has been generally deplored as a serious omission. There is, of course, some arbitrariness in the choice of any period for special study, and it may be argued that the isolation of this or that decade is as artificial a proceeding as one can imagine of the kind. What can any serious critic make of Mr. Raymond's first chapter, in which we learn that "The Nineties" were a golden age, with prettier women than we see now, with a special zest and flavor in life, with no thought of wars on a great scale, with old men still dominant in State affairs but beginning to yield before Ibsen's "League of Youth," with the middle classes eating and drinking and singing as in the days of Noë, and with little or no conception of the new forces at work underground? Did these features, one may ask, belong in any special sense to "The Nineties," rather than to the sixties, seventies, eighties that went before, or to the units and tens that came after? Mr. Raymond is the bond slave of his title. He chose a particular decade for himself, for the excellent reason that this was in a literary sense "No Man's Land," and he had to construct for it some theory of specific characteristics.

However, he has done his work well. He had things on his mind to say about some notable figures like Lord Rosebery and Mr. Gladstone, George Meredith and Herbert Spencer, Archbishop Temple and C. H. Spurgeon, Cecil Rhodes and Oscar Wilde. They are a mixed lot, and a thread of connection was hard to discover. Obviously the years between 1890 and 1900 were not the time of chief significance for some of them, but they all lived into that time, and the book had to be advertised as having some sort of unity. Publishers are notoriously shy of "Miscellaneous Essays."

But the reader will forgive Mr. Raymond for this. What difference does it make whether a book has been suitably named, when contents are so good? It is a wonderful gallery of portraits, and they are all worth studying. We have

statesmen and soldiers, actors and lawyers and journalists, prelates and explorers and novelists, empire-builders and philosophers and artists. Almost every taste and interest are catered to. One meets in these pages with Lord Randolph Churchill and Bishop Creighton, with Lord Kitchener and Mr. W. T. Stead, with General Booth and Aubrey Beardsley. These and a host of other personages are made to live before us. Nor is Mr. Raymond given to complaisant acceptance of current opinions about such people, even when these have been made current by high authority. One recalls how in his earlier book "All and Sundry" he said some straight and independent things about the work of Mr. Rudyard Kipling. In the present book the Meredithians will read, one hopes to their profit, how "Meredith's genius lay in the direction of making the simplest things obscure and the most ordinary things out-of-the-way." The writer, too, has what Mr. Wells has called the sole justification for writing, "the gift of the creative and illuminating phrase." Who, for example, that ever saw the late Lord Salisbury can miss the apt application to him of Disraeli's words about another—"the majesty of true corpulence"? Is there a better name for the Thames Embankment than *via dollarosa*? Is there a neater summing up of the English sporting morality than this: "We have always a weakness for the strong man who shows his strength by smashing the Ten Commandments, so long as he satisfies us in his observance of all the taboos and ordinances contained in that greater table of the law which we call 'cricket'?"

Someone has said about James Anthony Froude that in the title of his book "Short Studies on Great Subjects" he should have heavily underlined the two words "Short" and "Great." Not a few will be struck with a similar inadequacy in Mr. Raymond's work, a like contrast between the magnitude of some problems he has raised and the slightness of the comments with which he forces us to be content. But we have perhaps no right to complain, for the author has given us in the text at least as much as he promised on the title-page. We learn little about a man from looking at his portrait on canvas, though it tempts us to guess a great deal, and often our view of him—when we have really some evidence to form one—is colored by the persisting image of his features which the painter left upon our memory. "Pen Portraits," executed in rapid journalese, have the same defect. When the subject is a man of real significance, the real truth about him is hard to tell, and it cannot be told briefly. The character is always mixed, the motives are always doubtful and changeable, the achievements are partly good and partly bad. Readers need someone to protect them from the "brilliant" essayist, who has a keener eye for the vivid antithesis than for cautious analyzing, to whom



those copious qualifying parentheses—so essential to accuracy—are a thing that his craft bids him avoid, and who deals on every page in that biting epigram or sparkling paradox in which truth can so seldom be told.

These points need to be noted amid the present deluge of books that sum up great thinkers and statesmen and artists with that crispness which the cheap newspaper editor desires for “a pithy paragraph.” Mr. Raymond’s book is the type of which these editorial horrors in our time are the corruption, but it must not itself be thus lightly dismissed. It is indeed unequal. For instance, the chapter on C. H. Spurgeon is a monument of the very smartest failure to understand. That the author himself is aware of the risks in his kind of writing one cannot doubt. No one has put the point better than in Mr. Raymond’s own phrase, “a mere essay in instantaneous photography, with its mad foreshortenings and irrelevant emphasis,” though he does not acknowledge that what he has himself given us is of this order. But even for this there is a place, and we would not for a good deal have missed Mr. Raymond’s photographs.

HERBERT L. STEWART

### A Delightful Comedy

THE CHARMED CIRCLE: A COMEDY. By Edward Alden Jewell. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

MR. WILSON FOLLETT has just said that we in America are holding our own well with the British realists of the hour, but are as far behind England as England is behind the rest of Europe in “the art of being serious lightly, or light seriously.” We have, he says, plenty of Georges and Cannans and Mackenzies and Beresfords, but no Leonard Merrick. Well, we might say that England has only one Merrick. And we might bring up the later Meredith Nicholson, or the Strunsky of “Professor Latimer’s Progress,” or one or two younger performers, on our side. But the fact is, Mr. Follett’s generalization is sound. Our Younger School, for all its advertised indigence, is too hard after the British Y. S. to perceive any free Puckish light beckoning them upward from the thoroughfare of sprightly realism. They feel bound, as Mr. Follett further says, to be either solemnly literal or deliberately trivial. And when now and then they grope instinctively for graceful fantasy, what they bring forth is almost invariably mere “literary jazz,” a product without artistic integrity. Also we have lately been getting some genuinely artistic comedy from several British storytellers very much younger than Mr. Merrick.

I was going to cite “The Charmed Circle” of Edward Alden Jewell as an exhibit for the defendant, when it occurred to me that I do not know the author to be an American. The informative jacket of this volume was missing when it came to me. But I infer that it is a “first novel” by an American. It has Merrick’s own favorite setting of Paris. It is on something like



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his plane of gracious comedy. It does not keep within his bounds of a few characters and a single-track action. Its delayed romance of the Singer and the Mighty Hunter, who in themselves might be almost of the race of Merrick, is involved with a plot more intricate than the author of "Conrad in Search of His Youth" ever bothers with. And the boy Kenneth, the real hero of the tale, if there is any, lies quite beyond the sphere of Conrad or his maker.

At this point I chance upon a publisher's advertisement which quotes the authority cited above, Mr. Follett, as pronouncing "The Charmed Circle" "as sunny as 'Seventeen,' and as subtle as 'The Age of Innocence.'" This strikes me as "going some"—slightly exceeding the speed limit, though in the right direction. One might add, in the same vein, that the tale is as whimsical as "Rudder Grange"; a faint Stocktonian bouquet may be relished by the connoisseur. But it is fairer to the book, and perhaps quite as intelligible, to trace its undeniable charm to an honestly fresh flavor. For the first few pages one may taste something which threatens to be piquant and borders on the banal. But the palate adjusts itself or the savor improves, for in the course of a chapter or two one is yielding without effort or self-consciousness to the enjoyment of the new dish. It is not the style of a stylist which attracts one here, but the quality of a writer with that rarest of endowments, the Comic Spirit. His is the gentle laughter of the gods. Mr. Bromley, the man of Epochs, and his Señorita (or she who was once his), and plump Mrs. Brathers (who is about to be his), are absurd persons: easy to caricature but not therefore easy to despise. Our affection goes with them on their further travels, as our ways part. So it is with the whole personnel of the Maison Bernard, the select *pension à deuxième* in the Rue Jacob which houses, first or last, all our chief characters except the Singer, who lives below under the same roof, and her Mighty Hunter, who has to remain an "Outsider" till the unwinding of the plot lets him in for good. It is a nicely knit and deftly handled plot, based upon a thoroughly satisfactory, if mild, mystery out of the past.

But the best thing in the book, the real hero, as I have said, is the lad Kenneth, whom I expect to recall as one of the few really outstanding boys in a recent fiction which has teemed with juvenile interpretations—and caricatures. How many of the boys you have laughed over, in these novels of the past few years, do you remember as persons? Since "Stalky," the English school-boy has become a recognized type, a conventionalized figure, as accountable in his humors as in his speech. There was Mr. Phillpotts's "Human Boy," a delight at the moment, but do you recall his name or his features? There was a "Jeremy" we heard about at great length the other day: could you tell him from any other public school boy if you met him? We have our own William Baxter, whom we love, but who threatens to establish another hard and fast literary type. Mr. Jewell's Kenneth is not an imitation of him. He



totally lacks the awkward egotism of Mr. Tarkington's boys. His is a graceful egotism; the "million devils" who inhabit him are devils of harmless mischief, of overflowing joy. He is not an object of affectionate mockery for adults: the shoe is on the other foot. The machine of the story would not work without him as god; and the grown-ups from first to last are his puppets—for their own good. And always, from first to last, there is about his youthful verve, his impudence, his defiant joy, a touch of pathos; but joy always comes out on top. With delight we share the thrill, at the moment when the final curtain threatens to fall somberly on his musing figure, of his sudden ecstatic dive, fully clothed, into the waiting pool. It is his exultant challenge to time and fate; and we have no fear for him.

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"More Hunting Wasps" (Dodd), by J. Henri Fabre, translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, is a continuation and completion of the chapters on wasps in the author's "Souvenirs Entomologiques." There are fourteen chapters in Fabre's well-known exclamatory, delightful style, with a host of the careful, ingenious, naively stated observations and experiments for which he is preëminent. They deal with the method of attack, provisioning of the nests, feeding habits, homes, and other phases of the life history of these most intelligent but sometimes exceedingly unpleasant insects.

Chapter VIII, entitled "A Dig at the Evolutionists," illustrates the workings of the law of compensation in the human mind. Supreme as Fabre was in the field of observation, yet in philosophical reflection he was woefully weak. Like Louis Agassiz, he contributed very materially to the fundamentals of our knowledge of evolution, at the same time holding to the belief of special creation. The chapter begins: "To rear a caterpillar-eater on a skewerful of spiders is a very innocent thing, unlikely to compromise the security of the state." After this bit of sarcasm, he adds later: "I examine the theory of evolution from every side, and, as that which I have been assured is the majestic dome of a monument capable of defying the ages appears to me to be no more than a bladder, I irreverently dig my pin into it." In other words, the modern Sphex wasp, using a single form of insect life as food, can, in Fabre's opinion, never have descended from an ancestor which once had a more general diet.

To mention one among many observations of extreme importance, Fabre found that the cocoon of the Philanthus wasp which contained two bees always produced a male, while those stored with a larger number gave rise to females; the mantis-hunting Tachytes also followed this rule. When considered in connection with many other instances, this becomes almost a law—a lesser amount of nourishment resulting in male organisms, a greater amount in females. Before long this may assume supreme importance as a eugenic factor of widest application.

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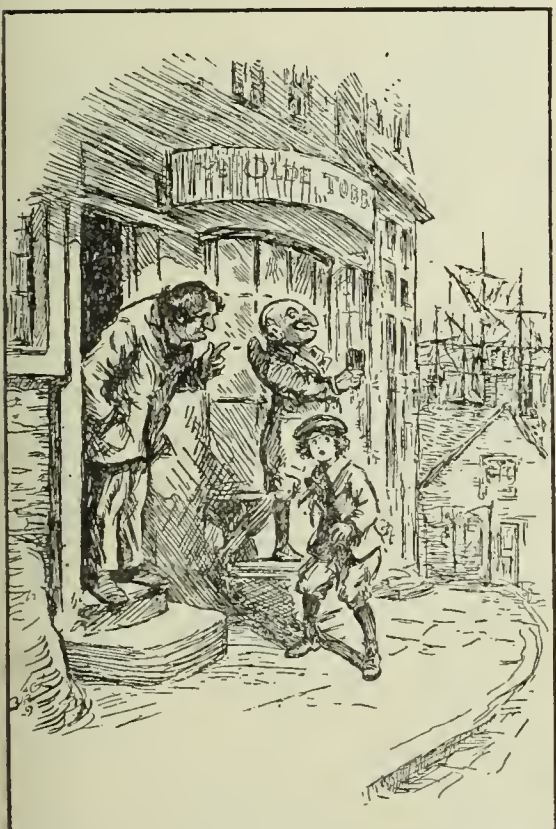
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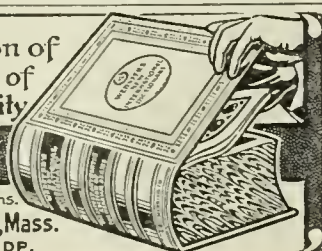
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THE INDEPENDENT AND THE WEEKLY REVIEW

Published weekly, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1921. State of New York, County of New York, ss: Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Harold deWolf Fuller, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the INDEPENDENT AND THE WEEKLY REVIEW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher—The National Weekly Corporation, 140 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor—Harold deWolf Fuller, 8 East 8th Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor—Fabian Franklin, 617 West 113th Street, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor—None; Business Managers—None.

2. That the owners are: (Give name and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

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H. deW. FULLER, Editor.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of October, 1921.  
[Seal.] O. WERNER,  
Commissioner of Deeds, N. Y. County.  
(My commission expires March 1, 1923.)



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History, Civics and  
Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,  
Former Principal of the High School  
of Commerce, New York

I. As a Child Reads.

1. "Criticism has been directed against our schools because although they teach the child how to read they do not teach him to read." (a) Explain exactly what the statement means. (b) What, according to the article, is the best way to learn to read? (c) What kind of teaching in English has done most to interest you in the reading of good books?  
2. Fairy tales are "the persisting fragments and variants of the primitive nature-myths and heathen poems." (a) Explain the meanings of the principal words in the sentence. (b) Tell any fairy story that you think has been developed from a primitive nature-myth. (c) Tell any fairy story that you think has been developed from a heathen poem.  
3. "He will, like Moses in 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' buy green spectacles." (a) Tell the story of Moses and the green spectacles. (b) What are the best characteristics of the novel "The Vicar of Wakefield"?  
4. "Fascinated by the Doré drawings to the 'Ancient Mariner,' drawings ghastly and terrible enough to be horror's own." Tell something concerning the drawings referred to. If possible, bring some of them to class.  
5. "He will prefer Poe for detective stories and Scott for tales of robbery." (a) Name two detective stories by Poe. Tell one story. (b) Name two stories by Scott in which robbery appears as a principal factor. Tell one story.  
6. Define the following words that are used in the article: fancies, erudition, immemorial, commendable, felicitous, spontaneity, incongruity, aversion.

II. Children's Books.

1. Write a letter to a book company ordering the five books that you would most like to own.  
2. Write an original short story based upon any picture given on the two pages. Make the relation between your story and the picture very apparent.

III. To a Little Girl.

1. Explain clearly the meaning of the last line of the poem.  
2. Explain the following expressions: "propitiatory pats"; "Connoisseur of pebbles"; "divine expectancy"; "starry goal"; "docility."

IV. New Books and Old.

1. "What Shakespeare and Dr. Johnson would say at a modern theatre." Write a composition that will show what you think the two writers would say. Consult any history of English literature in order to learn the characteristics of each writer.  
2. "How Sir Roger de Coverley would comment upon the Russian ballet." Imagine Sir Roger at the Russian ballet, or at any modern light opera or comedy. Write a new "Sir Roger de Coverley" essay.  
3. (a) Tell the story of Milton's "Comus." (b) What part did Sabrina play in the plot of "Comus"? (c) What are the characteristics of Mr. Rackham's pictures of "Comus"?

V. Book Reviews.

1. In the review of "Portraits of the Nineties" Mr. H. G. Wells is quoted as having said: "The sole justification for writing is the gift of the creative and illuminating phrase." (a) Define a "creative and illuminating phrase." (b) Explain what the statement means.  
2. "The tale is as whimsical as 'Rudder Grange.'" Tell the story of "Rudder Grange."  
3. Draw from the book reviews in this issue a list of ten present-day writers who appear to be worthy of special mention.

VI. Drama.

1. What sort of plays does the writer criticize severely?  
2. What sort of plays does the writer indicate are worthy of high praise?  
3. "We expect the dramatic revelation of some great truth about human nature, some flash of spiritual insight." Show that the expectation is realized in some good play that you have seen or read.  
4. What criticism is involved in the following sentence: "His understanding of life never equals his understanding of the theatre"? Show that the criticism is not true of a Shakespearean play that you have read.  
5. "The comedy reflects life in no petty realistic fashion." (a) Explain the sentence. (b) Show that the statement is not true concerning a Shakespearean comedy that you have read.

I. THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE — The Great Conference, Prime Factors at Washington, Publicity at the Washington Conference.

1. Make your own summary of "a review of the situation that confronts it and a brief survey of the issues involved," using all the articles on the subject.  
2. What outlines of sound policy in resolving the issues are here suggested in relation to Japan, China, and Siberia?  
3. From the discussion of publicity frame your idea of what constitutes the best policy on publicity.

II. FARMERS IN THE SADDLE.

1. Explain the exact nature of the "farm bloc." How is "bloc" used in relation to European legislatures?  
2. Compare "the doctrine that legislative representation is properly of a group or class nature" with the theory of representation in Soviet Russia. Does this influence of farmers on legislation constitute a violation of our theory of representation?  
3. Can you give earlier instances of group or class dominance of legislation in the United States?  
4. Summarize both the accomplished and proposed legislative program of the bloc and show in what way each measure benefits the farmer.  
5. Upon what grounds do the farmers justify their attempt at monopoly? Why do they justify it in themselves and condemn it in the meat packers?  
6. What can you find out about the success or failure of farmers' cooperatives in other countries?

III. EXIT TOWNLEY AND HIS SOVIET.

1. Look up the history of the recall. To what offices has it been applied? How has it worked?  
2. State the case for and against its adoption for various kinds of officers such as city officials, judges, state officials, federal officials. With what other reforms has the recall generally been associated?  
3. What is the ground for applying the term socialistic to the measures adopted in North Dakota by the State Government under the control of the Non-Partisan League?  
4. What are the points of difference as well as similarity between "the Non-Partisan experiment in North Dakota" and "its prototype in Russia"?  
5. What earlier political movements have been an outgrowth of dissatisfaction on the part of the farmers?

IV. AMERICAN DIPLOMACY JUSTIFIED, THE BANKRUPT CONFESSES JUDGMENT.

1. Do you know any features of our diplomatic service that might be improved?  
2. State clearly the American policy toward Soviet Russia.  
3. What is "de facto recognition"? Why has the Soviet Government of Russia been anxious to gain the formal recognition of other governments?  
4. Explain the international aspects of "the pre-war debts of Russia."

V. EQUALITY.

1. What is the American idea of equality? Explain the use of the term equality in celebrated documents in American history.  
2. What do you think is the full statement of American indebtedness to France?  
3. Look up the part played by the idea of equality in the French Revolution.

VI. AN INJUNCTION AND A STRIKE.

1. Investigate other instances of the use of injunctions which have affected organized labor. Describe the reactions of organized labor to those injunctions.

VII. THE BRITISH EMPIRE, SOME STATISTICS.

1. Summarize the social and financial effects of the war, mentioned in these articles.

VIII. GERMANY, A SPECULATION, THE STRANGE CASE OF KING ALEXANDER.

1. State the improvement in the German situation.  
2. State fully how Prussia was able "to dominate the Reich under the Hohenzollern."  
3. Why is King Alexander's case called strange?



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

November 19, 1921



### American Administration of San Domingo

A Curious Chapter of Unwritten History

By Alfred Bishop Mason

The White House, Washington, D. C.

His Excellency the President of the Dominican Republic.

DEAR SIR:

The bearer, Col. George R. Colton, is the gentleman whom I would have officially recommended to you for the administration of your custom-houses in case the U. S. Senate had ratified the treaty between our countries.

Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THAT is the substance of a letter which Col. Colton presented to the President of San Domingo one spring day in 1905. A treaty had been made between that country and ours, under which an American, recommended by our President and approved by the Dominican President, was to administer the Dominican custom-houses. The treaty had been accepted by the island Senate, but was not ratified until two years later by ours. In the interval, Roosevelt wrote this letter and sent Col. Colton with it to San Domingo. Twenty-four hours afterwards, Colton was in full charge of the custom-houses. All the money collected was deposited to his personal credit. He paid all the expenses of the administration with his personal cheques. With such cheques, too, he paid many other Government bills, including the arrears of salary due the President. Since even that functionary had gone unpaid, it may be imagined what had happened with the pay of teachers and other civil employees, of policemen and of soldiers.

There was no change in the laws. The same duties were levied. But while the whole of the net returns under Dominican administration had not sufficed to pay the Government expenses, under American rule half of the net returns more than paid them. Colton sent half the net yield each month to New York, where it was used to meet Dominican bonds, long in default as to their coupons. With the other half he paid not only the current expenses of the Government, but its current debts. Within a few months he had a surplus. On account of this good work he became Governor of Porto Rico under Roosevelt, was continued in his good work there by Taft, and was removed under Wilson in order to make a place for a "deserving Democrat," an estimable teacher at a Southern school, who spoke not a word of Spanish and knew nothing of the attractive Latin-American temperament.

It had been hoped that when the Dominican custom-houses ceased to be loot, the Dominicans would stop fighting

for the spoils of power. The hope turned out a vain one. The Government continued to be a despotism tempered by assassination. Petty bosses headed petty parties of bandits throughout the interior. There was no safety for life or property. Revolution followed revolution. Meanwhile, the Government, which had bound itself by treaty not to increase the country's debt without our consent, plunged head-over-heels into borrowing. There was soon a floating debt of \$15,000,000, with nothing to show for it. In 1916, we seized the country by force of arms, claiming a treaty right to do so. We did this, partly to prevent Germany from seizing it (in case she won the war) and thus from controlling the Atlantic approaches to the Panama Canal, and partly for the protection of French, English, and American investments. The seizure may have been justified by the standards of the day, although at that time we were supposed to have a fierce theoretical zeal for the exercise of the right of "self-determination" by all nations, particularly the smaller ones.

After the desultory fighting incident to the seizure (a few U. S. marines and quite a number of Dominicans were killed), the administration of the Dominican Government was handed over to the U. S. Navy. An opera-bouffe rule followed. All Governments are inefficient because they are bound in red tape. In this case, civilian red tape was super-swathed with Navy red tape. Admirals issued edicts fixing the price of rice, and nice, dull boys in marine-captain uniforms played the autocrat in remote towns. Not infrequently the temporary despots were drunk. Tax laws were changed overnight. One edict repealed the tariff on matches and incidentally closed the match factory, which is one of the pitifully few manufacturing industries of the island. Its owner went to Washington, saw our Secretary of the Navy, and returned with a letter directing a hasty admiral to restore the tariff. This was done and the factory reopened. It is still open. With patience many of the matches it makes can be induced to light. The civilian American appointees to office were of course "deserving Democrats" just as they will probably be, before this script sees type, "deserving Republicans." Is it a counsel of perfection that men should be appointed to such places who speak Spanish and know and like the Latin-American, men who have "deserved well of the Republic" instead of having served well the Republican party?



Hon. W. W. Russell, a diplomat of life-long experience, who had made an admirable record as Minister to Colombia and to Venezuela, had been for some time our Minister to San Domingo. Mr. Bryan replaced him with a "deserving Democrat," unknown except in police-court circles in New York City, who shortly afterwards resigned his post for the same reason that Bohunkus died in the Yale song of long ago:

Josephus died of cholera.  
Bohunkus by request.

Thereupon Mr. Russell was sent back. He has since discharged with skill and tact the anomalous duties, unknown to international law, of a Minister to a Government which his own Government has abolished by force.

The Dominicans hate us, of course. Intervention has been a great good to the mass of the people, but favors done by force do not breed gratitude. The vocal element, the politicians, hate us partly for patriotic reasons, partly on account of the loss of the graft upon which many of them lived. The few merchants and large landowners may regret our scuttling out of their country. The great majority of the people will rejoice in it—if it happens. They generally believe that the German atrocities in Belgium find a myriad parallels in the American atrocities in San Domingo. Most of the stories told are untrue. Rumors grow rank in tropical soil. But there is probably a residuum of grisly truth. The man in the street will eagerly give you chapter and verse for hideous horrors, for men robbed, murdered, tortured, burned alive, for women wronged, by American marines. There is the somewhat notorious case of a popular brigand (or patriot, according to the point of view) at the eastern end of the island. It is probably true that he was told by an American spy that if he came into our outposts, he would be appointed to the command of the Guardia Nacional, a native police force, officered by Americans. He came in and was thrown into prison. He died. How? The marines will not tell. The Dominicans tell two tales of it. He was told to escape; an easy method of flight was offered him; and he was shot as soon as he tried it. Or, he was asleep in jail one night when some marine officers got drunk and amused themselves by murdering the defenseless prisoner. This is generally believed. Neither tale is a pretty one. Both may be untrue. But how determine truth in a country where the most rigid censorship in the world has reigned, where no man could speak, write, or publish the truth except at the risk of long imprisonment in case the U. S. Navy did not wish the truth told? No wonder the recent history of San Domingo is a bit of unwritten history. The U. S. Navy forbids its being written. The censorship was relaxed at the beginning of this year. The local press is now full of misrepresentation and insult. We should be accused of atrocities if we had committed none.

The Government which we created by force and which functions by force has done some things well. At the moment property and life and women are safe in San Domingo. That is much, a very great change for the better. It is largely due to an enforced disarmament of the people. As a rule only Americans can get permits to carry arms. Many of them do so. And the natives are afraid of them. We have done something for education, not much. We have done a good deal for sanitation in the towns. We have built some roads, but after four and a half years of occupation you cannot travel twenty miles from the capital on a good road, and in most of the island the so-called roads are trails. Probably we should have done more if we had not been a day-by-day Government, the life of which might have ended any minute of any hour of any day with the scrape of a pen in the office of the Secretary of the Navy at Washington. Damocles was probably not the best of administrators.

## Prices in Petrograd

[The following graphic account of living conditions in Petrograd comes from a woman who has been employed in that city for twenty-seven years by a New York business house.]

I HAVE just received from Mr. — a five dollar bill, which you had asked him to send me. I am deeply grateful for your kind thought and beg you to accept my sincerest thanks. This money will be of the greatest assistance to me. You know already, from what Mr. — writes me, that life here is exceedingly hard. The average salaries, about 10,000 roubles a month, are much below the actual cost of living, and most of the people live on the clothes and household things they had bought before the war; that is, they go into the country or to small towns and exchange their things for flour, potatoes, butter, eggs. But all things have an end, and most of us—I for one—are at the end of our tether. One cannot say that we have famine in this city—the markets are full and anything can be found, but the prices are such that only millionaires can buy food for every day use.

For instance: butter, 30,000 roubles the pound; sugar, 30,000; butchers' meat, 14,000; black (rye) bread, 3,500 the pound; a small bread of grayish wheat (not more than a quarter of a pound), 2,000; potatoes (now cheap), 700 roubles the pound; carrots, 2,000; one apple, 1,000; cheese, 25,000 the pound; milk, two glasses, 3,000 roubles.

Besides the markets, many shops are opened again (last winter there was not one in the whole city—no private trade was allowed); there are a lot of cafés where you can get a cup of chocolate for 5,000 roubles and a small cake for 2,000. The Government gives us three-quarters of a pound of rye bread a day, but this is only for workmen, employees, children, and old people; the rest must provide for themselves.

As regards clothing, the conditions are not better; we have as yet no shops for it and some stuffs may be found only on the markets; cotton stuffs from 15,000 to 20,000 roubles the yard; cloth and silk, 100,000 the yard. Dress-makers take no less than 180,000 roubles, or its equivalent in food products, for the making of a gown, and you must give them thread to sew with, very expensive this latter. Ladies' shoes cost no less than 400,000 roubles the pair; stockings, 30,000 the pair. One can often see ladies going in the streets stockingless and in home-made slippers or shoes falling to pieces. Workmen are better off: the state supplies them, not very regularly, with boots and clothes.

The question of fuel is rather hopeless: there is very little wood, very expensive, and very little coal, which is for the factories only. For the last two winters the cold was bitter in our rooms and we could only heat the kitchen. The coming winter promises to be as bad.

There are people who live on the same scale as we did before the war—these are higher officials getting hundreds of thousands (some of them receive millions) salary and foodstuffs from the Government, or else tradesmen who buy produce in the country at lower prices and sell it in the city at the prices as above; they have not known what want means, but the generality and we small employees during four years have not tasted butter, milk, or meat; white bread, we have forgotten how it looks and tastes; sugar in the smallest quantity when the state gave it to us, no fruit. Our usual food is: boiled potatoes or other vegetables, gruel with water; occasionally a herring. Latterly it appears that some foodstuffs arrive from abroad—America or Germany; a few days ago the concern where I am employed gave us a pound and a half of pork, very good, I believe American.

Last, but not the least of our troubles, is a scarcity of soap; not very good soap may be found at 8,000 to 12,000 roubles the pound.

Petrograd, September 15



# Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor

Sixty Years' Social Changes in New York

By Henry Holt

**M**Y first really significant recollection of the city began about the time I entered Yale in 1857. But for some years before, during my preparatory schooling, it had been ecstasy to stop over a train between Baltimore and New Haven, and walk up and down Broadway. (If I could only have enjoyed it as much during the nearly sixty years I've worked here since!) Several of my college mates lived in New York, and first introduced me to some intelligent idea of the city. In '57 there were still palings around Madison Square. Fifth Avenue as a residence street was still contesting for the palm with Second Avenue, and had not yet become the fashionable promenade: up to about the early sixties, Broadway below Waverly Place was where the ladies with their long trails swept up the cigar stumps.

I consider the shortening of those skirts one of the very most important improvements of my time. It marks an intellectual advance as well as a physical one. Its moral aspect puzzles me a bit, but I cannot believe that where the other two aspects mark a progress the whole can mark a retrogression. Puritanism and Orientalism

both concealed the human form divine, and Hellenism displayed it. Those simple facts, I think, settle the question. True, Hellenism had its corruptions and was, in one sense, short-lived; but in a better sense, it has outlived both Orientalism and Puritanism, and is the well-spring of civilization today.

Another immense advance in our social customs has been the diminution of gluttony. That's not a nice word, but it's the right one. Dinners in the sixties and seventies were a matter of sixteen courses and at least seven glasses. Today I go to dinner where there is but one glass, and that for water. Yet there was little or no drunkenness among the men with whom I associated.

Another revolution in my time has been the coming of the apartment house. When I was married, in '63, I could do one of four things—take a whole house, which I couldn't afford, live in a tenement, go into the country, or live with the bride's parents—a thing no young couple should do.

The first apartment house, opened about '68, as I recollect it, was the Stuyvesant on East Eighteenth Street. Next came the Knickerbocker at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-first Street. Now the young couple can find themselves a nest in the most varied locations and at a price proportionate to the young man's income—which is a fine thing.

Up to the early sixties, Fifth Avenue had been given exclusively to private residences. It was then invaded by

business, and a short-lived humorous paper of the time, named, like a present prosperous contemporary, *Vanity Fair*, had a poem on the subject, of which the refrain ran something like

Ohe! Eheu!

There's a tailor-shop come into Fifth Avenue.

For more than a generation the invasion of business did not amount to much, except where Broadway crosses at Madison Square.

As late as my coming to live in New York in 1863, the city contained but one tailor, one hatter, one bootmaker,

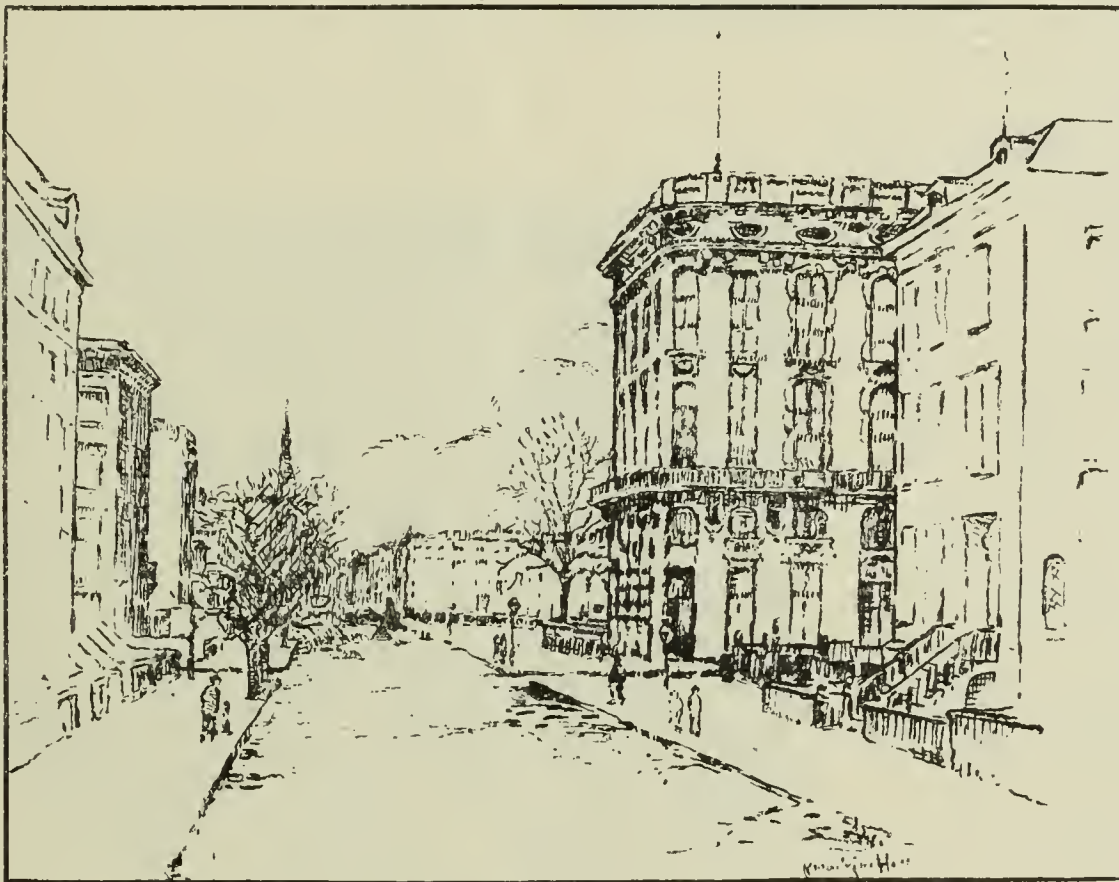
and one barber—in the sense in which similar conditions then existed in London. In *Punch* they were illustrated by a cartoon under which one gilded youth asked another: "Did that hat come from —'s?" (*Punch* was too astute to advertise the name.) To which came response: "Why, is there another feller?"

I don't believe that in the New York of today there's "another feller" who fitly fills the place of at least one of those four of over fifty years ago: I never

got as good a boot outside of Paris as I did from him, or as prompt and comfortable a fit. Boots in that day, if you please, even patent leather ones with morocco legs for evening, went up, concealed by our trousers, nearly as high as riding boots go now. It took over a dozen years to bring them down to their present rational proportions. The last two of those four fellows were Frenchmen, and the hatter had a French name. When Vatet (Rest his soul! the advertisement can't be open to suspicion now) shampooed you, he didn't take you out of your chair and put you under a faucet, but he brought you a bowl to hold, then another, and rubbed your head with towels that had been hung close to the stove (steam heat was rare then), and there was no such infernal racket from an electric dryer, or from anything else anywhere, as now there is from everything everywhere.

The incontestably supreme hatter of those days, I suspect, disappeared by translation upward: for I met his son at a house of unquestioned standing, and I seem to remember that that youth even got as high in society as the divorce court.

Now you can buy almost anywhere a hat that you would wear. There are at least two hatters on Fifth Avenue who existed then on Broadway, but could not sell a hat to a knowing man. One of the two was brought out by the women before their fathers would go near him. I suppose



Drawn by Kate Montague Hell

Fifth Avenue in 1857, looking north from Twenty-first Street



they started him, and then turned him on to their brothers, or more likely to other girls' brothers.

About that time another one of *Punch's* cartoons in the same vein represented two youths of the same kind walking in a shower, only one of them having any means of protection. The other asked: "Why don't you stick up your umbrella?" The answer was: "No you don't! Lord Monty Nevil rolled that umbrella." Up to the eighties you couldn't buy a decent umbrella of American make, and when you went to London, which you didn't do as often as you do now, the one thing you were sure to bring home was a Martin. You can get a better American one now for half the money, or rather could before the war put up the umbrellas, so to speak. But probably prices are so inflated in London, too, that my "half the money" still holds good.

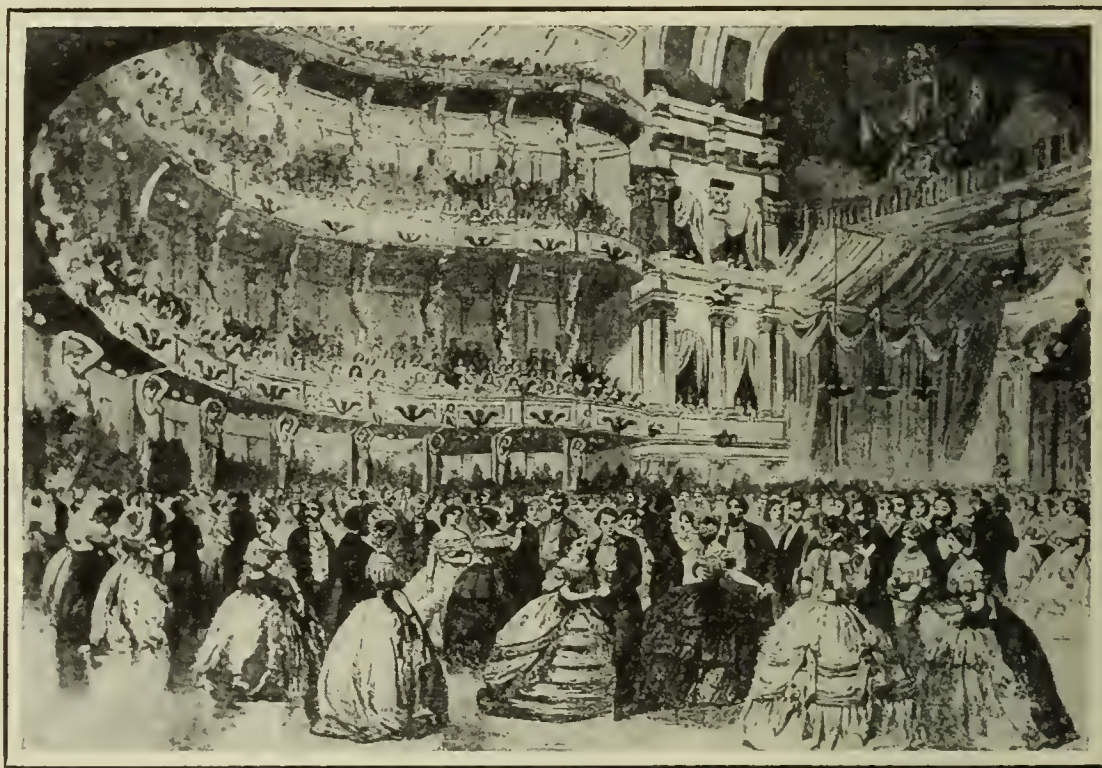
These are all serious things, my children: nobody can be too well dressed, though many are too elaborately dressed. I once heard the president of a leading trust discussing with an ex-Secretary of the Treasury a great merchant prince lately deceased; and one of them added to the account of his virtues: "And he was always well dressed." The other added: "But always quietly." Both of the confabulators are always well dressed too.

As to social New York "in the social sense" (as one of Boston's "social leaders" put it some years ago, when there were social leaders), I am not as competent to speak of the changes as if I had been born and brought up here, and had not had a predilection for people whose pursuits are not productive of wealth: for wealth, rebel as we may, is a prerequisite, not perhaps of the best life, but certainly of the best social life "in the social sense." Yet I am glad to be able to say that, since I came to New York, I see some signs of an increased use of wealth for the best life—for art and literature—and social opportunity for talents outside of those which make money. This benefaction, like the quality of mercy, works both ways, and reacts most favorably on society itself. I am not, however, advocating the free admission of boors who happen to have talent—that would be suicidal, but there are plenty of geniuses as refined as anybody, whose limited means tend to keep them outside of the pale. An obstacle to their being within it is, of course, the lack there of people who appreciate them, and consequently of congeniality. But association tends to remedy this, and I am glad to repeat that I think I see more signs of it, though not as many as could well be wished.

One thing that puzzles me is what has become of "Society." No closed circle of "four hundred" or any other number seems to exist, and the "society columns" get funnier and funnier with unrecognizable names. A generation or more ago MacAllister's (known as Make-a-lister's) "four hundred" and the Patriarchs' balls marked off the thing, such as it was, almost as definitely as a surveyor's stakes. But in these days Society does not any longer exclusively occupy the old ball-room with the red sofas at the Twenty-sixth Street Delmonico's, with the Patriarchs' balls or the Matriarchs', especially as neither

the ball-room nor the balls any longer exist. When there were only those two recognized sets of subscription balls, of course presence at them in their best days gave a certain *cachet*: so the pressure on them was enormous. The inevitable occasional yielding (often from policy) and the ultimate "Nobody cares to go where everybody can go" were finally destructive. By the way, speaking of policy, I just heard of the resignation of a manager of one of the few present sets of exclusive balls being requested by his associates because he had introduced an extremely yellow editor—for whom, of course, he had use.

After the old balls went, groups of mothers with daughters to bring out got up subscription balls, and some of them have a quality of apostolic succession as older daughters marry and younger daughters grow up. Moreover, the trick has spread outside of "Society," among all sorts and conditions of people who have money; and unto the Delmonico's of old days have been added the Ritz and the Waldorf and the Plaza and the new Astor, and the Biltmore, and God knows how many more ball-rooms; and exclusiveness is no longer as prominent as it was; and Society does not make up the grand circle at the opera it used to: there the new wealth has crowded it out mercilessly.



Academy of Music ball for the Prince of Wales, 1860

Now there seems to be no centre. Many of the historic families have died out or become overwhelmed in the mass of wealth and all sorts of eminence, and the wealth is too general, and much of it in hands too impossible, to make a real centre; and in becoming more general, wealth has become more commonplace and lost much of its social power.

Possibly the centre is not as marked as it was a generation ago because there has not lately appeared in any extremely wealthy family a woman with the talents and sort of ambition to make her a "leader of society"; perhaps because their ambitions are higher, perhaps because there has been a very great widening—a very great progress—in social ideas.

The two leading women's clubs, comparatively recent institutions, have exercised a broadening influence. To run either of them takes more than a "Four Hundred." One of them was not originally intended to be "fashionable," but rather intellectual, and it remains so; yet the pressure on it now, even by fashionable women, is reputed



to be greater than on the more fashionable club. As the women meet each other more and more at these clubs, they not only widen their acquaintance, but they have vastly diminished the custom—long disliked and speculated against—of “calling.” That took so much time that it probably tended to keep people in narrow circles.

This recalls an institution that was in great vogue when I came here in '63, whose dying out is among the social contrasts of the last half century. Probably few of my readers know what New Year's calls were. Up to the late sixties, men started on the morning of the New Year's day, often a carriage load of them together, to call on their lady friends. These had tables spread with food and wine, and the men kept calling and nibbling and sipping, often until they went home late at night, the younger of them at least in condition to call no more. The custom kept up old acquaintance, but it is doubtful if it contributed to the making of new ones, which has led to the broader knowledge of each other among the socially fit that seems to me characteristic of today.

Reverting to clubs, perhaps the greatest revolution ever started in New York in the direction of an “intellectual” society was made in 1865 by the foundation of the University Club. Similar clubs had long existed in London, but not here. Most of our club's inaugurators, however, were young, inexperienced, and unknown, and it soon went into eclipse; but its charter was kept alive by a dining club, and by 1879 many of its obscure young originators had grown into recognition and wealth, and the club was revived into its present leading position. That that position should be held exclusively by university people is the tremendous revolution. Many rich men were dazed on finding that no amount of wealth or prominence could secure admission to one of the leading clubs in New York, and some of them hustled off benefactions to the universities with an eye toward honorary degrees. So much of this was worked that the Club had to provide that, to be eligible for membership, the holder of an honorary degree “shall be distinguished in literature, art, science or for public service.”

In illustration of the change that has taken place in New York society: In a purely social gathering at a private house—not invited to further any “object,” but only because of friendship and congeniality—I lately noticed, with their women folks, the presidents of the two great museums; that of the leading university, with several of his faculty; the editors of the leading daily, the leading serious weekly and the leading comic one, the leading New York monthly, and a leading quarterly; one of the world's leading statesmen; one of the most conspicuous ex-members of the Cabinet; several persons eminent in literature, science, and the various arts; and a few multi-millionaires of the inheriting kind, among them a retailer; all scattered through a lot of nice people of no particular intellectual eminence.

Now my impression is that such a gathering would have been impossible in the New York of fifty or even twenty years ago. A company containing as many intellectual people would have had a shade of bohemianism, a company containing as many wealthy people would have been almost all wealthy, and a list containing as many historic names would not have contained as many associated with present performance.

While we are about it, I may as well record my impression that great wealth can break into society in New York, as in the world over, more easily than it could a generation or two ago. Nowadays almost any rich man who will give a big ball can get most of the best young folks to go. But their elders seek their natural affinities much more than they did when they were corralled into a group.

As to those same young people, I hardly know what to make of them. I suppose very few old people ever did. In my day the girls went more with their parents' friends, and didn't smoke or swear or show their legs, or ride cross-saddle dressed like boys. But neither did they play tennis or golf, nor row, nor go to college, nor have as natural figures or as good health as they have now; nor did they earn their own livings, or know nearly as much as they now do—of both good and evil. As I see them in the elevators of the office buildings, I think they're getting ahead. As I see them in Society, I experience a touch of what my friend Dr. Walter James incisively names as his pet object of avoidance—“a bewildered old age.” And yet, amid my bewilderment, I find much reassurance in realizing that women's nervous systems need, much more than ours, the soothing influence of the weed nicotian; and when I recall the alleged reassurance of the conductor of the Fifth avenue 'bus to the lady hesitating at the stairs: “Oh, climb up, lady. Legs ain't no treat to me,” I have a suspicion that the fashion of today may be healthier than those of my youth.

The blackest thing I know in the whole business is the attendance at the recent Dempsey-Carpentier prize fight, and the way it was treated by the press. True, there was no *pollice verso* about it, but the attendance was a distinct step backward from that at the prize-fighting about the New York of my early years. Then the place for the fight had to be kept as nearly secret as practicable, and attendance was small, mainly of roughs, and general sentiment was against it. Now the crowds are immense, even some ladies go, and the press is as full of it as of a Presidential election. Is it a revival of chivalry or of the arena? I'm bewildered again. Either way, count me at least one who doesn't like it. And I suspect that even the athletics we all approve are being overdone.

But this rush to a show, even if a bad show, reminds me of perhaps the greatest advance of my time, and it had almost slipped my attention. It is the fact that people take more holiday, and give more outings to the poor. Vacations are longer. The Saturday half-holiday and five o'clock closing in summer are but a generation old. The ten-hour day started in my childhood, and the eight-hour day is still too new to have become universal, while in “offices” the seven-hour day has caught up with it, in New York at least. I rather look forward to the six-hour day, and to still longer vacations, but I distinctly do not like the increased number of single holidays that come in to interrupt business. Shorter days and longer vacations would, I think, do the recreation much better.

## Inventory

To Gamaliel Bradford

WHAT comes in when the tide comes in?  
*Bubbles borne on their brittle wings,  
 Dragging seaweed and prowling fin,  
 Snails and hermits and creeping things,  
 Mouths that waited and claws that tore,  
 Driven, for all of their deep-sea skill,  
 Into the shallows and up the shore.*  
 Take what you will.

What comes in when the tide comes in?  
*Songs as light as the tumbling spray,  
 Dirges heard where the heart has been  
 Humbled, and couched with kinsman clay.  
 Stars that glitter and stars that fall,  
 Love, that haunter of shore and hill,  
 Noon, and the final night of all.*  
 Take what you will.

CLEMENT WOOD





# EDITORIAL



## Great Men at Washington

AMERICA has paid tribute to her unknown soldier. Her allies have laid wreaths on his bier. Hearts have quickened with the thought that he may be theirs—their very own. It is the concrete, the human, that stirs the feelings; it is the symbol that broadens these feelings so that they are experienced by the many. Three years ago the situation was still intensely human and concrete. Memories were fresh of individual youths who had gladly given their lives in defense of country and for the sake of glowing ideals. Today, after three years of confused purpose, it is fortunate that the Conference at Washington opens with this preliminary ceremony of a nation's tribute to concrete human sacrifice.

For there is small danger that the Conference will concern itself wholly with the concrete, and hence become so personal as to degenerate into sessions of selfish give-and-take. The world and its statesmen have been chastened at length by a full realization of the awful burdens of the war. The thought of all is on peace, and permanent, satisfactory peace. The problem is how to attain it. In so promising a situation it is this country, now as in the autumn of 1918, which can guide the world's destinies. The question is whether, after the lapse of three years, we have learned wisdom. On the surface the same old disagreements appear. Those who took their stand for our entrance into the League of Nations are still convinced that nothing short of that can bring great good to the world. The bitter animosities excited by the Presidential campaign, though naturally quiescent, have not been laid to rest by a clearer understanding of the merits of the case. The people spoke, and the policies of President Wilson were shelved; but essentially the dispute remains much what it was before the popular verdict was given, and it is doubtful whether any appreciable number of his followers have changed their opinions on these large issues of international coöperation. What reason is there, then, to expect sizable results from the Washington Conference?

Well, our faith is based not only on the smaller order called for by the present assemblage, but on the manner in which the problems have been approached from the beginning. Emphasis is much: when President Harding and Mr. Hughes resolved to keep the Conference to the discussion of specific human problems, we felt that there was a good chance for a small company of first-rate statesmen, meeting together in friendly fellowship, to make a real advance. Devotees of the Fourteen Points complain that there are no similar slogans to guide the proceedings at Washington. For ourselves we rejoice at their absence, despite the high-minded purpose which dictated them. The trouble with the Fourteen Points was that they laid down principles of abstract justice which at this stage of the world it was impossible to realize and that they made any devia-

tion seem mean and unworthy. It was indeed most unfortunate that whenever the human element entered into agreements it must strike the onlooker as contemptible: such an atmosphere could hardly be expected to engender enduring satisfactions. Mr. Balfour has accurately described the temper of the Washington Conference thus: "We must not indeed either ask for or expect the impossible, although what is within our reach is worth our utmost efforts." One could never quite feel that the Versailles Conference was actuated by the same tempered but confident hopes. The spectre of world-sweeping, abstract justice had a way of making pigmies of its ministers and of stultifying their human intercourse. How little of inspiring, or even amusing, anecdote, for example, issued from Versailles! The Conference in general remained a grim struggle with the unattainable.

The plans for the Washington Conference call for something different. The assumption has been that, with the terrors of war driven into all minds, the great gentlemen assembled at the Capital can be counted upon to arrive at reasonable conclusions on several large questions. They are not asked to accept in advance one man's formulas; they have obviously been invited to share in enunciating such broad principles as may grow out of their discussions. Here, clearly, room is left for the play of personality, the striking of mind against mind, and the gradual evolution of just, serviceable political doctrines. In short, the drama at Washington is set in the sphere of the human.

The ceremonies of November 11 have brought back in all their freshness the ideals for which this country took up arms. For the moment the disillusionments incident to the struggle over the League have vanished, and again America feels the strength of her leadership. She is making another beginning under the best auspices. Whatever fires of dissension may flare up later, the controlling spirit is that contained in Marshal Foch's fine words:

On this day let us think only of the great cause for which the Allies fought—a splendid cause, one that led to victory and peace. And in thinking of the great cause for which we fought, let us think also of a bond of eternal peace so that the people of the world may work and rebuild and find happiness in industrial pursuits, with no thought of future conflicts.

By the nature of the case there was not this singleness of purpose at the opening of the Versailles Conference. Might has been chastened and humanized. The leaders of the nations have come to Washington to be welcomed by one who, while mindful of the great responsibilities he has imposed upon himself and others, is singularly talented in manipulating the interplay of personality. Men of such outstanding character as Lloyd George and Briand will find in President Harding the best of moderators; one who understands high aspirations, and human weaknesses as well. It is indeed to be hoped that, notwithstanding the high calling of the Conference, a degree of informality will persist and that the delegates may meet one another as men.



However insistent may be the emphasis on principle, it is not likely, we rejoice to think, to minimize the enormous value to be derived by the friendships which will be made among the delegates at Washington. The Conference was conceived in the spirit of friendliness; and friendliness is sure to animate it throughout.

## The New York Election

THE only thing that was at all surprising about the result of New York City's election was the enormous size of Hylan's plurality. Even that, though perhaps surprising, was not astonishing; and it would have been still less astonishing if people had kept in mind certain facts of the past instead of their hopes for the future. Of course, nobody was so thoughtless as to base any hopes upon Harding's amazing plurality a year ago. Everybody knew that a Republican plurality of 439,000 in the city of New York was a wholly abnormal phenomenon. But the thing that was largely lost sight of was the fact that on the very day of this astonishing Republican sweep on the Presidency the Democratic candidate for Governor beat the Republican candidate by 320,000 in New York City. Miller received only half as many votes as Harding, and Smith twice as many votes as Cox. Obviously it was the Smith-Miller vote, and not the Harding-Cox vote, that was the proper starting point for any practical calculations. It may almost be said that the failure of the Fusion ticket is to be measured by the comparison between the 320,000 plurality which Smith, Democrat, had over Miller, Republican, and the 418,000 plurality which Hylan, Democrat, had over Curran, Coalition. And that comparison, though not so startling as others that might be made, is surely bad enough, and discouraging enough. To attempt to minimize the significance of the result would be absurd; and any attempt even to explain it must necessarily be fragmentary and tentative. Yet some specific points are worth noting.

### The Republican Party Setback

There can be no doubt that a potent factor in the situation was popular discontent with the Republican party in the nation. By this we mean very much more than the natural reaction from such a showing as that of last year; we are not referring to the difference—a net difference of 857,000!—between the Presidential result in 1920 and the Mayoralty result in 1921. We mean the difference between what happened this year and what might be expected to happen under normal circumstances. In a time of acute business depression, of unemployment running into the hundreds of thousands, of general uneasiness about the economic situation, the party in power at Washington is sure to bear, whether justly or unjustly, the brunt of the blame. And the Republican party is peculiarly debarred from complaining when this happens to it. It is but getting a dose of the medicine which it always administers so ruthlessly to its opponent. That the Republican party is the party of prosperity, that Democratic rule and hard times are convertible terms, is one of the most cherished of Republican legends. Even without this teaching people would be sure to turn upon the party in power at a time like this. With it, they can hardly be blamed for doing so with a special zest.

### Tammany Under Fire

Tammany's hold upon the masses of New York City, unshaken except at brief intervals for the better part of a century, is one of the great outstanding facts of American politics. Essentially it is based upon two things—wonderfully complete and effective organization, and a steady appeal to the primitive instincts of the poor and of the ignorant. The only way in which that hold can be shaken at any given time is by a powerful appeal at once to the emotions and to the intelligence of that great body of voters which, when thoroughly aroused, can overcome even that solid mass over which Tammany's control is beyond the reach of attack. No such appeal was compassed either in the recent campaign or in the period preceding it. This was partly because the Hylan administration, bad as it was, was not bad enough. But that was not all. The attack, such as it was, was ill-directed. To men who are far from partial to Tammany, even to men who hold Tammany in utter abhorrence, it was only too manifest that in the assault upon the Hylan administration the opposition were driven to making the most of every charge they could get hold of—that it was a case of any stick being good enough to hit Hylan with.

### The Meyer Investigation

A striking illustration of this was furnished by the Meyer Legislative committee's investigation, which was started several months ago. The first thing that its counsel, Mr. Elon R. Brown, did was to explode a big bomb in the shape of a charge that the Hylan administration had grossly exceeded the Constitutional debt limit. The explosion made a good deal of noise, but it discharged a wonderfully small amount of poison gas. Mr. Brown had evidently rushed into the attack without having mastered the facts with which he was dealing, and after a few days of unedifying wrangles the subject was ingloriously dropped. Not much more successful was the exposure of Police Commissioner Enright's bank account. The thing did look suspicious, and it is quite possible that Enright's defense was spurious; but nothing convincing was brought out—as against Enright, though the case was different in regard to one of his ex-subordinates—and there is little doubt that in effect this attack too proved a boomerang. In the investigation as a whole many damaging things were, of course, brought out, but there was too little body in it to produce a substantial effect upon public opinion. Altogether, it is by no means improbable that resentment at what looked like persecution more than balanced any indignation which the researches of the committee may have aroused against Tammany.

### The Five-Cent Fare

Probably the most potent single force acting upon the mass of voters was the five-cent fare issue. Of this it is difficult to speak in a satisfactory way. Two or three years ago, probably a majority of fair-minded and intelligent people thought that an increase of the fare on the subways and elevated roads was justified by the facts, and indeed a necessity of the situation. Such increases were taking place in many of the leading cities of the country. Nevertheless, the case for it was never fully made out. Mayor Hylan set his face against it absolutely. We have no doubt that he did so as a matter of political calculation, and not upon



the merits of the question. But there is no blinking the fact that he did do it, and there can be very little doubt that had he not done so the fare would have been raised. Now the curious thing about the situation preceding and during the campaign was that the attempt to increase the fares had been wholly abandoned, and that the attack on Hylan in this connection was based not upon his having been demagogically obstinate in the matter, but quite the contrary—on his having allowed the surface roads to get more than a five-cent fare through the abolition of certain transfer privileges. This attempt to trump Hylan's card was a dismal failure, as in the nature of things it was bound to be. Demagogue or no demagogue, the people's instinct gave him credit for having prevented that increase of fare to which, rightly or wrongly, they were opposed; and, for once at least, the people's instinct was correct.

Many other points deserve attention: the unpopularity of Governor Miller; the home rule sentiment aroused by the Governor's reorganization of the Public Service Commission and the resulting scheme for putting the whole traction system of New York upon a new and better basis; the drop in the Socialist vote. Into the particulars of these things we cannot enter; but there are two aspects of the case upon which a few remarks will not be amiss.

#### The Woman Vote

The New York election is but the latest of a long series of striking instances from which the inference has been drawn about the woman vote that "there ain't no such animal." It will not do to make too sweeping a generalization; but, broadly speaking, we believe the inference is entirely correct. Throughout the campaign the one hope to which the anti-Tammany forces clung when everything seemed to be against them was that the women of New York would rise in their might and put Tammany where it belongs. Nothing of the kind happened; and this in face of the fact that the Hylan administration's failure to provide accommodations for the growing number of school children had really been flagrant, and had been played up more than any other issue in the closing weeks of the campaign. The registration of women was 447,000 in an aggregate registration of 1,268,000, and yet Curran's total vote was only 337,000. It is as nearly certain as such a thing can be that the women's vote, therefore, was not perceptibly more favorable to Curran than the men's vote, and indeed it is highly probable that it was more favorable to Tammany than the men's vote. However this may be, New York's election should suffice for a long time to prevent political forecasters from looking to the woman vote as a determining factor in any case except one that makes an overwhelming appeal to sentiments or interests distinctly peculiar to women.

#### Influence of Newspapers

For the hundredth time the moral will be drawn by many very good people that the influence of the great newspapers—those that enjoy a high standing among the best elements of the community—is a negligible quantity. They will point to the fact that all the well-known newspapers of New York, with the exception of the Hearst papers and the newly established pictorial *Daily News*, fought Tammany tooth and nail, and the result was 755,000 votes for Hylan and 337,000 votes

for Curran. Doesn't that prove that the newspapers have no influence? No, it proves nothing of the kind. Paradoxical as it may seem, the bigger the majority the less it proves that the newspapers have no influence. If New York wants to give four or five hundred thousand plurality for one side, no power on earth can make enough impression on the situation greatly to alter the outcome. There must be something at least distantly approaching a balance of forces to give the newspapers a chance to play a part that will show up in the election result. What the election shows is not that the newspapers have no influence, but that the odds against them were far beyond the limits which any intelligent believer in the power of the press assigns to its scope. What the newspapers effectively influence is a comparatively small, but yet extremely important, body of intelligent opinion—that body which when an election is fairly close decides the result; and, what is even more important, that body whose attitude and tone of thought impresses itself not at an election, but in the long run, upon the vastly wider body of less alert but equally right-minded citizens.

## A Yankee Colonel at King George's Court

WHEN President Harding selected Mr. George Harvey to represent America at the Court of St. James, the most distinguished as well as the most important of diplomatic posts, we did not share in the misgivings and forebodings that were so generally expressed. We recognized a certain trait of irresponsibility that had been displayed in his journalistic career, but we hoped that the manifold responsibilities of his new position would have a sobering effect, and that his long and varied political experience would teach him the value of team-work in his relations to the department whose agent he was. We hoped also that his natural gifts and personal charm, as well as his distinguished record as editor of the *North American Review*, would make him *persona grata* in London, and that his shrewdness and quick wit would be a valuable asset. But we were mistaken. His gifts of quick wit and ready—too ready—speech, displayed now on two important occasions, have become a distinct menace to our international relations.

For his Pilgrims' Dinner speech, in which he attributed our entrance into the war to selfish and sordid motives, he has been sternly rebuked by a resolution of the American Legion in convention assembled, and there is no doubt that this resolution expresses the general sentiment of the country. But in his address before the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce his offense was greater. Here he took upon himself the responsibility of instructing his audience categorically as to American policy regarding alliances with any foreign Power. As a statement of fact and history, his unconditional assertion is open to grave criticism, as the *New York Tribune* has shown. As a political expression, in the sensitive pre-Conference atmosphere when of all times considerations of tact and delicacy should govern the utterances of an ambassador, Colonel Harvey's ill-mannered rebuff to Lord Derby's thoughtful and friendly suggestion might have serious consequences.



Had he felt it incumbent upon him to challenge brusquely any hint at a formal alliance, he might at least have softened the effect of this by pointing out the possibilities that lay in an unwritten entente or understanding, and that America had no mind to remain aloof from the affairs of a stricken world or shun her responsibilities.

It is not the truth or falsity of Colonel Harvey's assertions, taken by themselves, that chiefly concerns us. What we are concerned with is that he should assume, of his own motion, to formulate a foreign policy. It is the business of an ambassador to express precisely the policy and attitude determined by his superior, the Secretary of State, and if he departs from this and exceeds his instructions or improvises other views, he becomes a source of embarrassment and danger. This is the position in which Colonel Harvey has now placed himself, and his usefulness in London is at an end. Like Wali Dad in Kipling's ballad, he "carries the curse of an unstanched speech," and is liable at any moment, in a fit of irresponsibility, to cause irreparable harm by his looseness of tongue. It is time that President Harding found for him some other field of usefulness.

## The Real Issue in the Ladies' Garment Industry

AS these words are written a strike appears imminent in the ladies' cloak and suit trade of New York, perhaps of the whole country. Union truculence on one side has been fully matched on the other by an amazing lack of practical shrewdness in presenting the real issue to the public. The inevitable result is that the vitally concerned general public is much in the dark as to what the real issue is, and where the preponderance of right rests—whether indeed one side is decidedly more right than the other. The actual facts of the situation are, however, entirely clear, and it is of consequence that the public, which is the final burden-carrier in all such private wars, should know them.

The real issue is whether the ladies' cloak and suit industry must continue to pay the clothing-boom wages of 1920 for a notoriously low and inadequate production—whether the union shall be supported by the public in its refusal either to deflate its swollen wage rates or so to increase production that it will actually earn those wages. This fundamental issue is the same in the ladies' garment trade as in all other trades. It is an economic necessity that unit costs of production shall be scaled down in every trade and industry to harmonize with the new scale of prices. The International Union of the ladies' garment workers stands in stiff and entire opposition to this necessary change. Everything else is detail that does not affect this central issue. Unfortunately for the public, the union leaders have been quick and shrewd in using these details to befog the issue, while the New York manufacturers have played into the hands of the union propaganda by an almost inconceivable lack of common sense in handling their side of the matter.

Under a contract between the union and the manufacturers, effective June 1, 1919, there was installed for the first time in the New York ladies' cloak market the so-called "week-work" system, with a specified

minimum scale of wages for each of the dozen or so crafts concerned. Week work means that each employee is paid by the week for whatever work he or she does during the week. Under this particular contract there was no provision for a standard of production. After a worker had been two weeks in a shop, the contract also made it impossible for the employer to discharge that employee for failing or refusing to produce a reasonable amount of output. This combination of an assured wage and an assured job without responsibility for performance appeals to the average worker, and the rank and file of the union have supported their leaders in the most drastic applications of the idea. The wages actually paid under this contract were left for settlement to the worker and employer in each case, and these actual wages were practically always above the minimum scale. Although the contract forbade strikes and "stoppages" of work, the union officials twice secured wage advances by means of strikes. Present wages represent two increases on top of the actual wages paid after June, 1919.

The burden of under-production became so obvious that on June 3 there was established a joint commission of the union and the manufacturers to devise means of correcting this evil. By the terms of the agreement this commission was to meet monthly, and on November 1 was to make a final report, with recommendations. Towards the end of October a representative of the manufacturers told the union head of the commission that the manufacturers would ask for a return to the piece-work system. The answer was that the union would never agree to it. Thereupon the representatives of the manufacturers, with an extraordinary blindness to the inevitable public reaction, issued on October 26 their declaration for the piece-work system, to go into effect (together with longer hours and lower wages) on November 14. The press of New York has roundly condemned the manufacturers for their bad faith in taking this action before the commission had made its report of November 1. That action was technically, perhaps, a breach of the agreement: but in view of the actual facts we see better reason for condemning the manufacturers for their stupidity in injuring what is essentially the good and just case of the consuming public against labor-union excess. There is no real issue of a "return to the sweat-shop," as the union leaders have declared. The union is abundantly able to prevent any attempt to impose excessive hours of work, and the very efficient Joint Board of Sanitary Control has shown itself able to prevent unsanitary and unhealthful conditions in the shops.

The manufacturers missed their chance, and failed the public, in failing to use the joint commission as a means of getting an indisputable record of the facts of inefficient production. The trouble cannot be "settled right" until it is settled on the basis of the facts. These are within reach, and can be reduced to a record that will indicate what decision is just. The shrewder union leaders know that the present system cannot indefinitely defy economic law, but they are driven on by the mass of their members. The public is unfortunately without any direct means of intervening, but it owes it to its own interest to do everything possible to force a clear record of facts. Such a record might hit an employer here and there; it would infallibly show the economic unjustness of the union's position.



# The Story of the Week

## The Week at Home

### Suspension of the Coal Strike

THE injunction issued by Judge Anderson of the Federal District Court at Indianapolis, forbidding attempts to unionize the West Virginia coal field and forbidding throughout the country deduction by the operators of union dues from miners' wages (the "check-off" system), has been suspended, awaiting action on appeal by the Federal Court of Appeals at Chicago. Therefore the "check-off" system continues in operation, the strike of the Illinois soft coal miners has not spread to other fields, and most of the Illinois miners have returned to work.

### The Tax Revision Bill

On Tuesday, the 8th, the Senate passed the Tax Revision Bill, the several soldiers' bonus amendments offered having been defeated. The proposition of a sales tax, so ardently championed by Senator Smoot, was rejected. Some of the features of the bill are:

Repeal of the excess profits tax and of all the transportation taxes, to take effect January 1. Reduction of all surtax rates. Repeal of sundry "luxury," "nuisance," and stamp taxes. Reduction of certain taxes and, by way of partial compensation, increase of others and imposition of certain new taxes. Some taxes are changed in form.

Under existing law Federal taxes would yield about \$3,340,000,000 during the fiscal year 1923. The tax bill as amended by the Senate proposes to reduce this amount to about \$2,725,000,000. The bill now goes to conference of Senate and House.

### Other Things

The Good Roads Bill, carrying a grant of \$75,000,000 in aid to States toward highway construction and improvement, has been signed by the President.

Some ten were killed and seven wounded in connection with the elections in Kentucky.

The Anti-Beer Bill will come to a final vote in the Senate on November 18.

Alone of the mayors of important cities, Mayor Thompson of Chicago has refused to adopt the recommendations of the National Conference on Unemployment. Secretary Hoover has rebuked him by letter.

### Our Foreign Language Press

Our foreign-born population numbers about fourteen millions, of whom, according to the *New York Times*, at least three millions cannot understand or speak English, while another three millions cannot read it. We agree with the *Times* that, instead of berating and attempting to suppress the Foreign Language Press, we should conciliate it and make it an ally of a well-considered policy of Americanization. The *Times* finds that its leaning toward radicalism is as a whole only slightly greater than that of the English press of New York City: a statement which seems a little strong until we reflect upon the character of some of our periodicals in English, or at any rate Manhattanese.

It is up to our Foreign Language Press (conceived as an ardent friend of Americanization) to encourage the immigrant of non-English speech to acquire a speaking and reading knowledge of English as rapidly as possible; it is up to us to provide ample means for such rapid acquisition. We suggest that foreign language newspapers be subsidized

(by private benefaction) to cover the expense of printing, side by side with articles in the foreign language, excellent translations of the same in English. Perhaps we are approaching an era of good feeling when that sort of thing will seem natural.

### The American Sense of Humor

[The reader is advised to omit the reading of the following dialogue; especially if he be captious, solemn, self-complacent, of an "adust complexion." Whoever, after this warning, reads this stuff, is estopped from sending us one of those letters of abuse (some of an almost incredible violence) to which we are becoming accustomed.]

*First Citizen:* One faculty has been bestowed on man by which he seems to be differenced from the other beasts (except the mule, in whom a superfluity of the gift defeats itself and does his credit in the world much wrong.)

*Second Citizen:* And what may that faculty be?

*First Citizen:* The faculty of humor, of course. Some have opined that this would save man at the last. But, though the Athenians were very tickle o' the sere, Aristophanes could not save them. The fact is that cachinnatory propensity and ceaseless activity of the risibiliales . . .

*Second Citizen:* By which you mean?

*First Citizen:* By which I mean the "laughing muscles." The word explains itself. I say these are often confounded with humor, with which divine faculty they have no more necessary connection than has the grin of the hyena or the smile of the Cheshire Cat.

*Second Citizen:* No more but so?

*First Citizen:* Humor, my lad, which is a kind of heightened and nimble apperception, requires for its development and aliment store of knowledge and observation. Since the average man knows little and observes less, his faculty of humor is atrophied, and about as useful to his mind as the caudal appendage to his body, and about as much in evidence.

*Second Citizen:* But what of us Americans? Are we not the exception?

*First Citizen:* No. The American sense of humor is an American popular fallacy. *Chorea of the risorii Santorini* . . .

*Second Citizen:* O mighty-mouthed one, expound!

*First Citizen:* As I observed, St. Vitus's Dance of the laughing muscles is endemic in America: an affection of which the morbid anatomy is, alas, undetermined. I do not mean to intimate, however, that a real sense of humor is more rare in America than elsewhere. It is, and always has been, rare everywhere. Who, before Tennyson, perceived the humor in the Parable of the Prodigal Son, or the wit in Christ's reply when posed with the question about the coin?

*Second Citizen:* Is that all?

*First Citizen:* Yes.

*Second Citizen:* It is enough.

## Notes on the Washington Conference

### A Nice Formula

IT is reported that the American naval experts have devised a formula by which to state in mathematical terms the naval strengths of the several powers; into the making of which formula enter many considerations: as of tonnage, length of coast line, population, dockyards, naval bases, fortifications, etc., etc. A very nice, delicate matter. It is rumored that our experts, in estimating fleet strength, have considered tonnage only. We can not believe that. We subscribe to the British view that the capital ship should be the basis of such a computation, and that of capital ships only the post-Jutland types deserve serious consideration. Recall, reader, the battle of Dogger Bank.



### A Special Inducement

Admiral Kato has given out that, if the United States would agree not to strengthen or add to her fortifications in the Pacific, such agreement would be a very special inducement for Japan to go slow on naval construction. And well it might. Read Mr. Bywater's book.

### The Most Perplexing of Problems

The most perplexing and not the least important of the problems which will engage the attention of the Conference is that of suppression or control of certain new agencies of warfare—as poison gas, aerial bombs, submarines, radio control, etc. We can think of only one way of dealing with this problem which might be effective: to wit, constant minute inspection by international commissions vested with unlimited privilege of inquisition. Such inspection would call for a very large expert personnel and would involve a very considerable expense. An expense entirely worthwhile; if only for the relief from the fear that clutches the heart of mankind, of all this devilish new enginery of war. Mankind is of one mind, we cannot but think, as to the sordid, infamous tendency of the modern science of war. We incline to think that the time is ripe for a revival of the Institution of Chivalry. There, Mr. Wells, is a suggestion for a kind of Internationalism conformable to human nature.

### The Delegates

The number of British delegates-in-chief to the Washington Conference is seven; of Japanese, three; of French, Italian and American, four for each country. The British delegation is so much larger than the others in order to give representation to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and India.



Drawn by Kate Montague Hall

M. Briand at his desk

The British delegates are: Lloyd George, Premier of Britain; Arthur Balfour, who has held the greatest offices in Britain, including that of Premier, who as a member of the League of Nations Council was the dominant figure at the two sessions of the League Legislature, an eminent philosopher and no mean golfer; Lord Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada during the nine years ended 1920; George F. Pearce, Australian Minister for Defense; Sir John William Salmond, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand; and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, member of the Viceregal Council of India. Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington, will serve in the absence of Lloyd George. It is interesting to note that Balfour attended the Congress of Berlin in 1878 as secretary to Lord Salisbury. Of all the delegates he has the richest experience and probably the widest culture. Think of it! From "Dizzy" and Bismarck to Lloyd George in his latest phase.

The French delegates are: Briand, Premier of France (and worthy of that office, could one say more?); M. Viviani, formerly Premier and with a prestige almost equal to Briand's; Albert Sarraut and Jules Jusserand. M. Jusserand, of course, is almost one of us (Washington would not quite be Washington without him). M. Sarraut is the least well known of the four. He was probably chosen be-

cause of his experience and knowledge of the Far East. He has been Governor-General of French Indo-China, and for the past nine years has been Colonial Minister of France.

The Italian delegates were chosen for their knowledge of finance, industry and commerce. They are Signors Schanzer, Ricci, Meda and Albertini, the last-named being one of the most distinguished of European journalists. Italy's chief interest is in economic readjustments, exchange, markets, raw materials.

The Japanese delegates are Prince Tokugawa, president

of the Japanese House of Peers, who, had the Shogunate not been abolished, would today be Shogun, a man of great physical prowess, strength of character, knowledge and ability, and of a charming address; Vice Admiral Kato, Minister of Marine; and Baron Shidehara, Japanese Ambassador at Washington. The Admiral is, we understand, chief of delegation. With the death of Hara he is, perhaps, the most important man in the Government party. He is the author of the famous "eight-eight-eight" programme; i. e., the programme of eight battleships and eight battle cruisers, each vessel to be replaced as obsolete at the end of eight years from its completion.

Of the delegations which will participate in the discussions of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, but not in the discussions on reduction of armaments (the Chinese, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese delegations), the Chinese interests us most. The members are Dr. Sze, Chinese Minister at Washington; Wellington Koo, formerly Minister at Washington, now at London, greatly admired for his conduct at the Paris Peace Conference and as member of the Council of the League of Nations; and Wang Chung-hui, Chief Justice of the Chinese Supreme Court. A place has been held open for C. C. Wu, son of Wu Ting-fang, Foreign Minister of the Canton Government, but Mr. Wu still refuses to serve. Justice Wang Chung-hui is a gradu-



ate of the Yale Law School and a man of extraordinary ability. For some years he has been engaged in a codification of Chinese laws. Mr. Sze is a Cornell graduate and Wellington Koo a graduate of the Columbia Law School.

One of the delegates from Holland is Jonkheer van Karnebeek, president of the last League of Nations Assembly.

As for Russia, Secretary Hughes has given assurance that her rights and interests will be a matter of moral trusteeship on the part of the Conference. On the ground available for consultation are not only Mr. Boris Bakhmetieff, the Russian Ambassador, but such representative Russians as Prince Lvov, Premier of the first Provisional Government, Professor Paul Miliukov, and Mr. Nicholas Avksentiev.

Enthusiasts for the League like to think of Balfour, Viviani, Wellington Koo and van Karnebeek as liaison officers between the League of Nations and the Washington Conference.

Perhaps the finest intellect among the delegates is Elihu Root. One wonders what might be the condition of the world today had Mr. Root headed the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

## The British Empire

### The Conference on Ireland

FROM the fact that the Conference has not broken up, it is plausibly inferred that the Irish representatives have admitted the possibility of their acceptance of the principle of allegiance to the British crown upon certain conditions; if the inference is correct, it cannot be doubted that the chief of these conditions is a settlement of the Ulster question satisfactory to the Sinn Fein. There's the rub, of course. If Lloyd George shall discover a solution satisfactory to both Belfast and Dublin, he will be, with Alfred, Edward I, and Chatham, one of the supreme names of Britain. Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier, is in London and has summoned to London the other members of the Ulster Cabinet. In a message to Secretary Hughes expressing regret that he could not be present at the opening of the Washington Conference, Lloyd George gave as the chief reason the "intensely delicate state of the Irish negotiations." But he added: "I hope to be with you before the Conference reaches the deciding stage of its momentous work."

### "Civil Disobedience" in India

According to the Associated Press, the All-India Congress Committee of 200 members (including Gandhi) met at Delhi the other day and discussed developments, including the imprisonment of the Ali brothers by the Government. The committee resolved almost unanimously "to adhere to the policy of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes and complete non-coöperation."

According to the New York Times, one Seilandra N. Ghose, now in Washington as "director of a Commission to Promote Self-Government in India," says that a proclamation of Indian independence will be issued next month, and that "more than 1,100,000 men, nearly half of them seasoned soldiers, have been recruited." Have they arms wherewith to enforce Gandhi's "peaceful revolution"?

## The End of an Absurd Affair

CHARLES and Zita are on the British cruiser *Cardiff*, nearing their new home. The Portuguese Government has consented that Funchal, the capital of the Madeiras, shall be the place of internment. Funchal smacks of romance; we should like to be exiled there, with an elegant competence. A lovely curving shore; the city with streets so steep that the only vehicular traffic is by ox-sledges (think of it!—no automobiles, no garages, no honks); terraced hills behind, with gay country houses and tropical

vegetation; and, dominating all, the amphitheatre of mountains, 4000 feet high. The city is just the right size (21,000, you can know everybody); it has a cathedral, an opera house, a museum, a casino, and good hotels. Society is not lacking; there are the bishop, the governor with his entourage, and the British wine merchants; the climate and scenery attract a limited number of rich tourists. There is cable communication with London and Lisbon, so that with a little ingenuity Charles can keep in touch with his supporters with a view to another little *coup*. At any rate, on anniversary days they can cable their felicitations. It was very nice of the Council of Ambassadors to make such pleasant arrangements.

The Hungarian National Assembly has passed the bill dethroning Charles of Hapsburg and barring the House of Hapsburg for ever from the Hungarian throne. To make assurance doubly sure, the Horthy Government has issued a declaration that, in the event of election of a king, no Hapsburg shall be considered eligible (this on the insistence of the Little Entente).

Demobilization of the Czechoslovak forces has begun, marking the end of the Episode of the Second *Coup*.

## Albania and Jugoslavia

AT last the Council of Ambassadors has completed its Albanian studies. The Council affirms the boundaries drawn by the London Convention in 1913. Italy, we hear, is satisfied. The Council has notified the Greek and Yugoslav Governments of its decision, directing them to withdraw their troops behind the 1913 line.

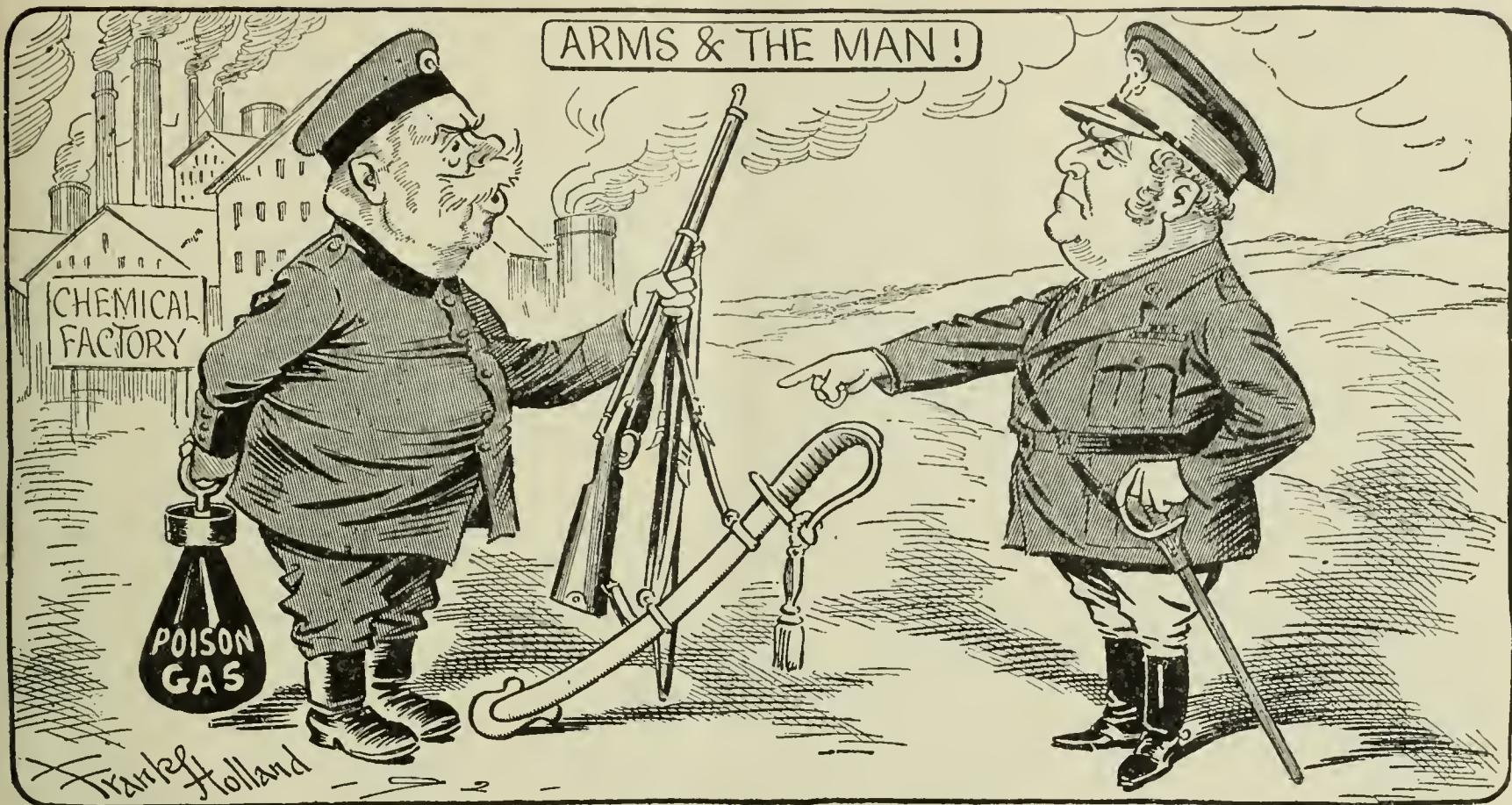
It is reported that on the date of this notification Yugoslav invading forces were approaching Tirana, the Albanian capital. Fearing that the Yugoslav Government might not take the Council's orders seriously, the Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy at Belgrade made representations to the Belgrade Government, urging prompt compliance. Great Britain, being particularly exercised about the behavior of the Yugoslavs, invited (acting under Article XI of the League Covenant) the attention of the League Council to this behavior, requesting it to convene and bring Jugoslavia to book. It is said that the British charge the Yugoslav Government with bad faith in having stated that any Yugoslavs in Albania were irregulars, and having insisted that the charge of invasion could not be made good, since nobody knew what was or what wasn't Albania; the British claiming to have proof of the presence of Yugoslav regulars in Albania. The League Council will meet on November 18 to consider the subject, and the Yugoslav and Albanian Governments have been directed to send representatives to that meeting. It seems probable that the Greek forces in Albania are irregulars and few in number. At any rate Greece, being just now in an humble mood, will doubtless act correctly.

We trust that the question of the disputed boundary is settled at last, and that the Yugoslavs will retire quietly. The loss of Scutari is, however, a terribly bitter pill to swallow; and some Serbian d'Annunzio may stage another *fait accompli*.

## A Bolshevik Anniversary

NOVEMBER 7 was the fourth anniversary of the *coup* by which Lenin *et Cie* came into power in Russia. The celebrations were of a subdued character, for Bolshevism has entered into a phase of compromise. With Western capitalism, that is; eastward the case is different. Chicherin proudly invites attention to the treaties, so favorable to Moscow, concluded during the past year with Nationalist Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Bokhara, and Khiva; and to the establishment by Bolshevik arms of the "Urga Revolutionary Government" (Mongolia), with which Government a treaty is now in process of negotiation. More-





General John Bull:—"And what about the other 'arm'?"

over, the Far Eastern republic is again practically within the Red fold. Upon the insistent demand of Chita, Moscow has been admitted as a third party to the negotiations at Dairen (Tokyo and Chita being the other parties).

### Ch'ang-an

IF we might recover some one charming parcel of the for-most-part dreadful past, which would we choose? Others doubtless would speak for the Athens of Phidias, or for the Florence of Dante or that of Leonardo and Politian; others still for some little court of Provençal troubadours, or, maybe, for Bagdad when Bagdad laughed and sang, or for Nuremberg or Wenden in their golden days: and yet other some for this or for that phase of human culture, beautiful but brief. Our voice would be given at once for the Ch'ang-an of the glorious reign of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung (eighth century), whose court was graced by the most extraordinary group of wits and geniuses ever gathered together: including that swashing Chinese Anacreon, Li Po; that Celestial Villon, Tu Fu; and that prince of landscape painters, Wang Wei. Could our wish be realized, each afternoon we would join the poets, the painters, the wits, and the ladies (some so beautiful, 'tis recorded, that they needed no rouge) in the "Pear Garden" of the dramatic college, to observe and criticise the budding actors; and each evening we would be fain of an invitation to share in the festivities of the Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup.

There is still a Ch'ang-an, better known as Si-gan Fu, incomparably situated in Shen-si on ground rising from the romantic Wei, foursquare with massive walls and noble gates, gazing southward on the White Mountain and the Tsing-ling-shan; a populous mart for teas and silks. But that is not our Ch'ang-an; the real Ch'ang-an. Just as Salem must be seen by the magic light of Hawthorne; Florida from off-shore by the light o' the moon; the Acroceraunian Mountains in the glow of sunrise; Colonus as glorified by Sophocles; Yarrow under the guidance of Wordsworth; must thus be seen to be seen aright, to be seen as they really are: so Ch'ang-an, that Capital of Song, that Nest of the Lyric Bird, that City of the Soul, must be seen as flashed upon the inner eye by the genius of Sung Tzü-hou, of the Emperor Ch'ien Wen-ti, of Li Po, of Tu Fu, of Po Chü-i, of

Wang Wei; to be seen aright, to be seen as it really is.

Our attitude toward the Italy of today is immeasurably influenced by our inner vision of the Florence of Leonardo and Politian. Our attitude toward China is not influenced by any inner vision of Ch'ang-an. It should be.

Washington conferees please take notice.

### A Number of Things

THE Conference on the Limitation of Armament opens at 10.30 a. m. Saturday, the 12th, in Continental Memorial Hall (the beautiful building of the Daughters of the American Revolution).

According to an Associated Press report, M. Briand said the other day to the American newspaper correspondents at Washington: "We are in the presence of two volcanoes. On the other side of Germany is Soviet Russia in full eruption. The German volcano is rumbling. The only barrier is Poland. Should that barrier fall, we would have the two countries of eruption uniting."—Perpend that, reader.

The Fascisti and Communists of Italy are at each other's throats again.

It is reported that the Greek Foreign Minister is making frantic efforts to obtain Allied mediation in the war between the Greeks and the Turkish Nationalists. It is also reported that the Angora Government is in negotiation for a loan from France, to be applied to prosecution of that war.

The murderer of Premier Hara of Japan is not a Korean, as was at first reported, but a fanatical out-at-heels son of a Samurai; one of a considerable class who, now that the Samurai's occupation's gone, are a serious menace to the commonweal, since their pride swells in proportion as their fortunes dwindle.

Prince Saionji, one of the three surviving Elder Statesmen, is being pressed to accept the offer of the Premiership of Japan, as being the best man of the party in power to guide the Government through the trying period of the Washington Conference. A change of Government at this juncture might prejudice the hopes of the Conference. It is reported that he declines, pleading his great age (77), but that the Emperor may insist.

HENRY W. BUNN



# New Books and Old

## Books of the Week

THE LITERATURE OF ECSTASY, by Albert Mordell. Boni and Liveright.

A study of the nature of poetry.

LONDON RIVER, by H. M. Tomlinson. Knopf.

Prose sketches along the Thames.

A SHEPHERD'S LIFE, by W. H. Hudson. Dutton.

The Wiltshire Downs—Salisbury Plain and nearby.

THE CRUISE OF THE DREAM SHIP, by Ralph Stock. Doubleday, Page.

Across two oceans in an auxiliary cutter. The Canary Islands, West Indies, Panama, and then the Pacific and the South Seas.

ROOSEVELT IN THE BAD LANDS, by Hermann Hagedorn. Houghton Mifflin.

Roosevelt's ranching days from 1883 to 1887.

SELECTED LETTERS OF FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, edited by Oscar Levy, translated by Anthony M. Ludovici. Doubleday, Page.

KING COLE, by John Masefield. Macmillan.

A story in verse.

MORE THAT MUST BE TOLD, by Philip Gibbs. Harper.

Essays about the effects of the War, in England, Europe, and America.

THIS is Children's Book Week, and I am going to take a vacation from reading all small-town novels, violently youthful psycho-analytic novels, and dadaistic poetry (none of which I would read, anyhow, unless compelled to do it) and finish reading "Howard Pyle's Book of Pirates" (Harper). Then I am going to begin "The Old Tobacco Shop" (Macmillan) by William Bowen, which, with its pictures by Reginald Birch, looks pleasantly like Carryl's "The Admiral's Caravan." I hear that one book-dealer refuses to display this book for children, because its title contains the word "tobacco" and that is something which children ought never to hear about. How the geese and ganders survive! "The Old Tobacco Shop," a fine and fanciful tale, passed the purifying test of examination by three children's librarians while it was still in manuscript, and no parent need fear that there is anything in it which will teach children to chew, smoke or swear. It is a story of a kind of which there are altogether too few. Mr. Wyeth's fine pictures in color will attract me, if anything can, to Jane Porter's "The Scottish Chiefs" (Scribner). I think I am old enough for that, now. When I tried it once before it seemed

a bit difficult. Another attractive book is Padraic Colum's "The King of Ireland's Son" (Macmillan), which is *not* about the Prince of Wales. How will the Friends of Irish Freedom stand for the book, anyhow? Will they not insist that it be withdrawn in favor of a biography of Eamonn De Valera? My next choice is Francis Rolt-Wheeler's "The Boy with the U. S. Secret Service" (Lothrop). It appears to be one of those unusual and excellent books, a joy and relief to tired fathers who read aloud to their sons, and do not mind being amused themselves during the process. I think they will go on with the reading after the sons have gone to bed.

Albert Mordell, in "The Literature of Ecstasy" (Boni and Liveright), pays a just tribute to Arthur Machen's "Hieroglyphics" for its references to ecstasy in literature. But, says Mr. Mordell, Arthur Machen found much "ecstasy" in "Pickwick Papers," where there is really little, and none in "Vanity Fair," where there is much. The philosophical may conclude that ecstasy in literature is subjective, but the irreverent will suggest that there is a good lot of ecstasy in "Pickwick" and that some of it landed Mr. Pickwick in a wheelbarrow.

Mr. Mordell's book is interesting and often acute, though surely some of it is not novel. Ecstasy, not rhythm, is essential to poetry, and some of the best poetry is found in the world's prose fiction. Here is his definition of a poem: "A poem is any literary composition, whether in verse or prose, which as a whole is an imaginative creation, a vehicle of emotion, an expression of ecstasy; or that portion or every portion of such a composition where the emotion or ecstasy has been concentrated. It does not follow that the work as a whole is necessarily poetry. Its most natural language is prose or free verse."

From Bert Leston Taylor's "A Penny Whistle" (Knopf) permit me to quote:

### PASSING STRANGE.

I read a great deal of *vers libres*.  
And "images" scan by the score.

But never a line.  
Be it ever so fine.  
Is added to memory's store.

Though avid of Amy and Ezra.  
Though keen for the poems they write.  
If requested to quote  
Either luminous pote,  
I'd have to say "Pass!" or "Good-night!"

It may be that memory's so cluttered  
With Shelley and Shakespeare and Blake,  
With Housman and Horace,  
Macaulay and Morris,  
And Dante and Dryden and Drake—

The new stuff has no room to enter:  
The fault, past denying, is mine.  
Yet I still think it strange,  
As the moderns I range,  
That I never remember a line.

The title of Sir Philip Gibbs's "More That Must Be Told" (Harper) is not fortunate, for it suggests further revelations of the horrors of war. It leads

you to suppose that the author has a great deal on his mind, and that he feels that he must relieve himself of the burden. The book is not conceived in any such spirit. Instead, these are modest and high-minded essays about conditions in England, Ireland, America, and certain European countries since 1919. The author's description of his reception in America by a few riotous Irish republicans is temperate and just.

Many a believer in the League of Nations, it seems to me, could have his enthusiasm chilled by the doubt and hesitation, not to say evasive expressions and tactics, of some of its advocates. It is a curious and lamentable thing that so many good people, so many who are profoundly convinced of the unusual nobility of their own motives, can argue and act in the manner of a politician conscious that the bill he is advocating is rather shady. The standard was set from the moment that the League was tacked to the Treaty, as a disreputable "joker" is put into an otherwise honest measure. That suspicion of double dealing has never been shaken off. It appeared again in the impudent sentimentality of the cartoons during the campaign of 1920, when graves of American soldiers were depicted as "arguments for the League." I cannot find that this blight has altogether disappeared. In "The Great Deception" (Boni & Liveright) the author, Mr. Samuel Colcord (a "pro-League Republican" if I am not mistaken), seems to lose a little by not being more straightforward. His main thesis, which appears not without some effort on the part of the reader, is that the vote for Mr. Harding was really a pro-League vote, or, at least, a vote for some kind of an association of nations. His analysis of the Republican vote begins, as usual, by reference to the pro-German and pro-Irish vote, ignoring the tremendous Harding majorities in "straight" American communities. He goes on to discuss the other Republicans, but the emphasis given to the German and Irish elements shows that his methods are not dissimilar from the methods of the stock arguments for the League. His reference to our men who died for "imperiled liberty in France and to avenge Belgium's wrongs" inevitably recalls the fact that so many of the greatest of the League advocates looked on with cold indifference while these causes were all but lost, from 1914 to 1917. I have never been able to see why enthusiasm in favor of putting out a fire is lamentable jingoism up to the point when the house is three-quarters consumed, and noble idealism when the tardy and indifferent chief of the fire department has at last waked up, found his scattered clothes and equipment, and arrived on the scene almost too late to save anything. In justice to Mr. Colcord, it should be said that he believes that we delayed too long in going into the war. But his arguments would be more convincing if his style were more forthright.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## A Military Classic

THE DESERT MOUNTED CORPS. By Lt. Col. R. M. Preston. With maps and illustrations. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

FROM war books cavalrymen have generally got cold comfort. Their turn comes at last, and gloriously, in Col. Preston's thrilling account of the operations of the Desert Mounted Corps in Palestine and Syria. The thrill is in the facts, for the author sticks to business. We have cavalry fighting of the traditional dashing style on a scale hitherto unknown to history, conducted on a parched soil of utmost difficulty, consecrated by centuries of military heroism. Of General Allenby's army of 76,000 men, 20,000 were mounted, mounted on everything from camels to donkeys. In the first drive the cavalry advanced over seventy miles, and made possible the taking of Jerusalem; in the second drive, which culminated at Damascus and Aleppo, they added 380 miles more of constant attack and advance, annihilating three Turkish armies.

These unexampled successes were facilitated by command of the air, by opportune detection of the enemy's plans and codes of communications, by Allenby's remarkable masking of his own designs and dispositions, and by his extraordinary judgment of the foe's capacity for resistance. While the traditional rôle of cavalry was best exemplified in the final pursuit, it was, throughout, constantly used for the initial attack, attacks often delivered mounted with the straight sword at thrust. In the deserts and ravines between the Jordan and the sea hundreds of Balaklavas were reenacted, and against machine-guns and such artillery fire as the Crimean heroes never dreamt of. In the advance on Jerusalem a mounted squadron of 170 men rode down and captured three batteries, losing nearly half their numbers. Under Mount Carmel fifteen lancers took seventeen guns. Near Damascus a brigade of Australian Light Horse charged six miles against troops in position and shattered them by the shock. Aside from these tactical marvels, Allenby's final drive employed his entire cavalry strategically on an epic scale. As a classic battle (old style) nothing in the war compares with it save Tannenberg. The plan was to send the Turks from the coast and thus open a sluice through which the Desert Mounted Corps might be poured. The subsequent direction of their deluge was largely left to themselves. No cavalryman will ever forget the six days from October 18 to 25, 1918. They are days of imperishable glory for the mounted arm. At six o'clock P. M., after hardly two hours of fighting, the infantry and artillery forced the seaward trenches and turned the shattered Turkish flank inland. Only four hours later the last brigade of cavalry trotted through the gap, and the greatest

of pursuits was on. Five days later the two Turkish armies west of the Jordan were annihilated. Another five days and the remaining army east of Jordan was reduced to disorderly flight. And this incessant attack was conducted with slightest food for horse and man, with scarcity of water, without camp equipment. It is clear enough that, without his cavalry, Allenby could never have kept contact with the fast-marching Turkish infantry, and his entire campaign must have been abortive.

We have in Colonel Preston's book that unusual thing, a military narrative which is equally interesting to the tactician and strategist, and to the general reader. We are confident that this book will take its place among the rather few military classics.

## The Hapless She

LIZA OF LAMBETH. By W. Somerset Maugham. New York: George H. Doran Company.

DITTE, DAUGHTER OF MAN. By Martin Anderson Nexö. Translated from the Danish by A. G. Chater and Richard Thirsk. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

THE publisher says that "Liza of Lambeth" was written "several years ago," a statement safely within the fact, since the story seems to have been published in England in 1897. "Who's Who," indeed, makes it Mr. Maugham's first book. He was then some twenty-three years old, and would have taken joy and pride in this contribution to the consciously "uncompromising" realism of the period. It must have made some noise in England, but I recall no echo of it here. Perhaps America would hardly have "stood for it" then, any more than it would have hailed a "Limehouse Nights" with delight. We have stronger stomachs now, or shall we say a more robust sense of romance? It is noticeable that "Liza of Lambeth" is lauded by its American sponsor not as a piece of "uncompromising realism," but as "the love idyl of a shining figure—a symbol of the unquenchable hunger for beauty and romance." Liza was a factory girl of the mating age, daughter of a drunken and totally squalid charwoman. She was pretty, and fond of finery and pleasure, but not unchaste. She was waiting for her destined mate, who unluckily proved to be the first strong adult male who snatched her up and kissed her on the street. He was a married man of the neighborhood, not a bad husband and quite a good father, with a daughter of Liza's own age. This made the situation uncomfortable, but there was no helping it; the whole affair was fated. It ended in a brutal fight between Liza and the wife, both pregnant, and Liza's death after a drunken night with her brutal mother. This is a tale of negative naturalism. Its cockney dialect is laboriously and tiresomely rubbed in. The squalor of its scene and of its people is voluptuously insisted on. Liza is a pathetic, not a shining figure. Her effect falls far short of the pity and terror of the tragic mood, and if she is

a symbol of anything, it is of the piteous fatality of the emotion called love. In short, this is an energetic rather than forcible exercise, by a young hand, in the lesser realism of the 'nineties.

To compare it with a product of creative realism, set it beside the "Ditte, Daughter of Man" of Nexö. This is a continuation and apparently a conclusion of "Ditte, Girl Alive." Here, if you like, is a shining figure, a tragic victim of fate; here is our symbol of hunger for beauty and romance. Readers of "Ditte, Girl Alive," will recall her unpromising origin, as the illegitimate child of a mother who later steals the little hoard of a dying old woman and is sent to prison for it. It is her step-father, Lars Peter, the rag and bone man, who nourishes her childish soul. Lars Peter is ignorant, feckless, coarse; but he has the major instincts of a Christian gentleman. He has loyalty, gentleness, honor, he suffers long and is kind. In his way he is indomitable, and, though he is to find no road out of his poverty and material ill-luck, a modest happiness lies ahead in the finding of a real mate for his later years.

For Ditte also we cannot bear not to hope, though her way is dark enough up to the point where we part with her. The narrative begins at the moment when Ditte leaves home to take service at the neighboring "Hill Farm." It is not a place of good omen; too many generations of the same family have bred and sinned there. The present owner is a middle-aged widow whose nature has been spoiled by unhappy mating, and who is now a rustic tyrant and wanton. Her sons have left her, except the youngest, a lad of about Ditte's age, with a weak and morbid but not depraved nature. To him, half-contemptuously, Ditte's motherly instinct goes out, and through that instinct she is presently betrayed. She is sent home from the farm. The son is just man enough to follow her after a time, and to wish to become the legal father of their child. But she does not love him and will not marry him. Life still holds out its arms to her. She seeks fortune in Copenhagen, goes through a hardening process as servant in many houses, discovers that the well-to-do are neither happier nor more virtuous than the poor. Then she enters the household of a poor author with liberal theories, where she becomes literally one of the family. The wife is beautiful and sweet, the children are charming; the husband is devoted to them, but not to the point of resisting the fresh charm of the girl Ditte. And since he might have been the man for her and she is no longer innocent, she cannot resist this first real experience of the passion of love. The relation cannot last, if only for the wife's sake, and Ditte passes on. Her brief mating season is piteously over. Impulses of pity and sacrifice remain. They presently link her to a reckless ne'er-do-well. And we part with her at the heart-breaking moment when, with the news of his squalid surcease, comes a first indubitable presage of the coming of his child. . . . In outline, you see, this narrative does not differ greatly from that of Mr. Maug-



ham's tale. What differentiates them is something other than materials or style or even intention: call it mood, or substance, or creative power as contrasted with the knack of presenting and manipulating fact. "Ditte" embodies the hapless but not unfruitful fortitude of woman, as "Pelle" embodied the enduring courage of man.

H. W. BOYNTON

## "Second April" (An October View)

SECOND APRIL. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. New York: Mitchell Kennerley.

DOGTOWN COMMON. By Percy Mackaye. New York: The Macmillan Company.

BREAKERS AND GRANITE. By John Gould Fletcher. New York: The Macmillan Company.

POEMS NEW AND OLD. By John Freeman. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

"SECOND April" is the right title for Miss Millay's second book. It is April over again, not May. In a word, the book decides nothing; it leaves Miss Millay where it found her—among the vivid possibilities. After all, it is much to be among the vivid possibilities. Who has ever found April unlovable?

There are three or four poems in this book which would be conclusive if they were thirty or forty, instead of three or four. I quote four stanzas from "Elaine."

Oh, come again to Astolat!

I will not ask you to be kind.

And you may go when you will go.

And I will stay behind.

I will not say how dear you are,

Or ask you if you hold me dear.

Or trouble you with things for you

The way I did last year.

So still the orchard. Lancelot.

So very still the lake shall be.

You could not guess—though you should guess—

What is become of me.

Save that, a little way away.

I'd watch you for a little while.

To see you speak, the way you speak.

And smile—if you should smile.

That is lovely verse; that is beauty and heartbreak. Tennyson's whole idyll is less touching; Tennyson is lavish of the sugar. In Miss Millay's poem, though the woman is gossamer, the pathos has body. A like note is heard, not quite so distinctly, in "Alms" and "Song of a Second April." All three poems paint an aging grief, a grief that, without becoming mild, has become still. The sentiments throughout the volume are prevailingly sad or bitter; only they are erect in their sadness or bitterness. This "only" is important.

The longer and more conspicuous poems in the book affect me less, or affect me only in particles. There is an "Ode to Silence" which leads everywhere and—by natural consequence—nowhere. That the praise of Silence

should be vocal I concede; praise demands a voice even more strongly than silence forbids one: but Miss Millay is almost loquacious in its praise. In "The Poet and His Book" the poet asks people to read him after his death. He will take immortality as an alms. Nor do I care much for the long, devious, supramundane allegory, "The Blue Flag in the Bog," though the idea that a world in ruins should supply the one thing that makes heaven in its perfection habitable is a strong idea. The poems reveal invention and fertility, but their motives are far-sought. This points to a dearth of neighborly or doorstep themes. We do not visit Egypt for grain when the harvests are plentiful in Canaan.

Miss Millay is sometimes remote even in the treatment of a near, sharp actuality. A group of poems on a dead friend read like threnodies for Gallus or Fidele. But in odd contrast with this removed and desultory grace is the practice of familiar allusion to the homely order of middle-class or humble life. The symptom is auspicious and surprising. Where did Miss Millay learn about barrels for catching rain, about broomstraws for book-marks, about trunks with hingeless covers? There is more savor of reality perhaps in such allusions than in the dedication of whole poems to such themes. A theme with its dependencies may be the object of a mere excursion, but an allusion is like flour or cobweb on one's coat; it smacks of habitat.

What strikes one finally and cheerfully in Miss Millay's verses is the sway of art. That sway is vigilant, omnipresent, masterful. With most of us what we say is a compromise between our abilities, our inabilities, and the force of circumstance. Miss Millay possibly cannot do all she wills—that would be arduous for Shakespeare—but she wills all she does. Her art is both daring and solicitous; it is exigent without being dainty. I wince personally at part of its daring. "I scratched the wind and whined" is not poetry for me, nor am I either solaced or appeased by the succeeding line in which the poet "clutched the stalk and jabbered." A "sweet bone," used of one's own bones after death, might be useful if one's audience were canine. But Miss Millay is open-eyed in these excesses; these things are in her work by invitation. Moreover, her taste finds harborage for old and new alike. She is not afraid of plain, sheer, downright melody; she will also write verse in which the accent is a hammer:

May sleep the sleep of blessed things

The blood too bright, the brow accursed.

But, by a contrary process, she can give to the processional and courtly sonnet a reach and a spring that suggests the uncoiling of a lariat. There are also beautiful imaginative phrases, "the friendly mumbling rain," or "where helpless mortals drink the bitter sea," or "there dumbly like a worm all day the still white orchid feeds."

In sum, Miss Millay, with all her limitations, is a highly observable person. There is the imaginative and realistic force shown oftener in bits than in poems; there is the ripeness of the art in sharp contrast with the general, though by no means universal, immaturity of the sentiments; and there are the poems, few but noteworthy, in which we stand in the presence of achievement. Some day her part in our literature may be vital; thus far it is only animating.

"Dogtown Common" is a verse-narrative of early New England life in which the niece of a reputed witch who is loved by a clergyman kills herself to save him from embroilment with his congregation. So far-reaching is romance. Even on plain Cape Ann girls who found themselves impediments to their lovers magnanimously hanged themselves. Neither the story nor the characters, however, are the noticeable thing in "Dogtown Common." The visible thing, the effacing thing, is the style. It may be commended to teachers of rhetoric as an example of style in exacerbation. By "exacerbation" I do not mean "acrimony"; I mean that the style is whetted,—whetted until every syllable cuts and shines. Mr. Mackaye plies us with the concrete and the picturesque until we hanker for words like "indivisible" and "consubstantiality"; he gluts us with condensations till we pine for verbiage; he feeds us with originalities till we hunger for "blushing morns" and "gentle zephyrs"; and he pelts us with sonorities and muscularities till we look back longingly to Hannah More and Felicia Hemans. He is not repelled by the rude, the violent, or the odious. He sees flashes of lightning, and they look to him like worms (so privileged are poets), and because worms live in graveyards the sky looks to Mr. Mackaye like a charnel, and because worms also eat dead bodies the fading light of day in the west looks to the poet like a corpse (page 98).

"Dogtown Common," superb as mere gymnastic, is written on a wrong principle. It is as if the poet said to himself that his tale was dull and his reader was dull, and bound himself by an oath at any cost to make dullness exciting to dullness. Accordingly he applies the goad to both, and in the end both are reduced to that impotence which results from too long and harsh an application of the goad. It is good to be interesting, but it is possible, and it is ruinous, to push the fear of not being interesting to the verge of hypochondria.

I will not, however, take leave of the author of "The Scarecrow," for which profound and deeply touching poem my respect is indestructible, in a mood of rigor. Let me quote one of the happier interludes in "Dogtown":

Between late August and the equinox  
Hovers a dreamy season frail and fleet:  
Then slender-falling water is very sweet

To hear among great rocks,  
Tinkling in golden tones the calling cat-  
bird mocks



Beside a pool where willows sway to meet . . .

Opening "Breakers and Granite" at random, I come upon this: "Restless hammers are carving new cities from the stagnant skies." Mr. Fletcher is the man who *sees*, who writes poetry from and for the retina. He *means* this particular sentence; he repeats it four times in one poem as a *leitmotif*. In this volume he is very fond of *leitmotifs*, which, like the ribs of an umbrella, divide the poems into equal sections. I may venture to add in this place that the book divides the United States into sections, and describes the geography of each in a fashion that recalls Drayton and his sturdy "Polyolbion." But to return to my point. I ask myself what this specialist in vision sees when he writes this sentence about restless hammers. Does he see a hammer carve, and does he see it carving stagnancies?

Mixed metaphor has lost its terrors for the younger generation, but the obligations of imagism in this point are quite peculiar. Imagism implies precision in visuality, and the last man who may ask me to see what I cannot see is the imagist. Take Mr. Fletcher on another page:

A tinge of russet, purple, blue; vague heights,  
Ribbons of turquoise threaded with russet-brown;  
A sail of thin silk quivers like a butterfly,  
By chimneys and a long squat bulk with towers.

This is normal imagism. The expert, almost the pedant, in vision is instructing me, and I feel at the same time an awe of the expert and a recoil for the pedant. I am bored, but respectful, as I might be at a technician's explanation of a dynamo. With my eye on my watch I murmur "Admirable." But I am disconcerted, I am almost scandalized, when this sober gentleman addresses me as follows: "Screaming and flickering like loosened floods of flame, the streets run together amid the houses that huddle and leap and lower over them." It is as if my technician had a fit of hysteria. Somehow one does not permit hysteria to technicians. Mr. Fletcher's strong point is, or should be, visual knowledge. Why, then, in his flickering streets and leaping houses does he turn to the vague personifications and hyperboles which the man who paints streets and houses without seeing them employs to dissemble his blindness?

It is true no doubt that sincere excitement may voice itself in figures as extreme as Mr. Fletcher's. Floods have clapped their hands and valleys have shouted for joy in a psalmody which the ages sanction and revere. But is Mr. Fletcher really excited? These violences are units in a programme, in a plan, and there is a broader design which Mr. Fletcher follows with something like the diligence



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of a gazetteer. One test of excitability is a man's behavior during and after an explosion. Read the lines which follow (*italics mine*):

And a girl in a black lace shawl  
Sits in a rickety chair by the square of an  
unglazed window,  
*And sees the explosion of the stars  
Softly poised on a velvet sky.*

There could not be a more placid explosion; the stars have not winked, neither has Mr. Fletcher. Obviously, we have entered a world where convulsions and detonations need not be taken seriously,—nobody minds a trifling cataclysm; like Macbeth we will sleep in spite of thunder.

The book contains some good writing, is full of industry and of misguided conscience, and its experiments in polyphonic prose with casual interior rhyme will have an interest for versifiers. But it is a tedious book except for persons who are infatuated with the new, and who do not mind the beginnings of age in their novelties.

I have said more of Mr. Fletcher's poems than I shall say of Mr. John Freeman's, though Mr. Freeman writes by far the better poetry. It is hard to name a poetical virtue that the Englishman lacks. He has music and phrase and narrative and landscape and feeling and analysis and thought and elevation. He has a taste that in our time is rarely found in company with the stronger qualities that give it value. Yet the effect, though good, is not proportioned to the outlay. Mr. Freeman's high traits appear to us perhaps too much in the light of equipment or equipage, as if nature had scrupulously met an exacting order in his case. The remark savors of the ungenerous, and I should not make it but for the need of some tentative explanation of the failure of Mr. Freeman to interest me keenly. I will quote three stanzas of real poetry from "*Lambourn Town*" (*italics mine*):

Within we heard the gurgle-glock  
In the pipe, the tip-tap on the sill  
Like the same ticking of the clock:  
We heard the water-butt o'erspill.

The wind come blustering through the  
door,  
The whipped white lilac thrash the wall;  
*The candle flame upon the floor  
Crept between shadows magical . . .*

In the black east a pallid ray  
Rose high; and sweeping o'er the down  
*The slow increase of stormless day  
Lit the wet roofs of Lambourn town.*

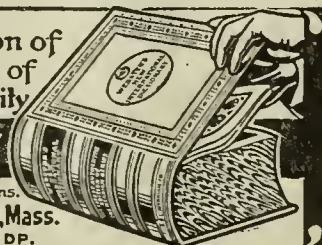
Even this, vivid as it is, does not impress me in the measure of my abstract sense of its impressiveness. The poem as a whole seems rather directionless. There is one question indeed which Mr. Freeman's poems do not always put to themselves, the question, "Whither?" His claims upon our regard are large, but claims which one can neither dispute nor fully pay are apt to make one a little peevish with the claimant. I confess to something of this unworthy fretfulness in the case of Mr. Freeman.

O. W. FIRKINS

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# The Industrial Trend

THOSE who care to know the real issues involved in the recurrent labor disputes that affect us all should be interested in knowing that Judge Anderson's injunction against the United Mine Workers was keenly regretted by the more discerning among the employers of the country, because its prohibition of the "check-off" system of collecting the union's dues was recognized as an excess, certain to discredit the administration of the law. The temporary suspension of the check-off order by the Circuit Court of Appeals may be the first step in correcting Judge Anderson's error. But even so, the fact of the initial excess has already done harm which cannot be overtaken.

To the first part of Judge Anderson's order there is no reasonable ground of objection—unless one dissents altogether from the ideas expressed in the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The first prohibition forbade all unionizing activities by the Mine Workers in the non-union coal fields of West Virginia, on the ground that such activities were part of a conspiracy between the Mine Workers and the Central Field coal operators that will have the effect of restraining interstate commerce in coal—hence is a violation of the Sherman Law. It is safe to assume that Judge Anderson had before him sufficient *prima facie* evidence that such a conspiracy existed. Sufficient evidence in that direction already exists in the record of the Coronado Case, now on appeal before the Supreme Court: another sufficient presentation may be found in the Supreme Court's decision in the Hitchman case.

But there is serious objection to the second part of Judge Anderson's order, which prohibited the carrying out of the contracts between the Mine Workers and the Central Field operators by which the operators collect from their employees the membership dues owed by the workers to the Union. Granting that an unlawful conspiracy has been established, and that part of the funds received by the Mine Workers from the check-off are used to further that conspiracy—specifically, to unionize West Virginia, and to buy guns and supplies for raiding bands—the proper injunction remedy would be a prohibition against the use of any of the union funds for that purpose. It would be proper, if it were possible, to forbid the collection of that part of the check-off income that is devoted to executing the conspiracy. But the actual order prohibited the collection of the entire income of the union, including dues that were not shown to be used for any unlawful purpose. This is much like cutting off all of a man's income, even that part necessary for his food and clothing, because he uses a part of his income for an unlawful purpose.

This flaw in the injunction order was due in the first place to the announced intention of the attorneys for the com-

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plaining coal company in Judge Anderson's court to "smash the Mine Workers." Successful prohibition of the entire check-off system would obviously paralyze the Union. But even if it be admitted for the sake of argument that the purpose was laudable, it clearly was not right to seek that end by stretching the law beyond its proper reach, as was done in the prohibition against the check-off. Shrewd men on the employer side of the general question saw at once that such a stretching of the law would discredit the law. They foresaw the strikes that actually followed the signing of the order, and they felt that the inevitable result would be not only to discredit the administration of the law among the miners, but also to cast on *all* employers the odium of attempting to get from the law more than it was right for the law to give them.

Judge Anderson's personal responsibility for the excessive breadth of his order should be thoughtfully considered, with due allowance for the fact that even judges on the bench are subject to the same influences that affect the judgments of men in the street. In relation to labor disputes, it is a curious fact that judges in country districts, where labor union tactics of the rougher sort are least evident, are much more lenient towards picketing and other forms of union coercion than are judges in large city areas who actually see for themselves a good deal more of "practical" union tactics. Judge Anderson's court in Indianapolis is in the headquarters city of the militant labor unionism of the United States. Five International Unions have their head offices there. The State of Indiana is firmly gripped by the Mine Workers, not to mention other unions. Largely to the influence of these facts and their practical consequences must be attributed Judge Anderson's course in signing an over-broad injunction. There is some evidence that he himself was doubtful of the correctness of the form of order submitted to him by the plaintiff's lawyers; but the combination of influences was too much for him.

An interesting light on the cost of unemployment self-insurance as practised by Deering, Milliken & Co., comes in a statement by Treasurer H. A. Hatch of that company before the Industrial Relations Association. The company maintains at two plants in New York State, and in three southern cotton mills, a system of reserve funds, one for safeguarding dividends; the other to furnish unemployment payments to employees laid off in dull times. The cost of these latter payments since January 1, 1920, has been 4.515 per cent. of the pay roll at one New York plant, and 1.539 per cent. at the other. In the three southern mills the cost, though not reported in figures, is declared to have been more than offset by the gain in efficiency due to relieving employees of the fear of hardship from unemployment.

B. B.

# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

- I. The Limitation of Armaments.
  1. Summarize all that is said in this issue concerning the limitation of armaments.
  2. Write a paragraph concerning the effect of the tribute paid to the unknown soldier.
  3. Write a paragraph of contrast on the differences between the Versailles Conference and the Washington Conference.
  4. In a single paragraph explain the purpose of the Washington Conference.
- II. American Administration of San Domingo.
  1. Draw from the article material for a composition on "Capable Americans." Write the composition.
  2. Write two contrasting paragraphs on "Self-Government in San Domingo and Self-Government in the United States."
- III. Prices in Petrograd.
  1. Imagine that you received the letter from the woman correspondent. Write an answer in which you comment on the conditions she mentions. Add statements about prices and conditions in the United States.
- IV. Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor.
  1. Define the words used in the title.
  2. Show how the article carries out the promise of the title.
  3. Write a paragraph of detail on "New York City Over Sixty Years Ago."
  4. Write an original short story in which you make use of the social customs common in New York sixty years ago.
  5. Imagine a person who lived in New York City sixty years ago instantaneously brought from the past into the present. Tell the story of your experiences in taking him around the city.
  6. In what respects does Mr. Holt criticize the present?
- V. Inventory.
  1. Explain the meaning of the poem.
  2. Explain the relation between the first stanza and the second.
  3. Explain the figures of speech in the second stanza.
  4. Read the poem aloud so effectively that you will present its thought in full.
- VI. New Books and Old. Book Reviews.
  1. Read Mr. Mordell's definition of poetry. How does his definition differ from the definition given in the dictionary? Explain the definition in full.
  2. The third stanza of "Passing Strange" refers to ten poets. Tell something important concerning every poet. Consult the "Century Dictionary of Names" or any encyclopedia.
  3. What criticism of modern poetry is made in "Passing Strange"?
  4. The critic says: "That is a lovely verse; that is beauty and heartbreak. Tennyson's whole idyll is less touching." Endeavor to prove or to disprove the critic's remarks.
  5. Read the quotation from John G. Fletcher, beginning, "A tinge of russet." The critic says: "This is normal imagism." What is "imagism"? What is "normal imagism"? What sort of imagism does the critic dislike?
  6. Define the following terms that are employed in the book reviews: threnodies, theme, mixed metaphor, polyphonic prose.
  7. Explain the following expressions used by reviewers: (a) long, devious, supramundane allegory; (b) desultory grace; (c) familiar allusion; (d) savor of reality; (e) verse in which the accent is a hammer; (f) the processional and courtly sonnet; (g) happier interludes; (h) poetry from and for the retina; (i) Drayton and his sturdy *Polyalbian*; (j) tentative explanation.
- VII. The Story of the Week.
  1. Write an argument for or against the proposition made concerning the foreign language press.
  2. Give a talk in which you comment on the most important matters now under consideration by the United States Government.
  3. Write an original short story founded on the recent exploits of former Emperor Charles and former Empress Zita of Austria. Make the principal character in your story a boy or a girl.
  4. Summarize the most important foreign events that are of world interest.
- VIII. Pictures and Cartoons.
  1. Write an explanation or a description of any picture in this issue.

### History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,  
Head of the Department of Social  
Science, Julia Richman High School

- I. The Washington Conference—Great Men at Washington. Notes on the Conference at Washington.
  1. At the opening of the Conference see if you can state briefly and precisely (a) the participating nations and the reasons why each was included, (b) the fundamental purposes of the Conference.
  2. State your answer to the question: "What reason is there, then, to expect sizable results from the Washington Conference?"
  3. Looking over the list of delegates see what considerations influenced their choice. In what cases do you think official position was a dominant factor? Why? What do you think explains the choice of the American delegates?
- II. A Yankee Colonel at King George's Court.
  1. Why does the editor feel that Colonel Harvey's "usefulness in London is at an end"?
  2. What qualities do you think an Ambassador should possess? Which of those qualities does Colonel Harvey lack?
- III. American Administration of San Domingo.
  1. Show why Roosevelt was particularly interested in San Domingo at the time he wrote this letter for Colonel Colton.
  2. What are here given as causes of American shortcomings in governing San Domingo?
  3. In what other ways have we enlarged our power in the Caribbean?
- IV. Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor.
  1. Which of the social changes in New York, described by Mr. Holt, have occurred generally throughout the whole country?
  2. Name other broad social changes in the United States since 1860.
- V. The New York Election.
  1. Summarize the reasons for the victory of Mayor Hylan.
  2. What is the explanation of the power of Tammany Hall in New York City? Have you a comparable situation in your city?
  3. Can you give instances where the Republican Party has put itself forward as the "party of prosperity"? On what grounds does its "legend" rest?
  4. What, in your opinion, is the effect of injecting national politics into city elections? What has been done to attempt to divorce the two?
- VI. The Real Issue in the Ladies' Garment Industry.
  1. State the real issue as seen by this writer.
  2. See what you can find about the formulation of production standards in industry. Do you think they are a good thing from the point of view of the worker, the employer, and the general public? How do you think we should arrive at such a standard?
- VII. The Industrial Trend, Suspension of the Coal Strike.
  1. Look up the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and see how much you assent to it or dissent from it.
  2. How do you think the Anti-Trust Law would be involved in the unionization of West Virginia coal miners and in the payment of union dues?
  3. What do you know about the reactions of union labor to the use of injunctions in labor disputes?
- VIII. The British Empire.
  1. Summarize the recent developments in the Irish and in the Indian situations.
- IX. Albania and Jugoslavia.
  1. What were the boundaries by the London Convention in 1913?
  2. Looking up the struggle for Scutari state why "the loss of Scutari, however, is a bitter pill to swallow."
- X. The End of an Absurd Affair.
  1. State the legal end in relation to the Hapsburg throne.
  2. Compare the surroundings of Charles and Zita in exile with the surroundings of Napoleon Bonaparte in exile.
- XI. Prices in Petrograd, A Bolshevik Anniversary.
  1. How do you account for the prices quoted here?
  2. What are the compromises with capitalism referred to?



# The Independent

*and*

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

*November 26, 1921*



### The Next Step in Disarmament

The Great Opportunity of France and Japan

By P. W. Wilson

THE situation in regard to limitation of armaments changes hourly, and every day witnesses the making of history. What Secretary Hughes did at the opening session of the Conference was to give a key-word, which word is initiative. Instead of discussing the danger of war and its cruelties let us do here and now what we can to end them. Over battleships and combative vessels of all classes, the initiative has been American. The limelight was concentrated on Secretary Hughes. The question is whether over other aspects of the agenda we may expect a similar initiative from France and Japan. Already, the limelight is being focused on M. Briand, who will address the Conference before he leaves for Europe.

Whatever discussion there may have been over the extent to which Great Britain had reason to anticipate "the bomb-shell" delivered by Mr. Hughes, one thing is certain—the situation came as a complete surprise to France. By this I mean that France expected an argument between Great Britain and the United States over their respective navies, in which differences of view France hoped to find herself a mediator. What happened has been foreseen in your columns for many weeks. Nothing essential was proposed by the United States to which Britain did not at once agree. Hence, France found herself for the moment out of the picture. Neither her navy nor that of Italy was affected by the schedules of reduction, nor was either Power needed as conciliator. There was no point at which the services of France were required, and she had no reason therefore to raise questions, like her security from Germany's aggressive aims and the collection of German reparations. The belief in Washington is that French diplomacy did not thus read the omens. Paris banked on a bickering within the English-speaking peoples and the bickering has not happened. If it has been avoided, the credit is due not a little to the tact and patient industry of the British Ambassador, whose considerable part in this great drama will be known one day to the historian. Sir Auckland Geddes was not trained for a diplomatic career. A civil service so jealous of its traditions as the British Foreign Office may have felt a secret misgiving over his appointment. He accepted this appointment when other statesmen shrank from a task rendered difficult by the Irish agitation and other circumstances. He has spoken freely to American audiences and talked freely with American statesmen and publicists. He has not

feared the risk of some momentary indiscretion. Indeed, the man who is always "safe" will never capture the confidence of the United States. When others prophesied trouble between our respective countries, Sir Auckland Geddes preached optimism and practiced it. He would not claim to have written on American institutions with the authority of Lord Bryce. But the present friendly relations between the United States and the British Empire would have been impossible if he had not justified abundantly his selection at a perplexing time to a high office, never other than delicate. The British Government came to the Conference with nothing to learn as to the position in which the delegates would find themselves.

Happily, there is no need for France to remain out of the picture, if only she will recognize the full possibilities of her initiative. France is the leading military Power. She alone can say the word that will bring disarmament on land. It is the hope of Great Britain, and—from what I gather—of the United States also, that France will have the faith to put forward a great offer, comparable with that of Mr. Hughes. This, I say, is the hope. At the moment I can not add, as I should wish, that it is the confident expectation. What appears to be happening is that France is receiving innumerable but indirect hints of the enthusiasm with which other Powers would welcome her initiative. The Pope has condemned conscription. What a mercy it would be if France definitely proposed to abandon it! Like the building of battleships, conscription is by its very nature impossible to conceal. You can not force into the army great drafts of young men without the fact being known. Conscription, to be enforced, must be embodied in public laws. Hence conscription is a suitable and simple subject for an international agreement. What France proposes, Italy and Japan would be almost compelled to accept.

The French answer—that they can not abolish conscription and reduce their army without assurances. One asks, what assurances? Are we to understand by assurances a security against invasion? Or are we to understand by assurances an undertaking to collect German reparations and occupy the Rhine provinces? It makes all the difference in the world whether assurances are desired for peace or for indemnities and fresh territory. It is, I think, clear that disarmament on land must open up the entire question of reparations and Allied indebtedness.



Moreover, there is an initiative that Japan may take. It is scarcely to be believed that Mr. Hughes would have advanced a limitation of navies without armies being limited, unless he had been confident that over Far Eastern questions Japan—with a great army still to be demobilized—would be ready to come to terms. Evidently, Japan had made her position plain some weeks before the Conference assembled. The Japanese are realists. They have no intention of quarreling with the great democracies of the Western world. This being so, why should not Japan gain

credit for herself by promoting a settlement instead of merely accepting a settlement promoted by somebody else? Like France, she has an unparalleled opportunity. She is already feeling for it by semi-official announcements in the press. The bolder her attitude, the better pleased will be Britain and—if once more I may record my impression—the United States. As for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, it is now wholly and evidently obsolete. It has no longer any meaning, and Japan herself does not want it, apparently, to be continued.

## The Stake in the Cloak Strike

Organized Labor's Resistance to Adequate Production the Real Issue

By Benjamin Baker

THE ladies' cloak workers' strike in New York City deserves the attention of every one concerned for the success of American industry and business. For, though the strike is local, it involves an issue that confronts every industry and every business in the country—the issue of adequate, measured production by the worker for a measured wage. A strong labor union is opposing measured production, to the detriment of the business prosperity of the city, and to the detriment of its own members, who are dependent for their welfare on the prosperity of the industry. The manufacturers who are contending with the Union are proposing a system of piece-work which is wholly justifiable in principle; but are proposing it without providing, or apparently even thinking about, the mechanism for preventing its abuse. Yet the real issue is clear-cut, and the means of meeting it, either under a "week-work" or piece-work system, are at hand, fully tested by practical experience.

Before presenting the evidence in the case, a word of explanation is due on one feature that has evidently confused both the general public and the editorial writers of the New York press—the seemingly insignificant difference in the labor cost of a garment under the present system and under some more productive system.

What these critics seem not to know is that an apparently insignificant money difference in the labor cost of two garments substantially alike may be a large *percentage* of the total labor cost, and so may be all-important in competition between two manufacturers, or two cities. One of the large men's clothing plants of Rochester, N. Y., is underselling and thereby gravely worrying its great Baltimore competitor which makes the same grade of clothing—and Rochester and the workers of Rochester win (potentially) against the Baltimore factory and workers—on a difference in labor cost of less than a dollar a suit. That is the main problem that worries the cloak and suit manufacturers of New York. It ought to worry the Union just as much, but it doesn't—yet.

Another issue that has drawn much comment from the press is "the manufacturers' violation of their agreement with the union." A diligent search for the facts seems to show that there is no documentary record capable of deciding this particular question. It has been necessary to take verbal testimony and to form from that what seemed a sound judgment as to what actually happened. The apparent facts fall properly into place in an outline of what led up to the break.

The agreement that somebody presumably violated was entered into by the Union and the Manufacturers on June 3 last. Since the preceding October (1920), the contract between the Union and the Manufacturers signed June 1, 1919, had been practically suspended. Last spring the manufacturers informed the Union that they desired a reduction in wages and hours, and the right to discharge

workers, and proposed a conference. The Union accepted, and on June 3 a joint conference consisting of about fifteen members from each side created a joint commission (three members from the union and three from the manufacturers) under the following agreement (*italics ours*):

(1) Both sides are in accord that it is in the interest of the industry to readjust the same in such a manner as to enable the manufacturers to sell their product at more attractive prices, and they therefore agree to proceed at once to the organization of a Joint Commission to be composed of three members of the Association and three members of the Unions, whose task it shall be:—

(a) To study shop and labor production records and other available data with a view of working out measures which would tend to bring up the productivity of the workers to a point fair and proper to both sides.

(b) The commission shall report once a month, and on November 1, 1921, it shall make a final report of its activities and findings before a joint committee of the representatives of the Association and the Unions, and shall accompany such report with complete and appropriate recommendations.

(2) Until November 1, 1921, the commission shall also act as a joint appeal committee and shall pass upon all complaints on the part of the employers and discharged workers, presented to it by the Unions or Association, arising out of any controversy or dispute about the adequacy of productivity. In determining any case the labor records of the workers in the shop in question shall be taken as the basis for the committee's decisions. *If such records will substantiate the contention of the employer, the action of the employer shall be sustained by the committee.*

(3) Both sides agree to enforce compliance with the decisions of the joint appeal committee.

(4) All complaints shall first be taken up by the clerks of the Unions and the Association for investigations and adjudication.

Two cases of discharge for inadequate production were brought before the joint commission, and the discharges were approved on the basis of the shop records of the two workers, as prescribed in paragraph 2 of the agreement. These discharges were followed by meetings of union members in protest against the sustaining of the discharges. When a third and a fourth case were brought before the joint commission, the Union members asked for more time to investigate. At once a strike was called in the shop from which operator No. 4 had been discharged, and the employer reinstated the man as the only way to avoid business disaster. The union members of the joint commission then refused to consider the case further, *on the ground that it had been settled.*

By this action the Union clearly made the first breach of the agreement, and a breach that was vital to the whole undertaking embodied in the agreement. After this, the manufacturers not unnaturally felt that the agreement was "a scrap of paper." At a meeting of the joint commission on October 18, after being told (in reply to a question) that the union members had no plan to propose, the



manufacturers presented the resolution for piece-work, reduced wages, and longer hours, which was published on October 26. After the publication of the resolution there was another meeting of the joint commission, at which the Union chairman charged the manufacturers with breaking the agreement. The manufacturers denied this, saying that there was still time for the commission to act, and that, if the commission would take any action to forward the discussion the Manufacturers would postpone their purpose of putting piece-work into effect. The Manufacturers asked the Union members to join them in making some report to the full conference on November 1—even two opposing reports signed by the opposing halves of the joint commission—so as to bring the issue before the joint Union-Manufacturers' conference which had created the commission. The Union members refused to make any sort of report, saying that instead they would issue a public statement charging the manufacturers with breaking the agreement.

If this view of the facts is correct (and it appears to be) it seems to the writer that the question of whether the manufacturers broke the agreement is academic and unreal. The Union had previously broken both the letter and the spirit in a most vital way. Faced by a revolt against their attempts to discipline for underproduction; with nearly half of their members out of work; and with their grip on every branch of the garment industries weakening, the Union leaders seized the first excuse for declaring a general strike in order to strengthen their own position. In the slang phrase, they beat the manufacturers to it. The manufacturers did not want a strike until after they had finished their work for the winter season. That is why they set a date for introducing piece-work (November 14) practically at the end of the season. If the Union had not previously broken the agreement, the publication of the manufacturers' resolutions before it could be known that November 1 would see no report from the joint commission would have been a clear breach of the spirit of the agreement. As the case stands, the writer sees less a breach of the agreement than an amazing absence of ordinary common-sense on the part of the manufacturers. By a mere delay of six days in publishing their resolutions they could have avoided the greater part of the public condemnation that has been visited upon them, and could also have deprived the Union leaders of their present excuse for a general strike.

That the economic burden of week work as enforced by the Ladies' Garment Workers is dissipating the industries on which these workers depend is well known to the informed. The New York dress industry, which had a contract with the Union a year ago, escaped from it in the dull times of last winter. The manufacturers, fearing week work, largely shifted to a jobbing basis on which the so-called manufacturer (really a jobber) has all the work done by contractors, by sub-contractors, and by small independent shops. This has so subdivided the units that effective control by the Union is practically impossible. A similar process is under way in the cloak industry. Further, the field of Union control has been invaded and split by hundreds of so-called "social shops"—small shops on a piece-work basis where workers earn as much or more than on week-work, and *have jobs* while many of their week-work brethren are out of work. The general effect in the cloak industry is in the same direction as in certain branches of the leather-bag trade, where excessive and uncertain labor costs under the week-work system as here practiced have within a brief period driven the greater part of that industry out of the city.

Nothing else exposes so clearly the fighting, anti-coöperative, and obstructive policy of the New York locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as the exactly contrary policy of the Cleveland locals of the same

organization. To turn from New York to Cleveland is, indeed to turn "from Philip drunk to Philip sober." Super-liberals who may distrust facts coming through any other medium are advised to read in the *New Republic* for November 16 an excellent general sketch of the Cleveland plan, written by William J. Mack, resident impartial chairman under the Cleveland agreement. That article explains how the Cleveland unions are carrying out an agreement with the manufacturers there to

- (1) Prevent strikes and lock-outs;
- (2) Settle all disputes ultimately through an impartial judge;
- (3) Establish production standards under the week work system;
- (4) Provide increasing wage rates for production above the scientifically set standards;
- (5) Provide a minimum of 40 weeks' employment a year.

Of actual results in Cleveland the *New Republic* article says:

The increase in efficiency and the decrease in waste, where standards are in effect, has resulted in an increase of from thirteen to thirty-seven per cent. in the earnings of the workers and a decrease of from nineteen to forty-two per cent. in the unit production cost to the manufacturers.

"Industrial Statesmanship" is the appropriate title of the *New Republic* article. Complete absence of industrial statesmanship rules the policy of the New York unions. The Cleveland scheme measures up to the high standards set by the Hoover Committee on Waste in Industry—it served that committee, in fact, as one of the foremost examples of waste elimination. Mr. Schlesinger, president of the International, has a personal prestige so great that he could if he would, ultimately swing his people into a sane and profitable attitude of coöperation for the good of themselves, the industry, and the public; but as he has always shown himself a militant opportunist of the traditional Federation type, this is not to be hoped for. He has opposed the Cleveland plan and the leader of the Cleveland unions, even deposing him from office only to see him informally retained and paid a salary by the loyal Cleveland workers in defiance of New York's disapproval.

If the strike establishes in New York the present week-work system, it will almost inevitably mean the disruption of the Cleveland plan, and therewith the breaking up of one of the most promising advances in the entire industrial field. That plan stands for the greatest practicable wages and security for the worker, based on an efficient, measured production that is the only possible foundation for a prosperous industry. Every man whose eyes are really open sees that adequate production and friendly coöperative relations between workers and employers are indispensable to our economic and social welfare. If that issue loses in the garment strike, who wins?

Piece-work and its alleged evils need a word of comment that must here be brief. In the New York garment trades there is no such thing as "an autocratic fixing of prices by the employer." For years past piece-rates have been set by bargaining between each employer and a committee elected by his workers. Under this system, between 1910 and 1919, the coöperation of the Union and the manufacturers through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control abolished the sweat-shop. The sweat-shop issue is a dead issue. Every other evil charged to piece-work in recent newspaper editorials has been met and obviated through coöperation of unions and employers in the men's clothing industry of Rochester, and in other places.

As a bit of ironic comment on the attitude of the garment unions, whose members are ardent professing partisans of Soviet Russia, comes this perfectly authenticated bit of news:

The workers in control of the Russian Soviet industries have of their own motion put their plants on a piece-work basis, as the only possible way to get adequate production.



# Hungry Russia

The American Relief Administration Sets to Work

By Vernon Kellogg

**W**HAT is the truth concerning the Russian famine? Are all the newspaper accounts of it true?

I have had the unhappy privilege of seeing and hearing at first hand something of the situation. Although my recent visit to Moscow and the Volga region was a short one, I had unusual opportunities to come close to the burned fields and to the suffering people. And I have had a considerable experience ever since the beginning of the war in Belgium, North France, Germany, Poland, and Austria, all of them sufferers from food shortage, which gives me some competence to get rather quickly at the truth of the situation in a region of alleged famine.



International

*Starving children at Samara being examined on a hospital train*

Well, while I am not prepared to vouch for the truth of all the details of horror which have been published, there is not the slightest doubt that a famine of awful magnitude does exist. It is a truly dreadful situation, and one that appeals irresistibly for amelioration, whatever the cause and whosoever the responsibility. Help is imperatively demanded from a humane world.

Let me give a few facts from personal observation. One of the most conspicuous and distressing scenes that meet one's eyes in the Volga provinces, and even before reaching them, is that of the refugee camps and trains. Men, women, and children, with their clutched-up bundles of bedding and smaller household goods, are gathered in shivering groups of hundreds to thousands along the railways and on the banks of the Volga waiting to be carried away to the North, to Siberia, to Turkestan, to anywhere outside the land of famine. Long trains of freight cars loaded with these unfortunates move slowly and irregularly. The lower decks of the Volga boats are crowded with them. Howls and cries and fighting among those intent on getting into already overloaded trains and boats fill one's ears at every station.

Now these fugitives are by no means exclusively the poor from the towns, the workless workmen without money to buy what food the markets offer, but are largely composed—I have talked with many in many camps and crowds and know this—of the peasants directly from the farms and farm villages; the very people who produce the food, when it is produced, and who therefore always have food when there is any food. It is the most certain evidence one can have of the reality of the drouth's effect. Besides, one can see for oneself miles of grain fields in the Kazan, Simbirsk, and Samara provinces in which no attempt at all at harvest had been made.

Another item of evidence. The statistics of grain acreage and production for all the years from 1912 to 1921 which have been collected by the American Relief Administration men now on the ground reveal clearly the gradual agricultural decadence of the great Volga basin since the beginning of the war, and show how this has increased since the beginning of the mistaken Soviet Government policy of requisitioning food surplus. I have the figures for Samara province now before me. From an average annual acreage of the four grains—wheat, rye, oats, and barley—of about two and one-half million dessiatines in pre-war years, the acreage in 1920 and 1921 had decreased to one million. From an annual production that averaged 120,000,000 puds before the war there was a fairly steady decrease to 18,000,000 in 1920 and a great break (the drouth) to 3,000,000 in 1921. These figures in themselves would show how great is the suffering from lack of food.

A final item, final only because I must respect my space



International

*Dr. Kellogg inspecting a group of little famine victims*

limits. The Soviet Central and Provincial Governments have tried to do something by way of bringing food from other provinces into the stricken region, and a special effort has been made to care for the children. There are about fifteen Children's Detention Homes in Samara city, and about the same number in Kazan. I visited—horrible experience!—some of these homes. In one—not the worst—I arrived at the time of the noon meal. A hundred little ones with shaved heads—protection from the typhus-carrying lice—were sitting on the bare floor of a large room, leaning against the walls or against each other, all emaciated and many with the bloated "hunger belly."

The meal was of horsemeat—the peasants are killing and selling their farm animals—and "kasha," a thick brown porridge of grits. I asked where the children slept. "Here," the haggard, short-haired woman in charge said. "You bring in mattresses and blankets?" I asked. "There are no mattresses or blankets," she replied dully. When I told her that tomorrow, or at the latest by the day after tomorrow, she would have white bread, rice with sugar and tinned milk, cocoa, and some fats for her children, she broke down.



Mr. Hoover's American Relief Administration has arranged to give one good meal daily to 1,200,000 of the starving children in Russia until the next harvest. This is made possible by American private charity. The system of introducing, protecting, preparing, and distributing the food is exactly the same as that which the Administration has developed and used in all the other countries of Eastern Europe. The Soviet Government has, up to date, given a complete coöperation. No single incident of attempted seizure or diversion of the food has occurred. Protection has been adequate. We have had a priority in transportation. The Americans go everywhere necessary, talk with anybody, build up their local committees, and choose their helping personnel without interference from central or local Soviet authorities. The food is in the sight and control of the Americans from the time it enters the country until it goes into the children's mouths.

But besides the hungry children there are the hungry mothers and fathers. The American Relief Administration has no resources available beyond those sufficient for the 1,200,000 children. There are really nearer five million than one million who need help. If it finds that it can do more it will simply take on more children.

But it has devised a means whereby others can, through it, help any relatives or friends or even any sufferers unknown to them in Russia. It has instituted a system of "food remittances," much like the "food draft" system used by the Administration for other European countries, whereby anyone, by the payment of \$10 (or more, in units of \$10), can have that value in food—purchased at wholesale in America—sent to Russia at lowest transportation rates, and delivered at any of the many Relief Administration warehouses now established in Russia. The transaction is completed by the beneficiary, who presents a remittance card. Or the bearer of the card, if too far from a warehouse, can have the food sent by Russian parcels post. Special arrangements have been made for a reasonably prompt and safe delivery by mail.

One thing is to be remembered. Out of the food which the \$10 will buy one-fourth is taken possession of by the Relief Administration to be added by it to the amount of food available for free distribution to the children. Even, with this subtraction the \$10 will ensure the delivery in the heart of Russia of as much and as good food as you or I can buy at retail for \$10 in New York City. The "food remittance" arrangement is devised to help both adults and children simultaneously. Applications for food remittances accompanied by the money may be made directly to the American Relief Administration, Food Remittance Department, 42 Broadway, New York.

Many readers of *The Independent and The Weekly Review* will perhaps be especially interested in the present situation of the university and professional men, the "intelligentsia," of Russia.

For a long time after coming into power the Soviet Government maintained a seriously discouraging attitude towards the university faculties and the professional and scientific men in general—the "intelligentsia." But this attitude is now modified and is showing steady improvement. The change is in line with the altered attitude towards business and general economic matters.

The salaries, paid in paper rubles of constantly depreciating value—they are now worth about 75,000 to the dollar!—were very low, becoming, indeed, as the value of the ruble decreased, simply derisory. But more important, in Russia, than any salary paid in money—unless it get into millions of rubles a month—is the "paiok" (I spell it as pronounced), or food ration, that is the essential part of the reward for services to the Government. As is familiarly known, the Soviet Government established several grades of ration according to various categories into which the people could be roughly divided. The workingman got

the largest or best ration; the university man nearly the lowest.

In my visit to Russia I learned something at first hand of the changing situation of the university and professional men of the country. I was not in Petrograd but saw a number of faculty men in the universities of Moscow, Kazan, and Samara. Samara is one of the several new universities (?) set up by the Soviet Government. It has four faculties—medicine, law, agriculture, and "workers." The "workers faculty" offers elementary classes for the sons and daughters of workingmen and peasants to fit them for matriculation in the professional departments of the university.

The salaries and "paiok" of the professors in the University of Kazan had been so meagre that not a man was able to live on them, and every professor was meeting his family's needs for food by doing something besides regular university work. The means for keeping himself and family alive were various, but in almost all cases they included the successive sacrificing of personal and household belongings. One professor of biology told me that he made shoes, and that his wife baked little cakes and sold them in the city market. He had sold all of his own and his wife's simple jewels and trinkets and one of his two microscopes. Yet this man, who has not been able to see any books or papers published later than 1914, has struggled along with his special researches and has actually achieved two pieces of experimental work on vitamins which seem to me, with my little knowledge of the subject, to contribute certain definite new knowledge concerning these interesting substances.

But, beginning in August, there had been a material increase in salaries and in food rations. The monthly food ration had in August been put on the following basis: dark (mostly rye) flour, 30 lbs.; dried peas, 5 lbs.; cereal grits, 15 lbs.; sweets (not cane or beet sugar), 2½ lbs.; tobacco, ¾ lb.; butter, 6 lbs.; meat, 15 lbs.; fish, 5 lbs.; tea, ¼ lb.; white flour, 5 lbs. The items from dark flour to tobacco, inclusive, had been received; the rest of them, promised but not received. About 250 professors and instructors receive this ration. The university buildings are so cold that most of the men do all their work except lecturing in their homes. About 5,000 students had registered, but only about 10 per cent. of them were in actual attendance. The largest departments in point of student enrollment were medicine and science. About twenty men of the Kazan faculty have died in the last two years.



International

At a refugee camp





# EDITORIAL



## Disarming the Conference

### The Generalship of Hughes in the Campaign of Practical Idealism

ACCORDING to the hackneyed phraseology of the Washington correspondents, Secretary Hughes in his opening address to the Conference dropped a bombshell among the delegates. It would be more accurate to say that he disarmed them. The presentation, at the very outset of the Conference, of a concrete programme which included sweeping reductions and a long naval holiday, was a bold move, but it was clever and effective strategy. The surprise with which it was greeted by the delegates was not simulated, though it must be assumed that as far as the British and Japanese were concerned, the element of surprise lay not so much in the content of the proposal itself as in the time and manner of its presentation. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the American delegation would assume to lay down such a detailed programme for our neighbors without first consulting with them as to certain features that specially concerned them. Some tentative understanding with each of these two Powers must have been arrived at previously by private negotiation. What was unexpected was that the substance of these understandings, or something approaching it, was thrust upon the Conference in concrete forms as a line to which to hew, as a standard to which no one could take exception, at least on the side of narrower limitation, without incurring the onus of obstructing the prime object for which the Conference was summoned.

The line of reasoning that determined the course of Secretary Hughes is not difficult to surmise. No one realizes better than he that an adjustment of the respective interests of the three Powers in the Pacific is a *sine qua non* of the acceptance of any programme of limitation of naval armament. No one understands better that certain complex Far Eastern problems must be solved before any one of the Powers concerned will agree to a radical change in its naval strength, since any such change must answer to the removal of the corresponding causes of armament. But he also was aware that to start the Conference off on the discussion of Far Eastern problems was to precipitate unlimited debate that would undoubtedly confuse the main issue and possibly render the whole meeting futile. Further than this, it was hardly within the province of the United States to propose offhand a concrete Far Eastern programme, and merely to set forth some obvious and fine-sounding abstract general principles would get nowhere.

The stage was perfectly set. Not only had an atmosphere of mutual confidence and common purpose been established among the delegates, but far and near the peoples whom they represented were looking to the Conference with earnest hopefulness. A weary world

was waiting impatiently for definite results; to have wandered off into a welter of discussion or to have approached the task with the enunciation of abstract formulas would have brought disappointment and disillusion. The example of another great conference is too recent not to bring painful memories. The straight-from-the-shoulder blow of Secretary Hughes was therefore a master stroke. The popular response throughout the world was immediate and enthusiastic and the last words of the memorable speech had scarcely been uttered before every delegate realized that to oppose the programme, a programme in which America herself set the pace of magnanimity, would be to invite popular dissatisfaction and repudiation at home. At a single blow, the Chairman had disarmed the Conference of all possibility of proposing a programme less sweeping and drastic, or of interposing obstacles that savored of selfishness or disingenuous expediency. Modifications, if any, must lean to the side of greater rather than less limitation of naval armament.

Not less interesting, if less important, was the bombshell dropped into the midst of the camp of the numerous well-meaning but silly folk that had gathered to coerce the Conference into disarmament. It left them gasping for breath, weaponless and perhaps somewhat abashed. We paid our respects to these *saboteurs* of the Conference in a recent number. Some good people seemed to be laboring under the fear that the statesmen representing America might be weak-kneed on the matter of limitation of armament; that their hearts were not really in the great cause. As usual there were plenty of glib talkers with ready-made formulas and programmes who were of course—at least in their own estimation—much better fitted to carry on the negotiations. But now their thunder has been stolen and they are disconsolate.

Following closely upon the opening surprise of the Conference was the unexpected proposal by Mr. Sze of a programme of ten points for the settlement of the Chinese question. China is recognized by all as the fundamental problem with which the Conference has to deal, and it is a problem so complex and difficult that it will tax the delegates to the utmost to find a satisfactory solution. Mr. Sze's points are general in character and pretty well cover the field. The principles he sets forth are reasonable and accord with American policy and practice. He asks for the re-affirmation of the open door principle, respect for territorial and administrative integrity, prohibition of secret treaties relating to China, the reconsideration of other treaties and engagements, and conferences from time to time for the discussion of Far Eastern interests. The New York *Tribune* notes with disappointment that in confining himself to general principles, he omitted the important, and even vital points of Chinese control over interior communications, tariff autonomy, and the scrapping of old treaties which forbid China to make any tariff changes until consent is obtained



from some fifteen different nations. These points, however, will undoubtedly receive careful attention in the discussions that will follow.

The important fact is that a comprehensive programme has been presented *by the Chinese representative*. Here again we seem to have an example of the excellent generalship of Secretary Hughes. The first impression created appeared to be that of annoyance, something amounting almost to resentment that the Chinese should thus assume to instruct the Conference. China has for so long been an object rather than a subject of European concern that such self-assertion seemed out of place. Doubtless many a delegate felt like exclaiming: "Children should be seen but not heard!" But it is reasonable to suppose that the Chinese delegates would not wittingly take any action that would cause embarrassment to the United States. These delegates are able and clever men, they know America well and count upon America as China's friend and supporter. It may be taken for granted therefore that their action in thus boldly presenting China's case was not unadvised. It was, in fact, first-class strategy. The American delegation could not propose a programme on the Chinese question; it would come ill from us, who have acquired no territory or special interests at the expense of China, to make a proposal that would savor of accusation of those who had in the past followed a contrary policy. A proposal from Japan would have been viewed with suspicion, even if Japan had been willing to suggest a self-denying ordinance of sweeping character. Indeed rumor has it that the Japanese had already prepared a programme which proposed the Great Wall as the northern limit of China's sovereignty, and they were forestalled in this by the prompt action of the Chinese delegation. In short, no more satisfactory way for bringing the main problem before Conference could have been found than for the Chinese themselves to state squarely and firmly the issues involved. Salvation for China must come from within; no matter what her present difficulties and disorganization, she can not become the permanent ward of the other Powers. Sovereignty, it is true, is a matter of degree and the limits of territorial integrity and administrative independence may be open to discussion, but the programme proposed by Mr. Sze and his colleagues not only gives the Conference a working basis for their discussions but establishes China's position and determines the attitude toward her which must be accepted by the other Powers if any solution other than perpetual tutelage is contemplated.

## Progress on Railroad Problems

**I**N following their request for a further reduction in wages with a 10 per cent. reduction of freight rates on all farm products, the railroad executives have acted with a shrewd appreciation of various aspects of public opinion. The general public may be expected to see in the rate reduction an effort by the railroads to scale their own prices down to reasonable levels, and to carry out in part, even at an immediate loss to themselves, the pledge of the executives to give the public the benefit of further wage reductions. It is pretty clear that the general public recognizes the urgent need of an equal deflation of

wages in all industries; and we believe it is pretty widely accepted that railroad wages have not yet contributed their proper proportionate share in the general deflation. In so far as the railroads convince the general public of the sincerity and reality of their promises of lower rates, they are securing public support for reductions of wages.

The farmers of the country represent another and special public opinion on whose support for their wage-reduction programme the railroads are obviously counting. The rate reduction proposed by the railroads is less than the sixteen per cent. cut recommended by the Commerce Commission for hay products, but for practical purposes it more than compensates by its greater inclusiveness, and will secure wide approval from the farmers. If, as seems to be the case, the railroads have the support of the Commerce Commission in making the new rate-cut a voluntary measure subject to recall at the end of six months *if wage cuts are not then assured*, they have apparently given the farmers special reason to watch keenly for evidence of undue delay in wage reductions. If the Railroad Labor Board shows such delay in dealing with wage reductions (feeling bound by Vice-Chairman Hooper's "unofficial" pledges of delay to the Brotherhood chiefs) it is humanly certain that the farmers will bring pressure for prompt action. As between a possible re-raising of rates on their own products and a decrease in railroad workers' wages, it is quite plain which side the farmers will take.

Recent and pending agreements for the establishment of district boards of adjustment constitute another important step, both in hastening the action of the Labor Board on wage issues, and in making an essential and practically very important distinction between the actual *producers* of transportation and the vastly greater number of railroad employees who merely make or repair the tools, or keep the records. The new adjustment boards are not the national boards for which the railroad unions—and especially the shop crafts—contended so persistently last year. They have been set up for many of the roads in the Southeastern district and for the Western; and several roads in the Eastern district are on the point of taking similar action. These new boards are confined to the four older train service brotherhoods, the actual producers of transportation. They will apply to individual grievances not the terms of a national agreement, but the provisions of the agreement in force on the particular road from which the case comes. By probably disposing of a great proportion of the purely individual cases that have hitherto been dumped on the Labor Board, they will do much to remove obstacles to prompt consideration by that Board of the pending wage-cut demands. When the Labor Board has once completed its action on the working rules of the non-transportation unions, disputed cases under those rules are likely to be very small in number in comparison with cases arising under the train service schedules. The new adjustment boards therefore will do much to clear the way for the main issue of wage reductions.

It is improbable, and we think it undesirable, that the railroads should extend the recognition of adjustment boards to the shop-craft and other non-transportation unions. From the point of view of the welfare of industry and the just rights of labor we see



no good reason why, for instance, the blacksmith working in a railroad shop at Scranton should be given a preferred status over a blacksmith working in a private plant in the same city nor why the Scranton railroad blacksmith should be paid exactly the same wages as railroad blacksmiths in Tampa and Albuquerque. All these men are, or may be if they wish, represented by the Blacksmiths' International. Workers in the half-dozen or so other shop crafts similarly have their own special organizations. Yet the railway department of the Federation of Labor exists for the sole purpose of securing special wage and working advantages for these men, not because they produce transportation, or are individually indispensable to transportation, but merely because they are employed by railroads, and the railroads—at present—can't help themselves. The special advantages secured under the national agreements for these crafts are a disturbing element in local industrial fields all over the country, and an unnecessary and unjustifiable burden on transportation costs. We believe that special government-ordered favors to the shop crafts, the clerks, and the maintenance-of-way laborers, creating as they do artificial competition in the labor fields all over the country, are economically without justification.

## The Life-Line of the A. R. A.

IN our issue of last week we printed a letter from a resident of Petrograd which gave a more vivid picture of that city of desolation and despair than can be had from many pages of description by newspaper correspondents, for it came not from an observer but from a participant. The value of this letter, however, lay not so much in the information it contained as to the terrible conditions that prevail in the unhappy city, or in the appeal that it makes to our sympathy and compassion. What stands out is that the writer had just received the sum of five dollars, a fortune that spelt relief from the terrible pangs of hunger and cold for weeks and even months. It is no wonder that his first thought was to express his deep gratitude to the donor.

Our minds turn at once to the latest diplomatic achievement of the American Relief Administration in Russia. Thanks to the successful negotiations of Dr. Vernon Kellogg, Mr. Hoover's faithful co-worker from the beginning of the Belgian Relief, the Soviet Government has permitted the extension of the institution of the food-draft to Russia. This was not readily conceded, for the Bolsheviki viewed it with great suspicion. It could be used by people outside Russia to aid the very persons who were least sympathetic to the Soviet régime. Indeed the Soviet leaders are frank to say that while on the one hand the A. R. A. is their benefactor, on the other it is their greatest enemy. The operations of the A. R. A., carried out through non-political committees of their own choosing, are at once evidence to the people that there is a happy land outside Russia not swallowed up in revolutionary misery as described to them in the Bolshevik propaganda, and an object lesson in efficiency and organization in glaring contrast to the Soviet conduct of government.

The food-draft arrangements of the A. R. A. provide that anyone wishing to do so may send to any person

or group of persons in Russia an actual package of nourishing food and be sure that it reaches the consignee safely. The A. R. A. accepts payments for this purpose of \$10 or multiples of \$10. Food packages are not sent from here but are made up in the A. R. A. warehouses in Russia, a vastly more economical proceeding. One-quarter of each remittance is deducted by the A. R. A., a sort of commission and transportation charge as it were, and this is devoted to the feeding of children. But the saving effected by shipment in bulk is such that for \$10 the donor can furnish as much food to the recipient in Russia as he could buy at retail for the same money in America. Forms are provided by the A. R. A., 42 Broadway, New York, containing the necessary instructions. If the consignee is not located in ninety days after sending, the money is returned.

We have described this new work of the A. R. A. thus in detail because it has occurred to us that it contains a possibility hitherto overlooked and one that will appeal mightily to many of our readers. One's first thought of the food-draft is that it affords a means whereby Russians in this country can aid their less fortunate relatives and friends. But it opens up other possibilities. Scarce one among us but has at some time enjoyed the beauties of Russian art and literature and music or profited by the achievements of the great Russian scientists. Now hosts of the gifted artists, writers, musicians, and scientists are starving in Russia and a food-draft to one of them would preserve him and his usefulness to humanity. What could be finer at this Christmas time than to express the gratitude one feels for pleasure and profit given freely in the past by throwing out to one of these the life-line of the A. R. A.?

## Home Ownership and Housing Shortage

THERE is an Oriental saying that divides men into four classes—the man who knows and knows that he knows, the man who knows and doesn't know that he knows, the man who doesn't know and knows that he doesn't know, and the man who doesn't know and doesn't know that he doesn't know. The fourth class is the worst—and unfortunately it is also the most numerous. Whoever can shift a goodly part of this multitude from the fourth class into the third is a public benefactor. In regard to the housing problem, that is the first thing which Mr. Hoover aimed to do in his recent letter addressed to the New York State Realty Convention. Instead of directing attention to a few sensational features of the housing situation—often sensational, by the way, only in outward appearance, and becoming quite natural when fully understood—he insists upon a concrete ascertainment of facts as the first condition of effective action. "The problem," he justly says, "varies with every community and must be based on a primary accurate survey of the conditions in that particular community":

In all communities there is a failure to agree upon facts. Some maintain that money is not available, some that no shortage exists, some that buildings cost more than twice what they did before the war, others that they cost not over 50 per cent. more. Before any progress is made it is necessary that the facts be determined, and to do this it is essential that a survey be made by the different elements of the population.



After pointing out the factors whose determination is essential, Mr. Hoover proceeds to make several important practical suggestions for coöperative effort in every community to grapple with its own housing problem. His interest, as he frankly says, is more in the permanent question of home-ownership as against tenantry than in that of meeting the present emergency; yet his suggestions, which will have a wide hearing among those seriously concerned in the problem of housing shortage, are calculated to bear fruit in the near future.

Important as a knowledge of the specific facts is, however, it would be a great mistake to imagine that the general considerations bearing on the problem of housing are of less importance. Nothing is more common than the habit of contrasting "facts" with "theory"; and few things are more pernicious. There is just as much danger in the one domain as in the other. If we accept as facts what are not facts, or accept as representing the whole case facts which in reality cover but a small part of the case, or if we give to the facts a false interpretation—in all these cases "facts" carry us into the morass quite as surely as does any "theory." On the other hand, in almost any great human concern—especially in the field of economics—we are bound to proceed upon some theory or other; the naked facts do not of themselves furnish guidance. The trouble is not with "theory," but either with false theory or with a false application of theory.

Amid the complexities of the housing question some broad considerations stand out which it is essential to keep in mind, if there is to be any sound dealing with the problem. And yet they are constantly forgotten. First and foremost stands the fundamental fact that to build a house is to make a long-time investment. It is no accident that all over the world housing has been the one thing of which the supply has fallen disastrously below the demand in these years of abnormal high prices. Shoes and clothing, two years ago, had gone up in price fully as much as houses, and indeed much more; but the high prices stimulated the supply, and no one heard of any particular trouble about shortage in shoes and clothing. The reason is obvious. The man who made shoes or clothing paid abnormally high prices for his materials and labor, but his turnover was completed within a few months, so that he cashed in both his expenses and his profits. In the case of a house the returns on the investment consist in rents spread over scores of years, and there was no certainty that they would remain on a high scale for more than a very small fraction of that time. The foundation difficulty, therefore, about keeping up the supply of housing was that any investment in that direction might prove not only unremunerative but an actual loss.

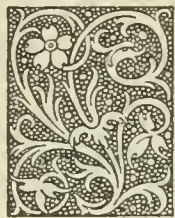
Confronted with the situation thus arising, the most important single thing for the public was to put itself in the proper attitude of mind concerning the difficulty which had to be met. And here comes in the second of the broad considerations to which we have adverted. Were we to regard the high rents, the failure to build, and the high rates of interest which builders in many instances found it necessary to pay—were we to regard these things as caused by the wickedness of landlords, of people in the building business, and of money-lenders? That has been unquestionably the feeling in the

minds of nine-tenths of the people, and it has been responsible for an incalculable amount of futility and mischief. It ought to take but a very little calm and straight thinking to perceive that the only cure for the situation was more houses; that if more houses were not built the people who refused to build them unless they had a clear prospect of profit were far less guilty than all the rest of us who had money, and who were not thinking of building on any terms whatsoever; and in like manner that the money lenders who lent to builders at high rates were far less to blame for the trouble than all the rest of us who did not lend on buildings at all.


How injurious the consequences of this failure to think straight have been is sufficiently illustrated by two phases of the housing agitation in New York City. It took two years to bring about the emergency exemption of ordinary dwelling construction from local taxation, although it was clear from the very beginning that such encouragement to building was essential if important headway was to be made. The trouble was that everybody was expending upon indignation the energy that ought to have been centered upon finding an effective remedy. A like thing has happened, too, about the question of building loans. The facts in regard to them were enormously exaggerated; but quite apart from that, it ought to have been evident to any sensible person that if large loans were made at 20 or 30 per cent. a year it must have been because of the risk which attended the loan; and that, while it might be possible to *prevent* people from lending at those rates, it was quite impossible to *compel* them to lend at lower rates. And here again, the one constructive measure that offered any prospect of relief received hardly any attention. The one way to make it easier for borrowers to get money is to remove the obstacles to lending. Repeal of the usury laws would do more to swell the volume of money available for building loans than could be accomplished by twenty years of the most startling exposures and the most scathing invective.

Coming back to Mr. Hoover's idea of stimulating home-ownership, everyone must feel that it is a most excellent move. At the same time it must be remembered that, precisely in our great cities, where the problem is most acute, relief in this direction is strictly limited. In the first place, its application to large apartment houses is attended with great difficulties and objections; and secondly, it must be remembered that one of the great reasons why so large a proportion of our people do not own their homes is that their homes are not permanent. Most people in our great cities who buy or build a home are compelled to take into account the probability that some day they will have to sell it; and in so far as this is the case the commercial considerations that we have mentioned above must affect their decision in much the same way as they do that of the speculative builder. Nevertheless, even in our great cities, and especially their suburbs, there is ample room for the development of a home-owning movement which would not only benefit those immediately concerned, but would help to relieve the general situation. Only we must bear in mind the limits within which any such movement is necessarily confined, and therefore keep constantly in sight the big factors that underlie the problem in its commercial aspect.





# The Story of the Week



## The Week at Home

### Emergency Organization

COLONEL WOODS, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Conference on Unemployment, reports that emergency committees have been organized by mayors on the lines suggested by the Conference in 209 of 327 cities whose population is 20,000 or more. Of the remaining 118 cities, many, we understand, have no unemployment problem. "The states most thoroughly organized to date," says Colonel Woods (as quoted in the *New York Times*), "are Massachusetts, Illinois (with the exception of Chicago), Connecticut, Michigan, California, Oregon, Washington, and Georgia. The states where the situation promises to be acute, but where a considerable start has been made toward organization, are New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Texas."

### Highway Construction

According to the *New York Times*, the \$75,000,000 just appropriated by Congress for highway construction and improvement "must be matched, dollar for dollar, by funds from state treasuries, except in states where more than 5 per cent. of their area is unappropriated public land." Now that for ten years we are to build no more capital ships at \$40,000,000 apiece, we can devote more money to highways, schools, etc.

### Railway Rate Reductions

The railway executives have announced a 10 per cent. cut, to take effect at once, in freight rates on all agricultural products, on all roads except those of New England, which are having very hard sledding. If, however, at the end of six months the Railway Labor Board has not acted favorably on applications for wage cuts, the old rates will be restored.

Mr. Cuyler, chairman of the Association of Railway Executives, issues the following statement in this connection:

The railroads are not in a financial position to make this sacrifice. Unless there should be some revival in business, the probability of which is purely conjectural, the entire immediate loss involved in this proposed reduction in rates would be taken from the net earnings of the railroads.

In making this reduction the railroads are relying upon the public for effective aid in bringing about the necessary reduction in labor and other costs of transportation, and are hoping for the co-operation of labor itself to that end. They have taken the first step in relieving existing business depression, and have given an earnest of their fixed purpose to reduce rates and to relieve at the earliest practicable moment, as far as reasonably possible, the transportation burden on the public.

### Congress at Work

The Senate has before it the Railroad Relief Bill and the Newberry case. A vote should be taken before adjournment to sustain or reject the charges against Senator Newberry of illegalities in the conduct of his election campaign and so to confirm or expel him. Committees of the Senate are at work on the permanent tariff bill, on the Haiti investigation (the committee sails for Haiti on November 19), on Alaska (it is proposed to more fully develop that territory), and on Senator Watson's charges against the officers of the A. E. F. The House is considering the Maternity Bill. The Tax Revision Bill is still in conference. The special session may continue to the very eve of the regular session, which begins December 5.

### Diaz Honored

That was a charming ceremony at the New Willard Hotel in Washington the other day, when General Diaz, the Italian hero, was adopted into the Crow Nation and made one of its great chiefs. In fact, he received the name of Chief Plenty Coups from Chief Plenty Coups himself, the supreme big-wig of the Crows.

First a symbolic "Dance of Adoption" was executed by old Plenty Coups and three other chiefs; next three songs by the same—the "War Song," the "Song of Victory," and the "Home Song"; after that the formal investiture, when Diaz was clothed in the costume of a Crow warrior, including such additaments as a necklace of shark's teeth. Then formal speeches by Indian Plenty Coups and Italian Plenty Coups. Finally the immemorial pipe and a general pow-wow. Italian Plenty Coups said that the great ambition of his life was now realized, for his favorite reading when a boy was the *Leatherstocking Tales*, and he had conceived therefrom an unbounded admiration of the American Indian and a wish to be one. He added (it seems to us rather tactlessly) that Christopher Columbus was his ancestor. Indian Plenty Coups was too polite to discover his sentiments on that head. [We filched most of the above from the *New York Times*.]

### A Chapel for Princeton

Not the least important news of the week, in our opinion, is the announcement that Princeton is to build a beautiful new college chapel (to replace Marquand Chapel, burned down two years ago), after plans by the great Cram. The exterior will be reminiscent of Carlisle and of the lovely Augustinian Church at Guisborough in Yorkshire; the interior will recall Exeter. The proportions will be about the same as those of King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Only quarried stone will be used in the construction. The Rogers quadrangle and tower at Yale, just completed, and this announcement, encourage us to hope that a new architectural era has begun for our universities. If our millionaires would have their ashes smell sweet and blossom, let them give largely for such construction, which should go far to offset the effect of the movies. We hear that all Princeton goes to the movies every night.

### Things Are Looking Up

The action of Congress in reviving the War Finance Corporation for benefiting through credits the agricultural and stock-raising interests, seems to have justified itself. Mr. Meyer, managing director of that corporation, returning to Washington from a visit to the Middle West, says: "There has been a remarkable improvement in the livestock situation, and the demoralization that existed a short time ago has been ended."

The survey of October published by the Federal Reserve Board contains the following:

Marketing of agricultural products has proceeded rapidly during the month of October. This has had a beneficial influence in stimulating the activity of important lines of industry and trade. The higher prices realized by the farmer for tobacco and cotton, and from heavy sales abroad of cereals, have given him ready cash and have brought him into the market for purchases of seasonable goods, with corresponding benefit to trade in the producing regions.

Improved collections and the reduction of outstanding loan accounts have followed in the train of this renewed activity. The beginnings of improvement are noticeable, even in portions of the country such as some of the South-





International

Memorial Continental Hall, where the Conference sits

ern and Southwestern districts where credit conditions have been more serious than generally.

Things are looking up.

## The Conference

### Secretary Hughes Explodes a Bomb

THE Conference on Limitation of Armament opened on November 12. President Harding made a speech of welcome and retired. On nomination by Mr. Balfour, Mr. Hughes was voted permanent chairman by acclamation. Mr. Hughes proceeded to astound the audience with a project calling for a ten-year naval holiday for the three great naval powers, for abandonment of their capital ship naval programmes, and for scrapping of a large number of their capital ships, built and building. Mr. Hughes merely sketched the outline of his project; the details are developed in a proposal drawn up by the American naval experts, later submitted to the conferees. The more important details are as follows:

The United States to scrap nine battleships and six battle cruisers under construction (money already spent thereon \$332,000,000) and fifteen old battleships; total, thirty capital ships, aggregating 845,740 tons.

Great Britain to abandon construction on her four Hoods (barely started), and to scrap fifteen old capital ships; total, nineteen capital ships (*including the Hoods, said to be of a type greatly superior to any other ships built, building or projected*), aggregating 583,375 tons.

Japan to abandon her program of four battleships and four battle cruisers not yet under construction, and to scrap three battleships and four battle cruisers under construction and ten old ships: total, twenty-five ships, aggregating 443,928 tons. [Observe that we use the word "old" in a relative sense.]

*The strengths of the navies of France and Italy to be considered later by the Conference.*

No new capital ships to be constructed during the ten-year naval holiday period. Ships condemned by this proposal to be scrapped, must be scrapped within three months of the date of signature to an agreement embodying the proposal. The proposal names the capital ships which would remain to the several powers after such scrapping: to the United States 18 in all, total tonnage 500,650; to Great Britain 22, total tonnage 604,450; to Japan 10, total tonnage 299,700.

Rules are laid down as to replacement of capital ships.

The first replacement tonnage shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the agreement.

Replacements shall be limited by maximums of capital ship tonnage as follows:

For the United States, 500,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 500,000 tons.

For Japan, 300,000 tons.

[Apparently, tonnage in excess of the above maximums must be scrapped at the end of the ten-year holiday period.]

Subject to the ten-year holiday limitation and the maximums above stated, capital ships may be replaced when twenty years old (and so of airplane carriers).

No capital ship shall be built in replacement with a tonnage displacement of more than 35,000 tons.

No fabricated parts of capital ships shall be constructed previous to dates of authorization of replacement tonnage.

The proposal divides auxiliary combatant craft into three classes: (a) auxiliary surface combatant craft; (b) submarines; (c) airplane carriers and aircraft.

The term "auxiliary surface combatant craft" is used in the proposal to include cruisers (except battle cruisers), flotilla leaders, destroyers, and all other surface types *except the following, which are exempted from the terms of the proposal: "existing monitors, unarmored surface craft not exceeding 3,000 tons in displacement and carrying not more than four guns 5-in. or smaller, fuel ships, supply ships, tenders, repair ships, tugs, mine sweepers, and vessels readily convertible from merchant vessels."*

The maximum tonnages of auxiliary surface combatant craft (in the narrow sense above defined) to be allowed, are as follows:

For the United States, 450,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 450,000 tons.

For Japan, 270,000 tons.

But auxiliary surface combatant craft tonnage existent on November 12, 1921, in excess of the above maximums, is not required to be scrapped before the end of the ten-year period; and unfinished auxiliary surface combatant craft whose keels have been laid down by November 11, 1921, may be completed. [These rules apply also to submarines and airplane carriers.]

The total tonnage allowances of submarines are to be as follows:

For the United States, 90,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 90,000 tons.

For Japan, 54,000 tons.

The tonnage allowances of airplane carriers to be as follows:

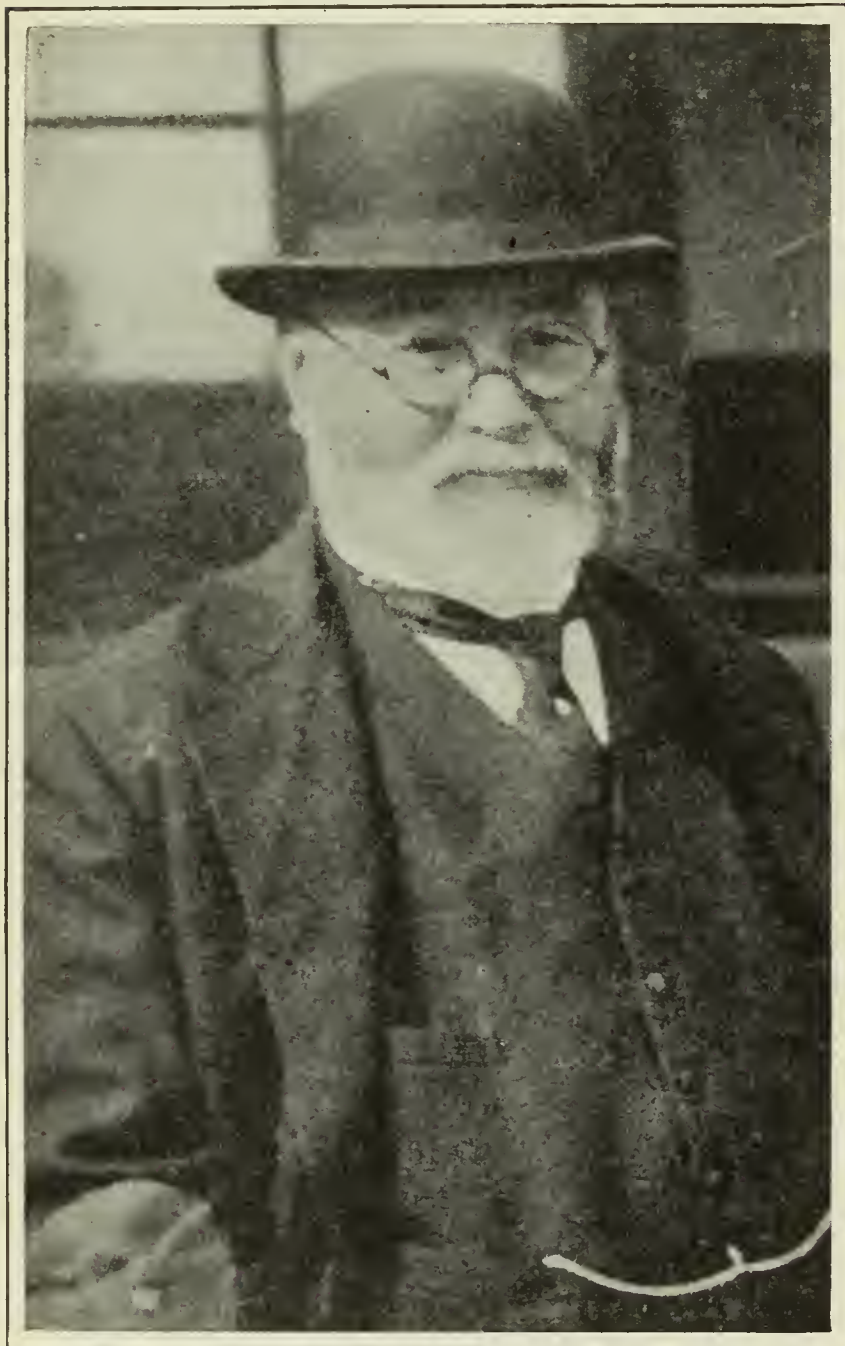
For the United States, 80,000 tons.



For Great Britain, 80,000 tons.

For Japan, 48,000 tons.

The construction holiday applies in full only to capital ships. Cruisers seventeen years of age, destroyers, flotilla leaders and submarines twelve years of age (reckoning from date of completion), may be replaced, provided that in each case the standard maximum tonnage of the class is not exceeded. And in all classes, where the total tonnage is short of the standard allowance, construction is permitted up to that allowance (in the case of capital ships, of course, the allowance is filled).



International

Baron Takahashi, the new Premier of Japan

Guns of calibre greater than 8-inch shall not be mounted on replacement auxiliary combatant surface craft.

*"Owing to the fact that naval aircraft may be readily adapted from special types of commercial aircraft, it is not now considered practicable to prescribe limits for naval aircraft."*

The signatories are not to dispose of combatant vessels of any class in such a manner that they later may become combatant vessels in other navies. They will bind themselves not to acquire combatant vessels from any foreign source. No combatant craft shall be constructed for foreign account within the jurisdictions of the signatories.

*"As the importance of the merchant marine is in inverse ratio to the size of naval armaments, regulations must be provided to govern its conversion features for war purposes."*

Our comment in connection with the above must be of the briefest. We have italicized words and passages which call for remark.

Our sacrifice does not seem so extraordinary in comparison with Britain's when the superiority of the Hoods is taken into account.

We do not quite understand about some of the exempted craft. "Existing monitors" would seem to imply that that

type is to become extinct. We doubt that is meant. But, if so, we shall regret it less than we do the dodo. "Vessels readily convertible from merchant vessels."—We suppose the authors of the proposal (whose English leaves much to be desired) mean: "Vessels of types to which merchant vessels are easily converted." Even so, the expression is extremely vague. In its last paragraph, the proposal states that "regulations must be provided to govern conversion of merchant vessels for war purposes." This is a very important matter. We suggest in this connection very specific provisions as to manufacture of ordnance—an aspect of armament strangely sidestepped by the proposal.

The consideration of the strengths of the navies of France and Italy by the Conference becomes a very serious affair because of the greater relative importance of these navies through reduction of the greater navies. Other navies, as those of Spain and certain South American countries, may have to be considered also.

For reasons stated it is thought by our naval experts impracticable to prescribe limits for aircraft. Whereupon we have some observations to make. Upon the first reading of Secretary Hughes's speech, we were smitten with amazement and filled with delight, as was the audience in Continental Memorial Hall. But consideration, creeping in, much reduced our satisfaction. We were rejoiced about the capital ship, for we have long felt that spending money on capital ships was the same as throwing it into the Ditch, capital ships having been rendered obsolescent (soon doubtless to be made obsolete) by aircraft. But why does the proposal (the reason given does not satisfy us) shun the most important of considerations—how to curb if not destroy the menace of aircraft? Why is no suggestion offered towards reduction of ordnance competition? Why is nothing said about taking order to banish poison gas and aerial bombs from warfare? Why should the allowances of submarines be so large? Why, indeed, should it not be proposed to ban altogether the infamous submarine?

We suppose the answer is obvious and sufficient: that these reforms could only be achieved after prolonged discussion, whereas it was felt (and so it has turned out) that, if it were "put up" to them properly, all hands would agree to chuck the capital ship at once as an intolerable expense and of very doubtful utility.

Japan and Britain have accepted the proposal "in principle." Japan, it is said, would like to be allowed a capital ship strength 70 instead of 60 per cent. of that of Britain and that of the United States. Japan may have something to say about fortifications on Pacific isles. Britain would like a larger cruiser allowance for guarding her long sea lanes, and would like the submarine allowances cut down. The proposal is likely to undergo many minor changes before it becomes an agreement. But an agreement little, if any, weaker than the proposal offered, seems assured. After all, Mr. Balfour's emotions on listening to Mr. Hughes's speech were justified:

"I count myself among the fortunate of the earth in that I was present, and to that extent had a share in the proceedings of last Saturday. They were memorable, indeed. I listened to a speech which I thought eloquent, appropriate, in every way a fitting prelude to the work of the Conference which was about to open or which, indeed, had been opened by the President, without supposing that anything very dramatic lay behind. And suddenly I became aware, as I suppose all present became aware, that they were assisting not merely at an eloquent and admirable speech, but at a great historical event. It was led up with such art. The transition seemed so natural that when the blow fell, when the speaker uttered the memorable words which have now gone round and found echo in every quarter of the civilized world, it came as a shock of profound surprise; it excited the sort of emotions we have when some wholly new event



springs into view, and we felt that a new chapter in the history of world reconstruction had been warily opened."

### China

On Wednesday the Chinese delegation submitted to the Conference ten general principles "which, in their opinion, should guide the Conference in the determinations which it is to make" concerning China. We must postpone to the next issue discussion of these principles; by which time we shall know the reaction to them of the other delegates.

## The British Empire

### Lloyd George's Guildhall Speech

**L**LOYD GEORGE'S speech at the Guildhall on the 9th at the banquet given by the new Lord Mayor, was one of his most charming efforts. It is by this quality of charm in address, in speech, that Lloyd George has been able to retain power so long.

Of the economic situation in Britain the Premier said to the banqueters: "I believe from all accounts given to me, that we have seen the worst. I believe the force of the cyclone has been spent. We have been in the trough of the wave. The ship has not been waterlogged. I can detect signs that it is beginning to climb the ascending wave—that there is a slight upward slant in the ship. It may come slowly, but it is coming all right.

"The foundations of our credit are solid and uncracked. . . . We never rushed into the foolish policy of inflation of our currency.

"You know with what dizzy results that policy has been followed in other lands. They mortgaged the future with usurious rates of compound interest. They have been driving at high speed to insolvency.

"We in this country honestly faced our burdens. We paid our way, and if we appear to be suffering worse than others for the moment it is because we elected to take our punishment when it was due, instead of postponing it until the penalty became severe beyond endurance.

"I think our reward is coming. It is coming; it is perhaps crawling, but when you see anything coming at a distance it always looks as if it were crawling. [Laughter.] But the soundness of our commercial and industrial and financial policy has been indicated.

"Our exports in October were better than they had been since the month of March. Orders are beginning to flow in from a deluged land and the blue sky is beginning to emerge. And in that connection let me say one word—the Washington Conference is like a rainbow across the sky. Why? Because without the assurance of peace business will never be restored, and the Conference comes none too soon."

Quite true, we think; but the manner is even more important than the matter. Set down in cold print, Lloyd George's style of familiar discourse on great themes is seen to have almost every fault against which the rhetorician warns; especially, the metaphors are apt to be inchoate. But it smacks of authentic genius and breathes a charming personality.

### The Irish Negotiations

The Irish negotiations seem to be making no headway. Ulster is unfriendly to the proposition of a dominion status for a united Ireland, involving an all-Ireland Parliament, even though she should have equal representation with South Ireland in the upper house of that Parliament, though she should be allowed a provincial Parliament with extensive reserved powers, though other important safeguards should be conceded, and though she should be permitted to keep the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, in which there is a slight Catholic majority. Belfast is hardly to be blamed for holding out for the best terms obtainable, even as Dublin has done.

### Curzon Replies to Chicherin

The reader will recall that note of several weeks ago in which Lord Curzon charged the Russian Soviet Government with violations of those clauses of the Russo-British trade agreement under which the Soviet Government engages to refrain from anti-British propaganda and other activities in the East. Chicherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Commissar, replied, alleging that the British charges were based on false documents. Lord Curzon has replied to the effect that Chicherin says "the thing that is not" ("quibbling" is the noble lord's euphemism).

## A Number of Things

**T**HE Spaniards continue to recover ground from the insurgent tribesmen of the Spanish Zone of Morocco; but very, very slowly.

\* \* \*

An Associated Press report states that "after four months of work" the American Relief Administration is "now actually feeding only about 300,000 children, and the winter transport problems promise to increase the difficulty of reaching 1,000,000 hungry children, as originally planned." Mr. Goodrich, one-time Governor of Indiana, who has been making a special investigation for Mr. Hoover, reports that "the Russian Soviet officials everywhere are assisting the Relief Administration, and what few obstacles exist are due to unintentional inefficiency."

\* \* \*

According to a Riga dispatch, an attempt to assassinate Chicherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Commissar, was made the



Albert T. Reid

*Hoping to get them to lie down together*

other day by a Menshevist, who declared he was acting under party orders. Some 3000 persons were arrested in consequence, says the report.

\* \* \*

Baron Takahashi, Minister of Finance in the Hara Cabinet, has been appointed Japanese Premier. No change is made in the personnel of the Cabinet. Takahashi remains Minister of Finance. Like Hara, he is a moderate Liberal. He is completely in sympathy with Hara's policies, so that happily no modification is required of the instructions to the delegation at Washington. Takahashi is a distinguished financier, and as such especially favors a non-aggressive policy toward China.

HENRY W. BUNN



# Social Reform and Notoriety

By W. S. Griscom

[The author of the following article, who is connected with the editorial department of the *Boston Herald*, came into intimate contact with Urbain Ledoux and had a number of frank discussions with him on the philosophical aspects of his campaign.]

WHILE Mr. R. M. Lovett's prismatic sketch of "Urbain Ledoux—Prophet" in a recent number of the *New Republic* effectively exercises the emotions and is a testimonial to the author's sympathetic heart, it unfortunately reveals only one phase, and that superficial, of a personality which is extraordinarily complex even in these days when every other man is suspected of having at least a little complex of his own. Although the blend of traits which is Ledoux has, no doubt, never been duplicated, the man is faintly suggestive of a minor Elbert Hubbard. There is the same suave, ingratiating, almost oily manner remindful of the old-time patent medicine faker; a similar gift of words and dexterity of phrase; both are vendors of an intellectual panacea warranted to cure every social ill; and, above all, both are born publicity experts. Nor are they physically dissimilar. Each possesses the smooth shaven, full-jowled, mobile face by tradition characteristic of actors, Senators, and revivalists, a broad-shouldered, well-nourished body; and if the Fra's hair was slightly the longer, Ledoux boasts the more expansive paunch. Neither underrated the importance of properly dressing their parts.

Before any just estimate of Ledoux's activities on behalf of the unemployed can be formed, one fact, obviously overlooked by Mr. Lovett, and perhaps not generally known, should be thoroughly understood. The primary purpose of his recent campaigns both in Boston and in New York is not, as he frankly admits, to relieve the jobless but to further the interests of a certain pantheistic cult to which he is devoting his life. In spite of the popular impression, the down-and-outers, as such, are no more to him than any other class. They are merely, in his own words, the most convenient bridge "into the hearts of the wealthy and influential": a carefully considered point of least resistance into which he hopes to insert a lever which will crack the shell of indifference so far impregnable to his fellow mystics. The practical result of this attitude is, naturally, a total lack of interest in securing permanently improved conditions, and a firm determination to make his methods spectacular enough to win interviews with those who can help his cause, and display headlines in the newspapers. Apart from the fact that these tactics are somewhat unfair to the mass of the worthy unemployed, who naturally resent exploitation, it is at least questionable whether meddling with social dynamite is advisable at this time.

Ledoux's last day in Boston serves as an illustration of this indifference to results. The auction sales on the Common had been eliminated because of hostility on the part of local labor leaders and because the "prophet," with his intuitive sense of news values, had realized that the stunt was growing stale. After an inconclusive conference with Mayor Peters and the heads of several municipal charitable organizations at City Hall early in the afternoon, he hurried back to report the results to his followers at the "Hotel Jobless." The large front room, naked except for a rickety piano, was half-filled with nondescripts who were milling about in an unholy atmosphere sodden with cheap tobacco smoke and the acrid smell of unwashed bodies. There was no common quality except discouragement in the black, white, mongrel yellow, and bastard brown faces.

Jumping to the platform under the large show window opening on Howard Street, Ledoux began the meeting with

his usual order to "smile and let the sunlight into your lives," and at once launched into a wordy and rather imaginary account of the promised relief he had won for them. When he finished there was no response. It was evident that they neither understood nor were interested in what he had been saying. Ledoux was silent a moment, plainly disgusted. Then his expression changed, and he remarked slowly, as if dismissing the whole affair, "Well, boys, you've been the instrument of doing great things"; and went on to announce that he was going away that night. Even that brought no sign of regret or affection, and he turned to discuss his plans for the invasion of New York with the waiting reporters.

Later in the evening he telephoned every newspaper in the city to send a man to the hotel where he lived (it was not the "Jobless") for an important statement he was going to issue. "The public are anxious to learn how the job was financed," he said. "I did it on a donation of \$500. It's all gone except one dollar and ninety-two, no, ninety-three cents," emptying his pockets on a table, "but I've been successful, and the heart of Boston has been changed." While \$1.93 was probably the extent of his immediate cash reserve, it was equally certain that "the heart of Boston" was doing business in exactly the same old way. The unemployed still slept on the Common, and even the uncertain meal a day which had been provided under the stimulation of Ledoux's personality and cash was morally certain to peter out after his departure; but as far as he was concerned, with the story of the slave sales spreading his name from coast to coast, the campaign had concluded triumphantly.

On the other hand, if his work here ended in futility, and if the complaints of the police and the city missions that he was attracting large numbers of habitual bums from all parts of the East were justified, he has one trait which lifts him from the class of the ordinary notoriety seeker, and even lends a certain sympathy to his efforts. That is his honest contempt for money. He is no cheap grafter. It was curious to watch the attitude of the newspaper men who were assigned to cover Ledoux gradually change from cynical suspicion to something approaching tolerance. Almost without exception, they began with the assumption that he was "on the make" and searched, unsuccessfully, for any possible source of graft. Then they gradually fell under the spell of his undoubted personal charm and when one old headquarters man finally remarked, "He may be cookoo, all right, but he's no crook," there was general agreement.

It is understood that Ledoux is a follower of Abdul Bahai. His beliefs, as explained to the writer one evening, seemed to be a fusion of the tenets of that cult and theosophy. He is fond of telling about the four planes in which humanity is situated—the physical, the mental, the spiritual, and the Fourth Dimensional Plane. He himself, as he admits, has reached the last named, "although it requires more skill and effort to achieve that than to become a great musician." He said, too, that he was in constant touch with the "Universal Consciousness." "You know, of course, that thought travels at the rate of 750,000 miles a second? Well, seven years ago the 'Universal Consciousness' told me every detail of what is happening to me today," and he went on to reveal that his mission was to "change human nature." It was suggested that that was a rather large contract, but he insisted that it could and would be done, if not in fifty, then in a hundred years.

Urbain Ledoux may be a poet, a musician, a mystic, but he is not a prophet—of labor.



# The Musical Season Under Way

At the Metropolitan—Frieda Hempel Sings for The Children's Village

By Charles Henry Meltzer

IN years to come we may look back with wonder to the strange fact that a great New York opera house, built with the money of Americans, to please Americans, should have reopened in conditions such as those which marked the beginning of the season at the Metropolitan a week ago. For all the significance, of an artistic kind, the opening had to the average American, the event might have occurred in some Italian city. The work selected for performance on the occasion was "Traviata," a typical example of Italianism. The three principals concerned were all Italian. The management, the conductor, and the language sung were equally Italian. Americans, however, paid to hear the agreeable tones produced by Galli-Curci, Gigli, de Luca, and the rest. Some hundreds paid three dollars, plus the war tax, to stand up and listen.

Shorn though it was of a now vanished spell—the voice of the regretted and long popular Caruso—the opening drew as great a crowd as ever. There was little to excite one in the opera or, except now and then, in the achievements of its interpreters.

But the performance as a whole was quite contenting. And what was lacking in sensational forms of artistry was well atoned for by a good all-round performance.

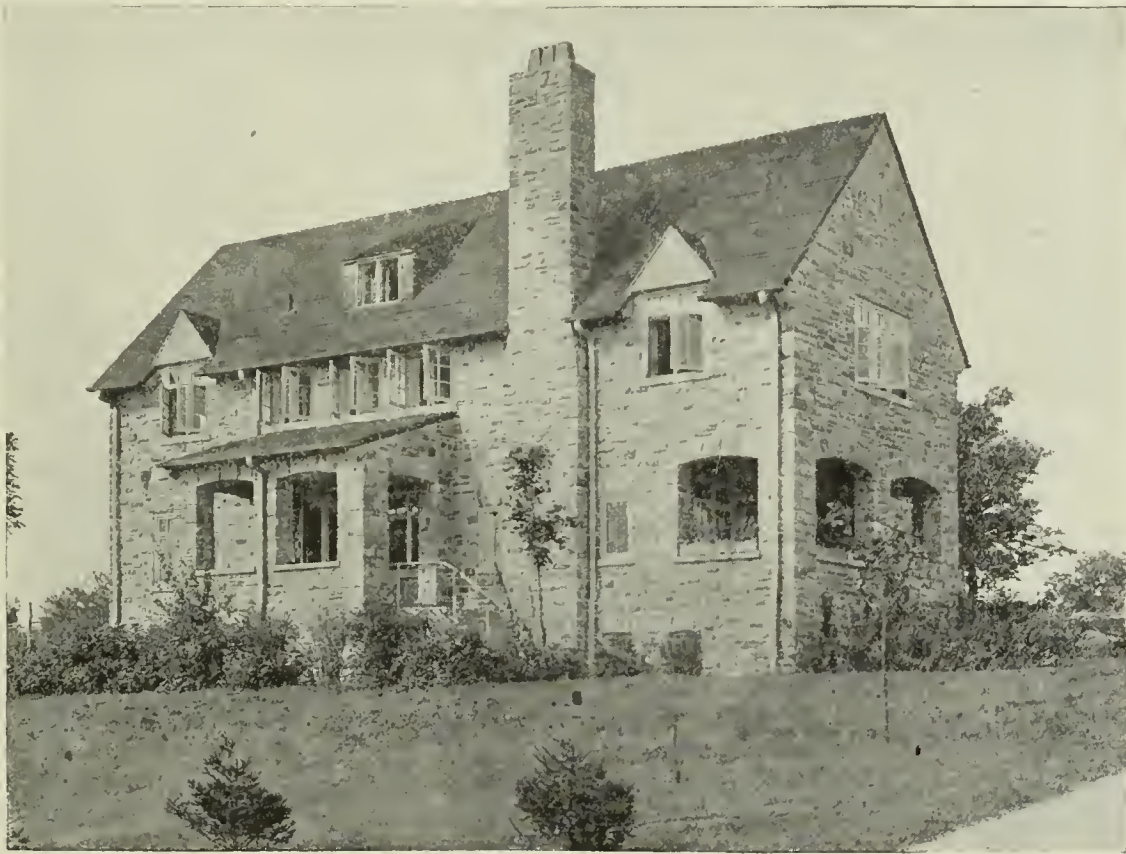
Mr. Gatti-Casazza did not rack his brains much to arrange some of the other bills presented in the first week of his fourteenth New York season. We had another taste of "Lohengrin" (in English), with Florence Easton, Margarete Matzenauer, Clarence Whitehill, and Sembach in the five more important rôles; "Lucia," with Galli-Curci as the heroine; "Tosca," with Geraldine Farrar in the title-part, and the unrivalled Scotti as the sadic Scarpia; "Faust," as a Saturday night offering, with Florence Easton, Chamlee, Rothier, and de Luca. On Saturday afternoon, taking time well by the forelock, the management produced "Die Todte Stadt," of the young Viennese, Korngold—in German. Of this I shall say more another day.

The impression left on most minds by the first five or six performances was more than pleasing. Not quite as deep, perhaps, as in some bygone years. But good enough to make us hope that, five months hence, the season will have done our opera credit in more ways than one. The chief addition to the singers at the Metropolitan so far heard is Mme. Galli-Curci. Her merits and her flaws have been familiar to New York for several seasons. When at its best her voice is liquid as a lark's. But it is not a very strong or brilliant voice, and its possessor sometimes flats.

Now that Caruso is no longer here to thrill us with his tones, the Metropolitan will have to readjust itself to a new state of things. It might do wisely to appeal more than in former years to that great public which is hungry to hear opera, but which is not wealthy. "Grand" opera might be an uplifting influence. But it can hardly be that at the uplifted prices. The cost of standing room was far too high already. And the new charge may be objected to by many. Some day—and, I believe, in the near future—we shall be privileged to have a really popular and fair-priced lyric theatre. With fewer stars, maybe, than at the

Metropolitan, but with a company as good and even better than one finds in most big opera houses in Europe. There have been echoes for some time past of new efforts to encourage lyric drama, and incidentally a national school of opera. They are dreaming, planning, working in Chicago and in many other cities.

One of the most fascinating and successful functions of the present season was the song recital given by Frieda Hempel, the favorite soprano, at



*House built by boys of The Children's Village*

Carnegie Hall for the benefit of The Children's Village, an institution founded, under the name of the New York Juvenile Asylum, about seventy years ago, as a model school for the reform and training upon human lines of delinquent children. The purposes of this charity might of themselves have enlisted sympathy. The coöperation of Mme. Hempel did wonders to give concrete shape to the expression of that sympathy. At the recital in question Mme. Hempel (who was in perfect voice) sang many songs, ranging in style from the "Deh vieni non tardar" of Mozart to four eloquent examples of Grieg, the well-known "Carnival of Venice" air with variations of Benedict, a group of old-fashioned and lovely melodies by Farley, Reger, and others, and ending with a vocal arrangement of the "Blue Danube" waltz.

One of the great moments of the evening came with Mme. Hempel's singing of the long popular "By the Waters of Minnetonka." Another, which earned two encores, was her interpretation of Farley's witching song, "The Night Wind." Mr. Coenrad Van Bos assisted Mme. Hempel at the piano with his accustomed skill, and the net result of the recital was the addition of \$7,000 to the treasury of The Children's Village.

Among other concerts of the week that deserve mention here were the recitals of John Powell, Francis Rogers, and Reinald Werrenrath, which won them new admirers.



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

FIFTY YEARS A JOURNALIST, by Melville E. Stone. Doubleday, Page.

Lively recollections of men and events by the man who built up the Associated Press.

THE BRIARY-BUSH, a novel by Floyd Dell. Knopf.

Not that I'd say a word to prejudice the radicals against this book, but it's about marriage, and does not end unhappily.

PLUM PUDDING, by Christopher Morley. Doubleday, Page.

A pleasant book of essays about books and eating-places and other odder things. Appropriate and charming illustrations by Walter Jack Duncan.

PARIS DAYS AND LONDON NIGHTS, by Alice and Milton Snyder. Dutton.

Letters written in 1918 between an American newspaper man in London and his wife in Paris.

MORE TRIVIA, by Logan Pearsall Smith. Harcourt, Brace.

Fables—or epigrams. As the old lady complained of the dictionary, the stories in this book are very short.

IT was many a year ago when I clipped "Richard Cory" from a paper or magazine, remarking to myself, "Here is a poem!" And now, since the verses appear in the newly published "Collected Poems" (Macmillan) of Edwin Arlington Robinson, they may be reprinted again:

#### RICHARD CORY

Whenever Richard Cory went down town,  
We people on the pavement looked at him;

He was a gentleman from sole to crown,  
Clean favored, and imperially slim.

And he was always quietly arrayed,

And he was always human when he talked;

But still he fluttered pulses when he said,  
"Good morning," and he glittered when he walked.

And he was rich—yes, richer than a king—

And admirably schooled in every grace;  
In fine, we thought that he was everything

To make us wish that we were in his place.

So on we worked, and waited for the light,  
And went without the meat, and cursed the bread;

And Richard Cory, one calm summer night,  
Went home and put a bullet through his head.

Sweet and soothing are the uses of satire. Max Beerbohm laughs genially and merrily at the Russians whom he reads "in the original Gibrisch." The South Seas are sentimentalized about, and spoiled for the prospective traveler, until Dr. Traprock blows up the

whole South Sea school and clears the air with "The Cruise of the Kawa." Christopher Morley, in his new book, riddles with gentle sarcasm the "Salute to Evelyn Scott" utterance of Sinclair Lewis—perhaps, if we except the blurb on the cover of "Three Soldiers," the silliest single remark about a book for the past year. The Cubist English employed in "Erik Dorn" is treated seriously by critics and discussed feverishly by flappers, until Don Marquis turns ridicule upon it and shoots it full of holes, in his recent skit, "A Modern Heroine." And now comes a gentleman in the Boston *Globe* who speaks of spending a pleasant autumn evening, with a pipe and plenty of tobacco, sitting before an open fire, and reading "some magnificent tale—say 'Three Soldiers' by Dos Passos." That would indeed be a merry evening! And the next day we can imagine the writer in the *Globe* would say, "This is a fine, bright, November day! What shall we do for pleasure? Ah, I have it! We'll get into the ambulance and ride down and spend the morning at the morgue."

Five authors, on a hot August day, are relating the plots of the Christmas stories they are writing. This is in Christopher Morley's "Plum Pudding" (Doubleday). Here is one of the plots:

"Big New York department store. Beautiful dark-haired salesgirl at the silk stocking counter. Her slender form trembles with fatigue, but she greets all customers with a brave, sweet courtesy. Awful crush, every one buying silk stockings. Kindly floorwalker, sees she is overtaxed, suggests she leave early. Dark girl refuses: says she must be faithful to the Christmas spirit; moreover she daren't face the evening battle on the subway. Handsome man comes to the counter to buy. Suddenly a scream, a thud, horrified outcries. Hold back the crowd! Call a physician! No good; handsome man, dead, murdered. Dark-haired girl, still holding the fatal hat-pin, taken in custody, crying hysterically. 'When he gave me his name I couldn't help it. He's the one who's caused all the trouble!' Floorwalker reverently covers the body with a cloth, then looks at the name on the sales slip. 'Gosh,' he cries, aghast, 'it's Coles Phillips!'"

A great many books are written about Japan, and a reader need not be blasé if he picks up a new one with little hope of finding anything novel or entertaining. So it was with some surprise, at the end of a long evening with new books, that I found myself reading Julian Street's "Mysterious Japan" (Doubleday) with increasing pleasure and amusement. Mr. Street's book is easy reading; it is sympathetic, humorous. He discusses the costumes and the earthquakes; the peculiar Oriental mind; the women of Japan; the national drink and the mild and refined intoxication it causes—a good story, here, about the polite Japanese

saké drinker and his gift of the rice-ball; about geishas and about statesmen.

There is a chapter on sea-superstitions (it is called "Not in the Almanac") in H. M. Tomlinson's "London River" (Knopf) and naturally it is one of the most fascinating in that thoroughly attractive book. The writer speaks of a ship's doctor: "When he is home again we go to the British Museum. He always takes me there. It is one of his weaknesses. I invited him, when last we were there, to let us search out a certain exhibit about which curious stories are whispered. 'No you don't,' he exclaimed peremptorily. He gave me no argument, but I gathered that it is very well to be funny about such coincidences, yet that one never certainly knows, and that it is better to regard the unexplored dark with a well-simulated respect till one can see through it." Mr. Tomlinson certainly arouses my curiosity. What were the "curious stories" about the exhibit in the Museum? But he leaves me in the dark.

In making his choice for "Selected Stories from Kipling" (Doubleday) William Lyon Phelps has taken one of the best of the stories of England, "An Habitation Enforced"; that best of dream stories, "The Brushwood Boy"; the best of his animal stories, "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi"; two of the finest of the "Soldiers Three" series, "The Courting of Dinah Shadd" and "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney"; the best of the stories of the relations between Englishmen and the natives of India, "Without Benefit of Clergy"; the best of all his stories about boys, "The Drums of the Fore and Aft," and what many critics would say is the best of all Kipling stories, "The Man Who Would Be King." There are still others—the total number is thirteen—but the ones I have named show that this book is indeed the cream of Kipling. The choice is beyond praise. We must all miss something, and I miss the finest of his horror stories, "The Mark of the Beast." No better essay on Kipling has been written than Mr. Phelps's introduction to this book. In one place he points out that Kipling is always well ahead of the fashion. "Had he written 'They' in 1919 he would have been in the mode. But at the time he wrote it he was doing pioneer work. In other words, he is always original."

Walter George Bell's "More About Unknown London" (Lane) is sure to attract the reader who loves to explore old corners of the city as well as the antiquarian and literary historian. Anne Boleyn's letter from the Tower to Henry VIII is reproduced in facsimile, and discussed. Here are pictures of Oliver Goldsmith's last home, a chapter on the cries of old London, stories from old tombstones, and a dozen other chapters by the author of four books of great interest, all about the same city.



# Book Reviews

## Mr. Russell in Quest of the Mind

THE ANALYSIS OF MIND. By Bertrand Russell. New York: The Macmillan Company.

MR. RUSSELL'S present volume is complementary to his Lowell Lectures of 1914 on "Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Methods in Philosophy." He applies a similar type of analysis to what an older phraseology would have called the inner world; he inquires what, if anything, there is in our experience that can be described as "mental" or "physical," and how it is related to physical objects. In dealing with these questions Mr. Russell reviews a number of more or less new theories, about most of which controversy has of late furiously raged in British and American philosophy and psychology. Among these are James's denial that "consciousness" exists; the American form of neorealism which has developed, in part, out of James's later doctrine; behavioristic psychology; psycho-analysis; and Semon's conception of organic memory. Part of each of these Mr. Russell rejects, part he retains and combines with the others into an essentially novel synthesis, which seems to him the legitimate residual outcome of contemporary reflection on the problems with which he is concerned.

His principal contention is that "the distinction between mind and body is not so fundamental as is commonly supposed," that, indeed, the sharp division of all things into "mental" and "physical" cannot be allowed "as metaphysically valid." Mind and matter are, as James maintained, merely varieties of a single "neutral stuff" out of which the world as we know it is constructed; and they are not even mutually exclusive varieties, for "the physical and the psychical can overlap." The book is thus one of the manifestations of a tendency much in fashion in the philosophy of the time—the tendency to blur, if not to obliterate, the traditional psycho-physical dualism. The contention is manifestly important if true. But the reasonings by which Mr. Russell supports it seem to the present reviewer to leave a good deal to be desired, with respect both to adequacy and to consistency.

One side of the argument for the merging of the physical and the psychical consists in the elimination, as simply non-existent, of certain supposed realities which, if they did exist, would doubtless be describable as "mental." "Consciousness," in the sense which the word had in James's famous essay, is rejected, chiefly for the reasons given by James; the psychical "subject" is pronounced "a logical fiction, like mathematical points;" and even the notion of "mental activity," to which some of the English neo-realists have clung, is

dismissed as corresponding to nothing that can be found in experience. All the entities previously classed as mental are either imaginary or are reducible to "content," which in the last analysis "consists wholly of sensations and images." Is there, however, anything irreducibly non-physical about even these?

Mr. Russell's answer to this question is based upon a conception of the nature of a "physical object" which was outlined in the Lowell Lectures, but is amplified here. Common sense, and some realistic philosophers, assume that when (for example) several persons look at what is called a round table, there is one "real table," which is not strictly identical in shape and texture with the perceived tables of the observers, and is at a place other than the places occupied by the observers; but that this central table is the common cause of all their differing perceptions, the differences being explained mainly by the laws of optics. This view Mr. Russell rejects; though natural "it was mistaken to regard the 'real' table as the common cause of all the appearances," since "the notion of 'cause' is not so reliable as to allow us to infer the existence of something that, by its very nature, can never be observed." For Mr. Russell the only "physical object" is simply the whole collection of so-called "appearances," having diverse shapes and situated at the points occupied by the observers. There is no single "real object" over and above the appearances. An appearance is "actually part" of the object, "in the sense in which a man is part of the human race," and "the" object is nothing but the sum of these parts. This, so far, may sound like an almost Humian subjectivism. But Mr. Russell hastens to add that by "appearance" he does not "mean anything that must 'appear' to somebody;" he includes under the term unperceived "aspects" of the object—what would ordinarily be called its effects—at points where there do not happen to be any sentient observers. In fact, there must, it would seem, be an "appearance" or "aspect" of every object at every point in space. In this way the table which I usually suppose to be in the middle of my room is distributed by Mr. Russell throughout the universe; "parts" of it exist everywhere *except* (apparently) in the middle of my room.

When the notion of a physical object has thus been broken up—or down—it becomes possible to regard sensations as "physical;" they are simply one species of those "appearances" of which the material world is composed, and may therefore be described as the "intersection of mind and matter." They are, specifically, that class of "aspects" of objects which exist at places where there are brains and nervous systems in living organisms. Unfortunately, this way of thinking is so little congenial to the human mind that Mr. Russell himself appears unable to adhere to it for even a few pages at a

time. We find him, for example, explaining illusions and "irregular appearances" as "due to the distorting effects of the medium intervening between the object" and the place where the illusory appearance occurs, and observing that "as we approach nearer to the object" these effects grow less. But such an explanation is obviously inconsistent in more than one way with the proposed definition of a "physical object," for (a) if that definition is accepted, we can no longer speak of the "place where the object is." It is, or rather its "parts" are, in innumerable places. (b) Consequently, no one "appearance" can be "nearer to the object" than another. If mankind were equally, or even promiscuously, scattered through space, we should hardly speak of one man as "nearer to the human race" than another. (c) For like reasons, there can be no "intervening medium." And (d) if there were, it is difficult to see how it could, on Mr. Russell's principles, have any "distorting effects." For if "the notion of 'cause' is not so reliable" that we are entitled to use it to infer the existence of a "central" object as the cause of the occurrence and of the similarity of the appearances, how can it be used to prove the existence of a "distorting medium" as the cause of the *difference* in the appearances? If Mr. Russell is intentionally alternating here between his own conception of a physical object and that of common sense or ordinary physics, it must still be said that the shifts are very frequent, sudden, and insufficiently intimated to the reader; and that it is not apparent that the argument as a whole could proceed at all without the aid of these notions incongruous with the author's professed position. Yet it is upon these wavering reasonings that the identification of sensations with physical objects depends.

"Images," meanwhile, prove highly resistant even to Mr. Russell's solvents. Far as he is disposed to go with the behaviorists, he finds wholly unconvincing their attempt to reduce images to some kind of bodily behavior. Nor will the argument which is supposed to give sensations a physical status serve here. A mental image, we are told, "cannot be thrust into the world of physics," for it "contradicts all the usual physical laws." It is to be "regarded as an event in me, not as having that position in the orderly happenings of the public world that belongs to sensations." Again: "images, which belong to psychology, are not included among the aspects which constitute a physical thing or piece of matter." The whole story about images, as Mr. Russell tells it, is too complex to be adequately discussed here; but in the final outcome this class of "psychical" entities remains separated by a tolerably wide gulf from "physical objects," as the latter are conceived either by common sense or by Mr. Russell.

The supposed unification of the two worlds, moreover, suddenly assumes at



the end the aspect of a reduction rather of the physical to the mental than of the mental to the physical, or of either to a genuinely "neutral" *tertium quid*. For the only "appearances" of matter which are empirically verifiable, Mr. Russell observes, are those given in sensation. Consequently, "physics, in so far as it is an empirical science, not a logical phantasy, is concerned with particulars of just the same sort as those which psychology considers under the name of sensations." The curiously unstable equilibrium of Mr. Russell's doctrine, the tendency of his realism to topple upon the brink of idealism, is strikingly illustrated by the concluding words of the volume: "All our data, both in physics and psychology, are subject to psychological causal laws; but physical causal laws, strictly speaking, can only be stated in terms of matter, which is both inferred and constructed, never a datum. In this respect psychology is nearer to what actually exists."

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY

## Why American Settlers Came to Oregon

OPENING A HIGHWAY TO THE PACIFIC, 1838-1846. By James Christy Bell, Jr. New York: Longmans Green & Company.

THIS is one of the admirable series of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. The subject of the present essay is Oregon, at first glance most unpromising, not because it is lacking in interest (on the contrary it represents one of the most dramatic periods in the history of the United States), but because it has been discussed so often and apparently so exhaustively that there did not seem to be anything left that might usefully be said. Dr. Bell discovered, however, that one angle, and that a very important one, had been overlooked. During the last half century and more, writers of greater or less judgment and impartiality have published their views as to how and when the Oregon country was discovered, as to the relations of British and American fur traders on the Columbia, as to the diplomatic controversy, and, above all, as to whether or not Marcus Whitman saved Oregon. Dr. Bell does not ignore these phases of his subject, but he studies them, not from the standpoint of exploration or fur-trading or diplomacy or missionary enterprise, but rather from that of social and economic forces. His monograph deals with this one definite aspect of Western expansion—how, and above all why, American settlers came to Oregon. It takes up the "hopes and fears and ideas of a definite and, in its way, articulate group of the American community—that body of farmers and mechanics in whose families the tradition of westward migration was imbedded through several generations after their first coming to the Virginia mountains." These pioneers

were sober, hard-headed, industrious people, fairly well-off in their homes along the Mississippi, but they were confronted with certain difficulties, the most serious of which was the lack of an adequate market for their produce. They must move somewhere. No spot in the midcontinental area seemed to offer a solution, but they saw, or believed they saw, the answer to their dreams in far-off Oregon. This idea seized the imagination of a few pioneers, who undertook to translate their desires into action. These pioneers "opened a road across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast—the preface to territorial expansion—because they wished to realize the benefits from its geographical position in opening a new market for agricultural produce, and because they could not await but must have a hand in making their own destiny. The agitation for expansion, however, soon outran the plan, became frantic, went off to war; the side-show as usual attracted the crowd, and behold, the United States gained a continent before its farmers won a stable market for their produce." Dr. Bell has very cleverly and effectively marshalled the evidence in support of his thesis, evidence which had to be dug out of scattered and not easily accessible sources. Altogether his work is a contribution of real value to this history of Western expansion.

Although Dr. Bell's work is generally quite accurate, one notes a few minor slips, particularly in connection with the fur trade. For instance, on page 18, and again on page 46, he says that the Hudson's Bay Company, with a single exception, had never left the shores of Hudson Bay. His single exception is no doubt Samuel Hearne, whose journal of his journey to the Coppermine has lately been republished by the Champlain Society. He overlooks, however, the equally important journeys of Henry Kellsey to the Saskatchewan in 1690 and of Anthony Hendry to the upper waters of the same river in 1754-5. The statement at the foot of page 47 that the Hudson's Bay Company "kept its rivers tightly closed to the goods of the Nor'westers" seems to conflict with the next sentence, "nor did the Hudson's Bay Company ever try to enforce their monopoly against the Nor'westers." The footnote to page 48, based upon the unreliable testimony of Beckles Willson's "The Great Company," is altogether inaccurate. Fort William (page 49) was built in 1801, not 1813. The statement on the same page that "the Governor General of Canada, being friendly to the powerful fur merchants of the Northwest Company who resided in his capital, refused military support to Lord Selkirk," is scarcely correct. The Governor General could hardly be expected to sanction military support to a private individual engaged in a private enterprise. Nor did the fur merchants live in the then capital, which was Quebec. Their homes were for the most part in Montreal.

## The Interchurch Commission in the Lists Again

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE STEEL STRIKE. The Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement.

THE Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement which, in August, 1920, published the "Report on the Steel Strike of 1919," has issued a supplementary report of the investigators, entitled "Public Opinion and The Steel Strike," as a verification of the previous report and an amplification of the indictment of the Steel Corporation and the associated companies. The investigators primarily responsible for the supplementary volume are George Soule, David J. Saposs, Marion D. Savage, Robert Littell, M. K. Wiseheart, and Heber Blankenhorn, Secretary to the Commission.

In this volume little is said of the demands of the strikers, or of the social desirability of unionizing the steel workers, or of the policy of the Steel Corporation in this regard. Much is made of certain features of the strike, especially the employers' use of spies, the unfriendliness of the Pittsburgh press, the unsympathetic attitude of the pulpit, the suppression of free speech and assembly, and numerous instances of brutality on the part of the local police, the State Constabulary, and the deputy sheriffs. The main thesis appears to be that because of a conspiracy of misrepresentation and silence on the part of the Steel Corporation and its friends, American public opinion is not yet informed as to the merits of the dispute or the measures that were taken to break the strike.

Perhaps the most serious accusation brought against the employers is that, even in normal times, they have a system of espionage through which they obtain information about the men and keep in touch with everything of importance that goes on within and without the works. The "under-cover men," it seems, are everywhere, even as members and officials in the unions, and their reports are considered in the hiring and the promotion of the men, and in their dismissal or blacklisting. But when a strike is on, the spies are very active, outside detective agencies are employed, and agencies that provide professional strike-breakers—all of whom do what they can by means fair or foul to weaken the morale of the men and thus end the strike.

Another serious count in the indictment is that in western Pennsylvania, at least, freedom of speech and assembly have been denied, occasionally by the public authorities, but usually by the refusal of owners to allow their buildings or vacant lots to be used for union meetings. Then, too, during the strike both large and small groups of laborers were dispersed by the constabulary and the deputy sheriffs; often riding into the crowds, using clubs and even firearms, so that many strikers and bystanders were hurt and some were killed. Of course, some lim-



itation of civil liberties is necessary during a serious strike, for the prevention of violence, and it is hard to prevent misuse of power, especially after the troops have been called out. However, from the evidence presented, it looks as if the authorities in many places had denied the right of assembly in order to break the strike, and that even before the strike the holding of labor meetings had been discouraged, to say the least. The Report states that in Homestead no labor organization meetings had been permitted since 1892.

The Commission presents a mass of evidence to show that the press and the pulpit of the steel regions were for the most part opposed to the strike, and in the absence of rebutting testimony they seem to prove their point. But in doing so they have also shown that the Legislature, the courts, the state and local officials, the business men of every kind, the clerks in stores and offices, the artisans of the towns, the skilled workers of the mills, and even the "padrones," "clansmen," and other leaders of the foreign born were in the same boat. This remarkable consensus of opinion on the part of the people of Pennsylvania—the farmers doubtless included—the Commission appears to regard as an indication of moral perversity and subjection to the prestige and power of the dominating industry, of which the foreign-born, unskilled workers are the wage-slaves. "Steeped in the spirit of the employing class," deriving sustenance from the "subsoil of business enterprise," the vast majority of the people of Pennsylvania had little sympathy with the proposed organization of the steel workers and were only too ready to believe that the strike, promoted by radical leaders like John Fitzpatrick and William Z. Foster, was revolutionary in its character.

But whether revolutionary or not, the attempt to organize the steel workers enlisted the hearty sympathy of the Interchurch Commission and their investigators from the start, and their reports are far from impartial and judicial. They found what they were looking for. The evidence which they have collected constitutes a formidable indictment of the Steel Corporation and the allied companies, and, indeed, of the vast majority of the people of Pennsylvania and the other steel-producing States; yet the case as it stands is a caricature of the steel industry, and an interpretation of the aims and methods of the employers quite as misleading as the accounts of the strike that appeared from day to day in the Pittsburgh newspapers.

The fact is that the Interchurch Commission assumes that there is only one possible view on the main issue involved—the desirability of unionizing all industries as quickly as possible and subjecting them to a large measure of democratic control. Its judgment of the acts and words of others is colored throughout by this assumption.

J. E. LE ROSSIGNOL

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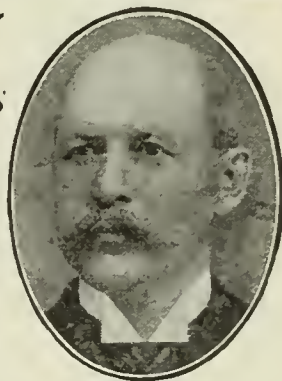
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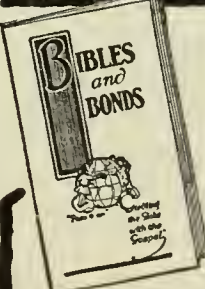
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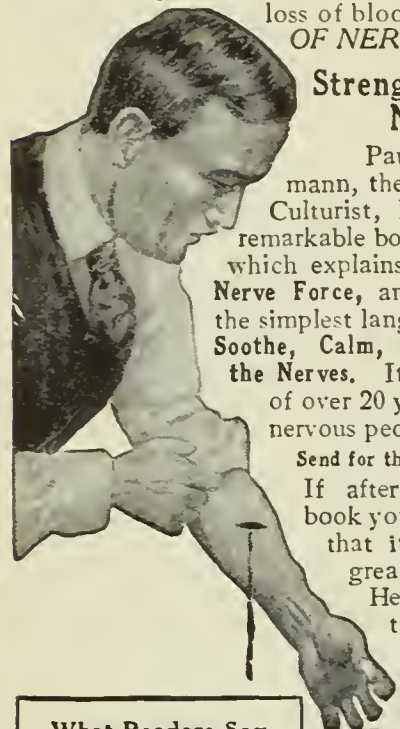
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## A Story of Whitman and His World

THE ANSWERER. By Grant Overton. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

THE ANSWERER" is a story of uncommon quality, a fine and responsible piece of work. Here is a novel by a story-teller of the younger American generation which owes nothing, or as little as possible, to foreign influences, and is by no means content to join a domestic chorus. It reassures us that in accepting, as we are exhorted to do, the "young America" of literature, we are not merely accepting a certain type or strain of American writer. All honor to the inch-worms of chronicle, if we may have also, at need, a glow-worm of interpretation to light our dingy path. Mr. Overton undertakes to show us the America of yesterday as Walt Whitman saw and dreamed it.

What distinguishes the book from the ordinary historical novel is its imaginative possession of the central figure. The author has not only "looked up" or "read up" his materials, he has assimilated them. And this he has done by first of all assimilating himself to Whitman, entering imaginatively into his character and experience. If conceivably he began with the idea that there might be a good opening for a Whitman novel (and much sound work has come out of modest stirrings of motive like that), his theme soon got hold of him. He has saturated himself in Whitman, struggled not only to know him but to be him in what was essential and deeply characteristic. And he has succeeded in a measure impossible to any mere literary inventor or clever fellow.

Mr. Overton has had his fling at that. Only a year or two ago he was in high feather as a jolly and often witty commentator on current bookish matters—a sort of literary "colyumist." I suspect, on the evidence of this book, that the game was too easy for him. He wanted to be about the sober business of creation. I do not suspect him of having deliberately put off his lively humor, like the particolor of Harlequin, or of having forsworn for good the cakes and ale of jollity and persiflage. But he had no need of these things for his present purpose. His task was to get himself into the Whitmanian mood of mystical exaltation and emanation. Walt had very little "sense of humor," in our everyday meaning of the term. The minor paradoxes and contrasts of life never roused him to verbal brilliancy. When as a very young pressman he did try his hand at popular humor, the result was never above facetiousness. (Christopher Morley has unearthed this sample of his paragraphing: "Carelessly knocking a man's eye out with a broken axe may be termed a *bad axe-i-dent*.") What warms us in Whitman is a high and absent emotion which is not hampered or inhibited by that morbid fear of the ridiculous—infinite which we are

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prone to worship as our national humor. And such a mood is attained and sustained by Whitman's present re-creator. It could not be expressed in either the jaunty vernacular or the conscientious humdrum of current usage. It is expressed fitly and consistently in the elevated and subtly Whitmanian style of this narrative.

The general method might be lumberingly termed the semi-autobiographical. The third person of the narrative is always merging, without marks of quotation, into the musing rhapsodic first person of the poet. We are, as I have said, to see the America of yesterday as Whitman saw and dreamed it. Our business is interpretation, not commentary. Therefore we are qualified to approach without fear certain phases of his personality and experience which have been commonly censured or slurred over by Whitman's critics and apologists. We have a guide who possesses both the courage and the restraint which are necessary for the enterprise.

In a large way, the story is composed less of a sustained narrative than of a series of linked episodes. The three parts are entitled, "A Miracle in Fifth Month," "Gulf Stream," and "Dark Mother." They "cover" imaginatively the life-episodes of Whitman, the young "Long Islander," rustic teacher, groping poet, and thwarted lover; his experience as a journalist, a poet still groping for his medium, and another sort of lover, in New Orleans; and the ripening and emerging season at Washington in war time. The developments of his hand-made philosophy and of his equally hand-made craft and magic of words are studied, as it were, from within. In the end the figure of Whitman stands forth with surprising clarity and dignity, both as the man who loved his kind, and as "the maker of poems—the Answerer."

It would be easy for the persifleur, the literary columnist, say, to twinkle and shrug over this book as over-solenn or even as sentimental. May Heaven defend and reward all honest wearers of motley—and give us leave still to be in earnest and even to be lyrical, now and then, without shame!

H. W. BOYNTON

### Pebbles

Scoutmaster (examining scout in safety first work)—What would you do supposing a deaf and dumb asylum were burning?  
Smart Scout—Ring the dumbbell.—*Boys' Life.*

Mrs. Bacon—I heard you talking to yourself while you were taking your bath, John. That's a very bad habit.

Mr. Bacon—I wasn't talking to myself; I was talking to the soap. I slipped on it and fell.—*Store Chat.*

"Now, friends and comrades," said the street-corner politician, after a long speech made in the pouring rain, "any questions?"

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## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English Literature and  
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By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
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Stuyvesant High School, New York

- I. The Limitation of Armament.
  1. Make a list of articles in this issue that concern the limitation of armament. For every article write a single sentence that will give the principal thought of the article. Write long, well-formed sentences. Pay especial attention to the use of semicolons and commas.
  2. Secretary Hughes is said to have given "a key-word" at the opening session of the Conference. What is a "key-word"? What is the value of a "key-word" in the beginning of any literary production? What "key-word" are you planning to use in your essay on "The Limitation of Armament"?
  3. "The Pope has condemned conscription." Define "conscription." Explain the relation of conscription to the plans for the limitation of armament. Write a brief for or against the condemnation of conscription.
  4. Write a brief that will show the points Mr. P. W. Wilson makes in support of the principal suggestion in his article.
  5. Give a talk in which you explain the reasons that led Mr. Balfour to call the Conference "A great historical event."
- II. Hungry Russia.
  1. Show how the writer makes his article appear worthy of belief. How can you make your own compositions appear worthy of belief?
  2. To what senses does the writer make appeal in describing people in Russian refugee camps and trains? What is the value of multiple sense appeal in description? Write a short description in which you make use of multiple sense appeal.
  3. Write a short story in which you tell of the events and the scenes through which a Russian refugee of your own age is likely to pass in a single day of twenty-four hours. Give individuality and interest to your principal character. Tell at least three striking incidents.
- III. New Books and Old. Book Reviews.
  1. What led the critic to say of "Richard Cory" by Edwin Arlington Robinson: "Here is a poem!"?
  2. What truth of human life does the poem illustrate?
  3. In what respects is Rudyard Kipling shown to be original?
  4. Make a list of the types of stories that best represent Kipling's work.
  5. Tell any one of the stories by Kipling, mentioned by the critic. Tell why you like the story, or why you did not find it as interesting as some other story by Kipling.
  6. Prepare an account of the life and the literary work of Rudyard Kipling. Consult any encyclopedia.
  7. "More About Unknown London" is said to reproduce a letter written by Anne Boleyn. Find in a history of England or in an encyclopedia an account of the life and character of Anne Boleyn. Then, as if you were a novelist, write a letter that she might have written.
  8. The review mentions "A chapter on the cries of old London." What were the "cries of London"? Write an essay on "The Cries of My Town."
  9. The review of "A Story of Whitman" speaks of "foreign influences" on American literature. Show in what respects foreign influences have affected American literary work.
- IV. The Musical Season Under Way.
  1. Consult any work of reference for information concerning the original source of the opera "Lucia."
  2. Visit the nearest library and prepare a report that will show how the present-day opera, "Faust," is related to the Elizabethan drama.
- V. The Story of the Week.
  1. General Diaz, the Italian hero, said he was deeply influenced by "The Leatherstocking Tales." What are they. Explain why General Diaz mentioned them now. Tell the story of any one of the tales that you have read.
  2. Give a talk in which you point out the matters of greatest importance now before the people of the United States.
  3. Write three propositions suitable for debate, and not concerned with the limitation of armament, drawn from this issue.

History, Civics and  
Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,  
Head of the Department of Social  
Science, Julia Richman High School

- I. The Washington Conference—The Conference, The Next Step in Disarmament, Disarming the Conference.
  1. State briefly the fundamental parts of the American proposal. If you discuss details tell the importance of each.
  2. Show how Mr. Hughes's opening speech was "a master stroke" in "disarming" the Conference. Also show why the Chinese programme is considered "an example of the excellent generalship of Secretary Hughes."
  3. Indicate the probable situation at the end of the naval holiday.
  4. What naval questions are reserved for later consideration by the Conference? Why?
  5. What important naval considerations are omitted from the proposal? How fully can you account for the omission of each?
  6. Why is it difficult for France to take an initiative in land disarmament comparable with that of America in naval disarmament? In what ways has China taken an initiative in the Far Eastern question?
  7. Summarize the main points of the Chinese proposal and keep it to check against the later action of the Conference.
- II. Industry's Stake in the Cloak Strike, Emergency Organization.
  1. Find everything you can on "the Cleveland plan" mentioned in this article.
  2. Describe the way in which the Cleveland plan developed its production standard and explain the merit of the method.
  3. Explain how the Cleveland plan guards against the abuses of piece-work and retains its advantages.
  4. Show how the Cleveland plan aims to stabilize employment. Summarize the progress of emergency unemployment relief to date.
  5. Contrast "Philip drunk and Philip sober," especially in these respects: (a) solidarity and attitude of the union, (b) attitude toward industrial war as a means of settling industrial disputes, (c) cooperation with employers, (d) attitude toward production standards, (e) responsibility to the welfare of the public, (f) in relation to waste, (g) in relation to wages.
6. In what way is "Industrial Statesmanship" lacking on both sides in New York?
7. Show how the Cleveland plan benefits the workers, the employers and the public.
- III. Progress on Railroad Problem.
  1. Explain the distinctions between (a) the new adjustment boards and the national boards, (b) producers-of-transportation unions and non-transportation unions, and just what is involved in each case.
  2. Show how the action of the railway executives is related to such questions as deflation, agricultural prosperity, further wage reductions of railway employees.
- IV. Home Ownership and Housing Shortage.
  1. To what extent is housing a problem in your community? What are the commonly stated obstacles to building in your community and to what extent do beliefs about them rest upon ascertained fact?
  2. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of home ownership over tenantry (a) in the country, (b) in the suburban town, (c) in the large city.
  3. Summarize the editor's statement of "broad considerations . . . which it is essential to keep in mind." Apply these considerations to any action which has been taken or is proposed in your community.
- V. Hungry Russia, The Life-Line of the A. R. A.
  1. What is the truth concerning the Russian famine?
  2. Explain the policy of the Soviet Government in relation to (a) the American Relief Administration, (b) the requisitioning of food supplies, (c) rationing "workers" and "the university man."
  3. If you are interested in taking advantage of the "food-draft" arrangements think out just what you would do. What guarantees have you that your purpose would be accomplished?
- VI. Things Are Looking Up.
  1. State the evidences of agricultural improvement, and explain the reasons for it.
- VII. Highway Construction, Congress at Work.
  1. Compare this act with earlier measures for the construction of national highways.
  2. What are the points involved in each item of Congressional activity mentioned?



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

December 3, 1921



## The Business Outlook

Expressions of Opinion by Financial and Economic Leaders

**I**N response to a request for a very brief expression of judgment as to the present business outlook and the possibilities of action calculated to expedite the return of better conditions, THE INDEPENDENT AND THE WEEKLY REVIEW has received the following statements from a number of men eminent in the economic field.

While there is considerable variety in these responses, it will be observed that there is general recognition of the decisive importance of two factors—the promotion of disarmament and of peace by the labors of the Washington Conference, and the acceleration of a return to normal economic conditions by more rapid acceptance of the necessary readjustments of prices both in business and in labor circles.

### What We Must Do to Be Saved

*Charles M. Schwab, President Bethlehem Steel Corporation*

**I**N the process of readjustment that is now going on, it is important, in my opinion, that we should not attempt to force a return to prosperity by means of legislation. Strict economy is the quickest cure for our present ills, and every one of us must be willing to bear his share of the sacrifices involved in deflation. Wages must come down, but employers cannot expect the wage-earner to accept a cut greater than the reduction in the cost of necessities.

Whatever legislation may be enacted, it will be beneficial only in the measure that it conforms to economic laws. A reduction in freight rates is the first logical step toward normal conditions. Yet railroad workers resent any lowering of wages that would make decreased rates possible. There must also be such a revision of our tax laws as will encourage investment in productive industry. I believe the taxation and railroad problems to be the most important ones confronting us.

The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments, however, seems to me to be a matter of tremendous significance, and there can be no doubt that the business men of the country stand solidly behind the President in his efforts to bring about a reduction of navies and armies. The rallying of the nations to a constructive programme of this kind, based on sympathy and mutual understanding, would not only insure great economies but have a splendid moral effect that would be felt throughout the world.

### Specific Evidences of Improvement

*Francis H. Sisson, Vice-President Guaranty Trust Company, New York*

**T**HERE are multiplying evidences to prove that domestic business has “turned the corner” and is gradually but surely emerging from the deflation period that began about the middle of last year. Two of the outstanding indications of this improvement are cheaper money, with its concomitant—easier credit—and the more or less widespread industrial revival. A great financial readjustment has been made, liquidation has progressed far, and our banks are in a sound position. The Federal Reserve System shows reserves of more than 70 per cent. A great building boom is sweeping the country. There is decided betterment in the textile trades. The shoe and leather industries report marked progress. Our surplus copper is gradually being marketed at prices that tend upward. There is increased output of iron and steel, and the railroads are coming back into the market. Many industries, in brief, are increasing their production. Business failures are less numerous than they were during the deflation period. Unemployment generally is decreasing, and savings are increasing. Car loadings have increased and idle cars are fewer.

But much must be done to expedite better conditions. The maladjustment between the prices of farm products and other commodities must be eliminated before we can consider liquidation as completed, or before there can be a full measure of prosperity. The tax burden must be more equitably distributed, and the high surtax rates reduced. The railroad-funding bill should be passed as early as practicable, to put the carriers on their feet financially and reestablish railroad credit and operating efficiency. In view of our changed economic position, a permanent high protective tariff should not be enacted to hamper our foreign trade and prevent, or indefinitely postpone, the liquidation of our foreign debts. Every effort should be made to assure the success of the Disarmament Conference, and thereby reduce tax burdens and eliminate colossal economic waste. And finally, we must assist other countries to return to prosperity as quickly as possible, largely through discriminating foreign investments and credits, for we can not hope for sound conditions and prosperous activities ourselves while Europe is in desperate economic straits.



## Retailers Hold the Key

Roger W. Babson, President Babson Statistical Organization

YOU ask what can be done to hurry the return of good business. I know of but one thing. Teach both employers and employees the fundamental economic laws which govern business. Seventy-five per cent. of our present difficulties are due to nothing more or less than the ignorance of the great majority of people regarding economics. I can see little use in the so-called "sunshine" movements which simply try to tickle business back into a good frame of mind. Perhaps I am not enough Christian Scientist, but when I am sick the man I look to to get well is the doctor, not the well-intentioned friend who comes in and tells me I shall be all right in a day or two.

The main obstacle to business improvement at the present time is the wide disparity between prices of producers' goods and the prices which the consumer must pay. People say profiteering by the retailer is the cause, but my studies have shown me that, with relatively few exceptions, the retailer is not profiteering. He is not making large profits. In fact, most of the retailers I have met lately are just getting out by the skin of their teeth. Still the prices they are charging are so high that the man who makes his living working for the *producer* cannot afford to buy at prices charged him as a *consumer*.

Study the causes for high retail prices and for the high prices of manufactured goods as compared with raw materials. The seat of the trouble is the present excessive overhead charges. They were relatively easy to bear when sales were big, but now they are growing proportionately heavier as sales decrease. *The smaller the amount of goods your retailer sells, the more profit he must make on each sale in order to pay his increased overhead expenses.*

The producer of raw materials had to cut his prices to rock bottom because competition hit him first. The manufacturer cut his less because he was less seriously affected than the producer of raw materials. The retailer has cut his prices least of all, because he suffered least from competition. Now you ask what can be done to straighten out the tangle. Nature itself has a cure, but it takes a long time. If you would speed the recovery of business, show the retailer that it will be to his advantage *voluntarily* to take all the loss he can stand on old high-priced goods and put his prices down to present replacement costs.

Perhaps you can make them see it and perhaps you can't. Such a course, however, would enable the man who gets his living from producing raw materials to buy at customer's prices. It would start again the free interchange of goods which is now blocked. Six months or a year from today the retailer and others who took temporary losses would have more money in their pockets and business would be a great deal better off.

## Lagging Wage Adjustments

E. M. Herr, President Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company

MY opinion is that the present improvement in business comes from necessities which compel the purchase of commodities rather than from conditions favorable to a large increase in business.

The present unfavorable conditions result principally from the failure of certain large classes of labor to accept wage reductions in line with reductions made in practically all other classes of labor. The classes to which I refer are the Railway, Mining, and to a great extent the Building Trades employees. Until the wages of these classes are brought to a level that will induce purchasing for the expansion of business—a level considerably above pre-war prices—no considerable improvement in business will occur.

## Government Economy Through the Budget System the Principal Need

John T. Pratt, President National Budget Committee

I AM convinced more than ever by the meetings and conferences with business men in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Kansas City during the first week of my transcontinental trip—in the interests of a Federal Executive Budget System—that we cannot have permanent conditions essential to business prosperity until government expenditures are greatly decreased and extravagance, waste, and inefficiency are eliminated to the fullest possible extent in governmental affairs.

The intolerable burdens of taxation, unequally distributed as they are relatively to present economic conditions, must be lightened and corrected. This difficult task can be achieved only so far as we reap the full benefits of an executive budget system. We have made a good beginning, and I find that the excellent work of General Dawes at the Budget Bureau is greatly appreciated everywhere. Business men, however, are not fully alive to the danger that Congress may ignore or scrap the good work of General Dawes and the President's Budget. When they realize the present tentative and incomplete character of the Federal Budget Act of June 10, 1921, and the necessity for a radical revision of the rules of Congress and its procedure in dealing with the budget before we can say that we have an executive budget system at all, they will be disposed to hold Congress to strict account.

## Returning Prosperity Slow but Sure

James B. Forgan, Chairman Board of Directors, First National Bank, Chicago

IT seems to me that the business tide is turning or has already turned. The ebb has been rapid, rough, and severe, and the flow is likely to be slow but sure. The best thing business men can do is to regain their confidence, get their affairs in shape to take advantage of returning prosperity, and go along with the flowing tide.

Prices of commodities have not yet been properly adjusted to the prices of farm products and other basic necessities. Until they are so adjusted the flow of business will be retarded and conditions will not be completely normal. Towards this end further readjustment of wages to coincide with the readjustment of commodity prices is necessary, and, above all, strict economy, industry, and efficiency are essential in all lines of business.

The anticipated action of the International Disarmament Conference will be of great assistance, as the heaviest burden now facing business enterprise is beyond doubt the continued necessity for heavy taxation. In this connection Congress could help if it would face the economic facts of the situation as they exist and legislate in a practical way in regard to them; otherwise, I see nothing of importance demanding special legislation.

## Tax Reform and Wage Adjustment Essential

Julius Kruttschnitt, Chairman Executive Committee, Southern Pacific Company

FOR the last seven weeks business, although less than in 1919 or 1920, has steadily improved as shown by car loading, thus:

Week ending	Revenue cars	Decrease under 1920
September 17 .....	854,450	136,716
October 1 .....	901,893	90,390
October 15 .....	906,034	112,505
October 29 .....	952,621	28,621
November 5 .....	829,722	85,893



The return of better conditions would be expedited if:

1. Our policy of taxation—which by heavy excess-profit corporation taxes and staggering surtaxes on individual incomes paralyzes initiative and enterprise, and destroys thrift by robbing success of its rewards, forces productive capital out of business and freezes it into investment in tax-exempt securities—were drastically revised, as promised by the party in power. As the recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury and other experts have been ignored by Congress, hope for the promised relief is fading daily.

2. Wages were reduced to harmonize with existing conditions, and inefficient, slothful methods and low productivity engendered by unreasonable wages paid under stress of national peril were replaced by honest, efficient work, greater zeal, and increased production.

## How to Restore Confidence

*Col. William A. Gaston, Chairman Board of Directors, National Shawmut Bank, Boston*

ONLY one thing is needed—Confidence—which, when it comes, will open every door to prosperity. Confidence is an easy word to say, but one of the most difficult things in the world to obtain.

Like the rest of the United States, Boston has been severely hit in a business way, but for once it is acknowledged that, comparably, Boston methods of finance have stood the test, and this section is today reaping the benefit of a rigid demand for business standards, at first condemned, but now admitted to have been in the real interest of the banks, manufacturers, and the workers.

Confidence will not come while the partisan experimentation with tariff, taxes, and an unsafe and untried system of valuation of imports which will put our importers at the whim of a new army of official experts, is permitted to continue. What the world most needs is relief from the taxation burdens now weighing so heavily on everybody, but particularly on business. Today, ninety-three cents of each dollar we collect in taxes is required to pay off the cost of wars, past, present, and contemplated. Retrenchment in the other seven cents will not amount to much at best. People want peace. The Hughes project for disarmament sounds well on paper; the test will be whether old conditions of diplomacy are to remain. The nine hundred millions of potential buyers in Asia will make the future markets for the surplus products of the United States and Europe, which will keep all busy. The real test, whether this Conference shall achieve any measure of success, will be its action regarding China. When China is really free, naval armament may be reduced in the Pacific; it will be reduced because there will be no need for it; all the world will be free, within the limitations of competition of distance, quality of goods, etc., to go ahead.

Confidence, therefore, means more than only confidence in ourselves; it means also confidence that our own Government will stop playing politics, and that in the pending discussion with foreign Governments it will decide that justice for all will be in the interests of peace and ultimate prosperity.

## World-Prosperity a Prime Requisite

*T. DeWitt Cuyler, Chairman Association of Railway Executives*

I AM unable to conceive a permanent business prosperity for America, independent of business prosperity the world over. There is no panacea for the business ills which afflict us. There has been in my judgment a distinct improvement within the last twelve months, and ground for belief that the improvement will be continued.

The spirit of this country is wholeheartedly behind the purposes of the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, as stated by the President of the United States; and I have no doubt but that this is a world-wide sentiment, which must in time produce tangible results of world-wide importance.

As to domestic policies, the major difficulties undoubtedly centre upon the problems of taxation and transportation.

A programme of taxation which, instead of attracting capital into productive industry, would tend to keep it out of productive industry will simply defer general prosperity.

In some of the major industries, especially coal mining and transportation, there is still much to be accomplished in the way of bringing down the cost of production. The major factor of these costs is the cost of labor. In railroad costs the wages of employees make up more than half of the transportation costs. Of its costs for materials and supplies the coal bill is by far the largest, and a large part of the cost of coal is wages, now on a higher than war time basis.

The whole country is seriously in need of lower transportation rates. To secure this on a permanent basis, I see only one plan which promises more than temporary success. That plan must include a realignment of wage costs to bring them more in harmony with commodity costs generally, and with labor costs in other industries. It must also include measures to insure a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

## We May Not Yet Have Seen the Worst

*L. F. Loree, President Delaware and Hudson Company*

I FEAR that we are in the midst of one of the worst panics we have experienced and that we have not seen the worst.

The prime necessities for prosperity are

1. Peace—We have three or four little wars on, and others in the offing.
2. Work—The number of unemployed is variously estimated at from 3,500,000 to 5,250,000. (?)
3. Efficiency—It is common observation that generally men do not want to work nor do they work with their old-time energy and interest.
4. Enterprise—New undertakings are not under way nor in contemplation in any substantial numbers.
5. Saving for Investment—The savings formerly made are now largely diverted to Government expenditures or tax-free securities of local public works. Further, existing capital was depleted by the war.
6. Co-operation—We seem to have been relieved by the Russian experiment of the threat of Socialism against industrial co-operation—the threat of trades unionism is still with us and threatens disaster.
7. International Exchange—This has practically ceased to function.

Normally, recovery would be slow, five or six years; it may be much hastened and further disaster avoided by

The indispensable remedies—

1. Strip the statute books of all laws socialistic in character, and those designed to give effect to labor union efforts to make jobs, restrict output, arbitrarily increase wages, etc., etc.
2. Thoroughly recast railroad legislation. Control, if any, over wages, rules and working conditions to be exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission.
3. Abolish the inheritance tax, the excess profits tax, the surtaxes upon incomes. Limit taxes on corporate and private incomes to 16 per cent. and enact a sales tax.
4. Immediately and radically reduce all public expenditures.
5. Encourage savings, enterprise, and co-operative effort, give them the full recognition of their vital worth and insure them the receipt and possession of their deserved reward. Let the relations of supply and demand have full play to bring to a conclusion, as soon as possible, unavoidable readjustment of war effects.



# The Drolleries of Clothes

By Agnes Repplier

IN that engaging volume, "The Vanished Poms of Yesterday," Lord Frederic Hamilton, commenting on the beauty and grace of the Austrian women, observes thoughtfully: "In the far-off seventies ladies did not huddle themselves into a shapeless mass of abbreviated oddments of material. They dressed, and their clothes fitted them. A woman upon whom nature had bestowed a good figure was able to display her gifts to the world."

That a woman to whom nature had been less kind was compelled to display her deficiencies is a circumstance ignored by Hamilton, who, being a man of the world and a man of fashion, regarded clothes as the insignia of caste. The costly costumes, the rich and sweeping draperies in which he delighted, were not easy of imitation. The French ladies who followed the difficult lead of the Empress Eugenia supported the transparent whiteness of their billowy skirts with at least a dozen fine, sheer petticoats. Now it is obvious that no woman of the working classes (except a blanchisseuse de fin who might presumably wear her customers' laundry) could afford a dozen white petticoats. But when it comes to stripping off a solitary petticoat, no one is too poor or too plain to be in the fashion.



International  
The "hour-glass"  
waist

When it comes to clipping a dress at the knee, the factory girl is as fashionable as the banker's daughter, and far more at her ease. Her "abbreviated oddments" are a convenience in the limited spaces of the mill, and she is hardier to endure exposure. She thanks the kindly gods who have fitted the fashions to her following, and she takes a few more inches off her solitary garment to make sure of being in the style.

Not that women of any class regard heat or cold, comfort or discomfort, as a controlling factor in dress. In this regard they are less highly differentiated from the savage than are men, who, with advancing civilization, have modified their attire into something like conformity to climate and to season. The savage, even the savage who, like the Tierra del Fuegian, lives in a cold country, considers clothes less as a covering than as an adornment. So also do women, who take a simple primitive delight in garments devoid of utilitarianism. For the past half-dozen years American women have worn furs during the sweltering heat of American summers. Perhaps by the sea, or in the mountains, a chill day may now and then warrant this costume; but on the burning city streets the fur-clad females, red and panting, have been pitiful objects to behold. They suffered, as does the Polar bear in August in the zoo; but they suffered



International  
The Crinoline

irrationally, and because they lacked the wit to escape from self-inflicted torment.

For the past two winters women have worn fur coats or capes which swathed the upper part of their bodies in voluminous folds, and stopped short at the knee. From that point down, the thinnest of silk stockings have been all the covering permitted. The theory that, if one part of the body be protected, another part may safely and judiciously be exposed, has ever been dear to the female heart. It may be her back, her bosom, or her legs which the woman selects to exhibit. In any case she affirms that the uncovered portions of her anatomy never feel the cold. If they do, she endures the discomfort with the stoicism of the savage who keeps his ornamental scars open with irritants, and she is nerved to endurance by the same impelling motive.

This motive is not personal vanity. Vanity has had little to do with savage, barbarous, and civilized customs. The ancient Peruvians who deformed their heads, pressing them out of shape; the Chinese who deform their feet,

bandaging them into balls; the Africans who deform their mouths, stretching them with wooden discs; the Borneans who deform their ears, dragging the lobes below their shoulder blades; the European and American women who deformed their bodies, tightening their stays to produce the celebrated "hour-glass" waist, have all been victims of something more powerful than vanity, the inexorable decrees of fashion.

As a matter of fact the female mind is singularly devoid of illusions. Women do not think their layers of fat or their protruding collar bones beautiful and seductive.

They display

them because fashion makes no allowance for personal defects, and they have not yet reached that stage of civilization which achieves artistic sensibility, which ordains and preserves the eternal law of fitness. They know, for example, that nuns, waitresses, and girls in semi-military uniforms look handsomer than they are, because of straight lines and adroit concealments; but they fail to derive from this knowledge any practical guidance.

I can remember when "pull-back" skirts and bustles were in style. They were uncomfortable, unsanitary, and unsightly. Their wearers looked grotesquely deformed, and knew it. They submitted to fate, and prayed for a speedy deliverance. The fluctuations of fashion are alternately a grievance and a solace. John Evelyn, commenting on the



International  
The "pull-back" skirts



Fashions of 1842



International  
Tight-lacing





International

*The bustle*

of tight-lacing, which must certainly be held responsible for the obsolete custom of fainting. For years satirists and moralists united in attacking the crinoline. In *Watson's Annals*, 1856, a virtuous Philadelphian published a solemn protest against Christian ladies wearing enormous hoops to church, thereby scandalizing and, what was worse, inconveniencing the male congregation. When the Great War started a wave of fatuous extravagance, it was solemnly reported that Mrs. Lloyd George was endeavoring to dissuade the wives of workingmen from buying silk stockings and fur coats. When the Great Peace let loose upon us the most fantastic absurdities known for half a century, the papers bristled with such hopeful headlines as these: "Club Women Approve Sensible Styles of Dress," "Social Leaders Condemn Indecorous Fashions," "Crusade in Churches Against Prevailing Scantiness of Attire," and so on, and so on indefinitely.

And to what purpose? The unrest of a rapidly changing world broke down the old supremacies, smashed all appreciable standards, and left us only a vague clutter of impressions. When a woman's dress no longer indicates her fortune, station, age, or honesty, we have reached the twilight of taste; but such dim, confused periods are recur-

rent in the history of sociology. The girl who works hard and decently for daily bread, but who walks the streets with her little nose whitened like concrete, and her little cheeks reddened like brick-dust, and her little under-nourished body painfully evidenced to the crowd, is tremulously imitating the woman of the town; but the most inexperienced eye catalogues her at a glance. Let us be grateful for her sake if she bobs her hair, for that is a cleanly custom, whereas the great knobs which she formerly wore over her ears harbored nests of vermin. It is one of the comedies of fashion that short hair, which half a century ago indicated strongmindedness, now represents the utmost levity; just as the bloomers of 1852 stood for stern reform, and the attempted trousers of 1918 stood for lawlessness. Both were rejected by women who have never been unaware that the skirt carries with it an infinite variety of possibilities.



International

*The hoop-skirt*

A winning wave, deserving note,  
In the tempestuous petticoat,

wrote Evelyn's contemporary, Herrick, who was more concerned with the comeliness of Julia's clothes than with his own.

There is still self-revelation in dress, but not personal self-revelation. We may still apply the test of costume to people and to periods, but not safely to individuals, who suffer from coercion. Women's ready-made clothes are becoming more and more like liveries.

A dozen shop windows, a dozen establishments, display the same model over and over again, the materials and prices varying, the gown always the same. The lines may lack distinction, and the colors may lack serenity; but then distinction and serenity are not the great underlying qualities of our fretted age. The "abbreviated oddments," with their strange admixture of the bizarre and the commonplace, strike a purely modern note. They are democratic. They are as appropriate, or, I might say, as inappropriate, to one class of women as to another. They are helping, more than we can know, to level the barriers of caste.



W. E. Hill in the N. Y. Tribune

*"Abbreviated Oddments"*

## No Armistice

By Arthur Guiterman


LET others boast of triumphs won  
And choke the gaping guns with flowers.  
Our day of strife is not yet done;  
And where we close with darker powers  
Shall they who braved the cannon's rage  
In bloodless conflict prove remiss?  
Through that long war which men must wage  
With Evil, there's no armistice.

And still new harms and evils grow,  
And still we wait, how long, how long!  
Why doubt when you have eyes to know  
The clean, straight line 'twixt Right and Wrong?  
Trust not the guile that urges pause,  
The compromiser's Judas kiss;  
Who stops to parley wounds the cause.  
Fight on! there is no armistice.


Your broken comrade fights alone,  
His arm is weak, his eye is dim;  
Then let his battle be your own;  
Want gives no armistice to him.  
The wounds of helpless thousands plead;  
What call is mightier than this?  
Against Indifference and Greed  
Fight on! there is no armistice.

Corruption thrives. And fools applaud  
While trouble-breeders rant and rate;  
Then yield no armistice to Fraud,  
No armistice to venom'd Hate.  
Beneath the flag that made them free  
The snakes of Treason writhe and hiss.  
Then fight this war to victory!  
To these we grant no armistice.





# EDITORIAL



## A Great Project

MR. VANDERLIP'S "plan to form a gold reserve bank for all the countries of central Europe" was published in our leading newspapers at the very moment of the assembling of the great disarmament conference at Washington. Whether for that reason or because of the far-reaching character of the proposal, it evoked very little comment in the public press. We trust that this inattention is but temporary. Among other things, Mr. Vanderlip's return to the country and the exposition which he will personally give to his scheme may be counted on to bring it prominently before the thinking people of the nation, and especially the world of finance. However this may be, we do not hesitate to say that the proposal is one that ranks second only to the proceedings at Washington in the importance of its possible bearing upon the problems of reconstruction which are pressing with such agonizing force upon the world to-day.

We have not the presumption to pass judgment upon the feasibility of Mr. Vanderlip's scheme, although it is outlined with such lucidity, such precision, and at the same time such simplicity, as is rarely encountered in the presentation of any project of the kind. We can only say that, so far as we are able to judge, it is an absolutely sound plan. Mr. Vanderlip recognizes, of course, that in order that it may be put into execution two things are essential—the assent of a sufficient number of the European Governments concerned and an adequate participation in the scheme by great financial interests, above all in our own country. But if the plan is as sound as we believe it to be, both these conditions of success ought to be sure of fulfilment, provided the plan is energetically advocated by those in a position effectively to promote it.

We entertain this conviction for the simple reason that the object of the plan is to provide for a large part of the world the most fundamental of all requirements for the carrying on of organized economic life. It has always seemed to us amazing that a group of countries which have for centuries carried on a highly developed industrial, agricultural, and commercial life should have been allowed to sink into a condition in which the prime requirement of such life, an intelligible money standard, has been lost—that they should have been allowed to sink into this condition without any really serious effort being made to rescue them from that calamity.

Now the most notable thing about Mr. Vanderlip's statement of the cardinal purpose of his project is that it says nothing about exports and imports, about fluctuations of "exchange," about balancing of budgets. All these things would, of course, be inevitably and most wholesomely affected by it; but these are not the primary aims. His object is "to form a stable currency." He wishes to make it possible for people in Germany, and Austria, and Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, and

Poland, and the rest of these afflicted countries, to do business in terms of money that means something. It is for this purpose, and only incidentally for any other, that he desires to establish an international bank which shall issue notes redeemable in gold, and armed with a gold reserve adequate under all normal circumstances to maintain that redemption. All he asks of the Governments is to permit such a bank to operate within their domains, and to give it such assurances as are necessary for its successful conduct and its permanent operation. He does not ask that the Governments shall discontinue issuing their own paper or that they shall make their income cover their expenditure. All he asks is that they shall give business a chance to carry on its transactions in sound money if it chooses.

He does not even ask quite all of this, for the proposed international bank would come into contact with commerce and industry not directly, but only through the banks of the country in question. He does lay down, however, among other prerequisites, the following most important requirement:

An undertaking that there will in the future be no hampering legislation enacted against the free circulation of the notes of the Gold Reserve Bank of the United States of Europe; nor against their free exportation and importation; nor against the opening of deposit accounts in these notes in other banks.

It is not upon any governmental fiat, but upon the needs and the operations of business, that the whole scheme is to rest; its loans are to be made on the basis of "self-liquidating" commercial paper, and its notes are to be issued against deposits either of such paper or of gold. It seems to us that unless the Governments of the countries which it is designed to serve are wholly blind to the immeasurable stimulus which a sound currency is capable of imparting to the whole economic life of a nation, they will, when they have grasped the significance of this project, jump at the chance of restoring to their business that which is its very life-blood.

Into the details of the scheme we cannot here attempt to enter. To one feature of it, however, which is calculated to remove objections that might otherwise be entertained against it, we must advert in just a word. Such provision is made for limitation of the profits of those who supply the initial capital, for participation in the profits by the respective Governments, and for ultimate acquisition of the capital stock by those Governments, as seems to satisfy all reasonable requirements. These and other particulars of the scheme may be subject to criticism; but the great thing to be recognized at the outset is the fundamental design.

How far the generality of people—even of people who speak with more or less authority—are from recognizing what is fundamental is strikingly illustrated by the contrast between Mr. Vanderlip's presentation of his project and the statement made by Senator Hitchcock in explanation of a bill which he introduced on June 29 last, and which contemplates the creation of a



bank on lines similar to those now laid down by Mr. Vanderlip. Senator Hitchcock puts all the stress on the furnishing of credit for foreign trade. His mind is evidently chiefly preoccupied by the fluctuations of exchange. "Importing and exporting," he says, "is now a dangerous business"; his "Bank of Nations" would become "the great clearing house for the purchase and sale of exchange"; it "would be the one institution whose officers would have knowledge of what exchange ought to be." The uncertainties of the importing and exporting business are bad enough, in all conscience; the fluctuations of exchange are one of the serious evils of the time. But those uncertainties and fluctuations are merely a secondary phenomenon, a symptom of the real disease. The primary trouble in all those afflicted countries lies much deeper.

If there were no such thing as foreign trade, a country that did business by means of bits of paper that had no meaning which anyone could define would be in a condition just about as deplorable as that in which these countries find themselves. Important as foreign trade is, it is, in most countries, insignificant in comparison with the transactions of the people of the country among themselves. When the farmer has no idea of what the hundred marks will mean to-morrow which he is getting to-day for a bushel of wheat; when the merchant who sells a bill of goods for ten thousand marks cannot tell but that it may take twenty thousand to replace them on his shelves; when a lender has no idea whether what he is to receive in payment of his loan will be worth anything like the money that he lent—in such a state of things it is obvious that all economic effort must be fatally paralyzed.

To remove this paralysis is the one great and achievable task upon which economists and financiers, the world over, should concentrate their endeavors. The transcendent merit of Mr. Vanderlip's project is that it proposes to open a way by which business shall gradually, and of its own motion, get back to solid ground. Give it the chance to do so, and we have not the slightest doubt that it will avail itself of the opportunity. Nor do we believe that the movement will be a slow one; for here we have a case in which Bob Ingersoll's famous desideratum is a reality—a case in which health is catching and not disease. The benefits of trading in sound money would be so obvious and so controlling that the custom, once started, would spread with wonderful rapidity; and we are firmly convinced that in a very short time after the plan for a sound international banking currency was fairly launched the world would be looking back upon the present monetary chaos as an almost incredible nightmare.

## Future of the Conference Idea

NOW that the atmosphere is charged with talk of the establishment of the international conference as a standing method of threshing out world problems and preventing war, it is timely to recall the exact words in which Mr. Harding, in the principal speech of his campaign, laid down the programme which he hoped to realize if elected. His desire, he said, was to bring about two things—"an international association for conference and a world court whose verdicts upon justiciable questions this country, in common with all others,

would be willing and able to uphold." If the present Conference shall prove a success—and, in spite of surface indications of trouble, there is every reason to believe that it will—the programme outlined in Mr. Harding's famous speech of August 28 will evidently be in a fair way toward fulfillment. Whether formally pledged by an association or not, the nations of the world will have entered upon the practice of conference, and will be sure to resort to it when occasion arises unless they are hell-bent for war. As for the international court, it is already in existence, and, although the United States is not as yet a participant in its action, it would be preposterous for our country not to find a way to full co-operation in an activity so indisputably desirable and so distinctively American in its character. Before the Washington Conference shall have passed into history, the future of both these agencies for the assurance of peace will, we trust, have been placed upon a firm footing.

## The Heart of Briand's Appeal

THE forcible and eloquent plea which Premier Briand made before the Washington Conference followed the best traditions of the forensic school of which he is an acknowledged master. Despite the eloquence of his words and the logic of his argument, however, he failed to achieve the impression upon his audience which he evidently desired. There was a distinct feeling among his auditors that where bread was asked for he had given them a stone. Indeed it seemed to many that he had introduced a jarring note, out of harmony with the warm and generous spirit which thus far had marked the deliberations. By some it was said that the "strong man of France" merely typified that state of mind in France that blocked a restoration of good relations on the continent of Europe, because he exaggerated the German danger and insisted upon armed force as the sole means of meeting it, while others affected to believe that his words were primarily directed to his own people to meet the internal political situation.

We believe, however, that these interpretations do Premier Briand an injustice. A cool analysis of his speech will show that it is not only in harmony with the efforts of the Conference to limit armament, but that it introduces a vital element essential to any program for the reduction of land forces. The fault of M. Briand was one of form and proportion. Had he summarized forcibly and briefly the dangers to which France and Europe were exposed, and then with dramatic emphasis pointed out the drastic reductions which France had already made in her land forces in spite of the menace, he would have carried his audience with him. Had he called attention to the fact that whereas before the war in the presence of the German danger France had maintained an army of 750,000, she had since the war reduced this by one-third and was planning to cut it down to one-half, it would have been felt that he had matched the Hughes proposal on naval armament and met the high aspirations of the Conference. He did in fact say this, but it passed almost unnoticed in the mass of details which he adduced to picture the reality of the German menace. One other serious mistake he made, and that was his allusion to Russia in which he



confused Russia with Bolshevism, and took no account of the realities of recent developments in Russia itself.

In view of his faulty presentation of his case from the standpoint of tactics and psychology, it is not strange that the chief constructive element brought forward by him has been generally overlooked. He did in fact hold out the olive branch to Germany and he did so under the only conditions that make possible a lasting European peace. Here are his words:

There is one part of Germany that is for peace. There are many people, especially among the working classes, who want to work, who have had enough of this war, who have had enough of war altogether, and are most anxious to settle down to peace and also to set to work. We shall do everything to help that Germany, and if she wants to restore her balance in the bosom of a pacific republic and democratic institutions, then we can help her and we shall all be able to contemplate the future with feelings of security.

The real danger that Germany may again become a menace to the peace of Europe lies not in the existence of this or that quasi-military organization, nor in the vaporings of a Ludendorff, but in something quite different. The aggressive imperialism of Germany in the past found expression not only in its highly developed military machine, but also in the character and purpose of its industrial organization. Both sides developed a psychology of ruthless domination by force; both were insurmountable obstacles standing in the way of a world order based upon mutuality of interest and helpful coöperation among the nations.

The German military machine is broken and we believe that M. Briand exaggerates the danger presented by its scattered elements and the possibility of reorganizing them overnight, in view of Germany's shattered finances. The industrial organization of Germany is intact, and the sinister figure of Stinnes appears mysteriously at every turn engaging in combinations as comprehensive and as daring as any contemplated by the financial powers of Germany in the heyday of her dreams of imperialism. To achieve their purposes these industrial magnates need absolute power and for this the forces of monarchism and reaction are but their tools. It is for this reason that Stinnes and his associates are supporting with abundant funds not only the forces of reaction in Germany but those Russian groups in Berlin who seek restoration of the old régime in Russia. These groups, foreseeing the fall of the Soviet power, would take advantage of the weakness of Russia and the lack of organization among the democratic forces that represent the mass of the people to impose another autocracy while the necks of the people are still bent beneath the burden of the present one.

To Stinnes and his crowd success in their schemes of vast industrial organization depends upon control of political power, and if they are able to confirm their achievements by the restoration of reactionary authority, the outcome must inevitably be a future war. The one means of preventing the success of these schemes is a democratization of Germany and Russia which shall subject these ruthless industrial and financial barons to popular control in the interests of their own people. This is the "moral disarmament" to which M. Briand referred and which he held was as necessary as material disarmament; and this likewise Secretary Hughes recognized when in his response he said: "There can be no hope of a will to peace until institutions of liberty and justice are secure among all peace-loving people."

The present government of Germany is weak, lamentably weak. It faces wellnigh insurmountable problems, but it has attacked these problems in good faith and shown the will not only to meet the obligations of Germany but to maintain her democratic institutions. It remains for the Allies, in the interests of lasting peace, to support the forces of democracy in Germany. To do this it is not sufficient simply to place restrictions upon armed forces. It is essential that the forces of aggressive industrial imperialism be likewise rendered powerless for evil. The temptation to European and American financiers to join Stinnes and his crowd in vast industrial combinations is great, especially in his proposed operations in Russia, but before doing so they should make it very clear that support must be withdrawn from the German and Russian reactionary forces, and acts calculated to weaken or overthrow the democratic Government of Germany discontinued. The immediate pecuniary rewards of such financial combinations would be dearly purchased at the cost of inevitable future war.

## The Tax Failure, and After

**S**ELDOME has a great party, in full control of the Government, had to acknowledge a more signal legislative failure than that which has attended the long wrestling of the present Congress with the tax problem. That that problem is beset with extraordinary difficulties must be admitted; but, after making all allowance for these difficulties, something in the nature of fundamental improvement was certainly a reasonable expectation, and that expectation has been disappointed. The failure is confessed by the party's own leaders in the Senate and elsewhere.

In no point of principle has any conclusion been embodied in the bill, or been arrived at by the party leaders. Nor does it appear that any advance has been made in crystallizing an effective public opinion in any such direction. We do not believe that this result is due primarily to a conflict of interests, though such conflict has, of course, played a considerable part in the matter. The determination of the maximum income surtax rate, for example, at 50 per cent., was brought about by the unyielding determination of the farmers' *bloc* and of those who have coöperated with it; but, while strong pleas were made against that high rate on the score of the injury which it was declared it would inflict on the recovery of business, yet those pleas did not have behind them the kind of authority which would carry convincing weight with the general public. The primary trouble, in our judgment, has been the absence of anything that could furnish the country with effective enlightenment and well-directed guidance.

Senator Calder of New York, in the closing day of the debate, introduced and advocated a bill for a commission to make a comprehensive investigation into tax problems. We trust that Congress, when it reassembles in regular session, will promptly pass such a bill. It is quite the fashion to cast ridicule upon the idea of creating advisory or investigating commissions. The proposal to form one is easily sneered at as a mere device for "passing the buck"; but the fact is that the only way in which an intelligent consensus can be brought about upon the leading tax issues is through the report of a truly competent body calculated to command public



confidence.— One of the things that such a body could accomplish would be the elimination, among intelligent and fair-minded persons, of arguments which, while almost wholly without merit, do duty, year in and year out, both in Congress and with the man on the street.

If the commission could not arrive at absolute conclusions, it could at least lay down solid foundations for such conclusions. And that of itself would be a service of the first order. One has only to remember the essential part played by the Aldrich Monetary Commission in opening the way to the Federal Reserve Act in order to realize the great potentialities of such enlightenment. Fortunately, in this case as in that, there is no marked cleavage between the two great national parties on the subject. And of course in the present case there will be no occasion for any such prolonged or complicated inquiry as that of the Aldrich Commission. The one great opportunity which Congress has for redeeming its failure is through the creation of the right kind of commission to mark out the path of genuine tax reform.

## M. Lauzanne's Mare's-Nest

A CONSPICUOUS member of the group of foreign journalists who are reporting on the Conference at Washington is M. Stéphane Lauzanne, editor-in-chief of the *Paris Matin*. M. Lauzanne is especially prominent in the minds of Americans because of his connection, during the war, with the French Commission in this country. He is now furnishing the *New York Tribune* with his views of what is going on at Washington. The very first use M. Lauzanne makes of his opportunity to influence American opinion is to stir up anti-British feeling in as spectacular fashion as possible. This is the kind of thing he is trying to "put over":

A great many people ask me: "What difference is there between the Paris conference of 1919 and the Washington conference of 1921?"

My answer is invariably the same:

"The difference is this: In Paris, from the very first day, America was beaten and England got what she wanted, whereas, at the Washington conference, from the very first England was beaten and America got what she wanted."

And that is the exact truth.

What are the materials out of which M. Lauzanne constructs this legend? They are put forward with great dramatic skill. He contrasts what happened to America as a consequence of a two minutes' conversation between Clemenceau and Lloyd George, communicated to President Wilson on his arrival in Paris, with what happened to England as a consequence of Mr. Hughes's opening speech at Washington. Here, says M. Lauzanne, is Clemenceau's own report of the two-minute conversation:

"I have seen President Wilson," said he. "I communicated to him a conversation I had had, before his arrival, with Mr. Lloyd George. In the course of that conversation Mr. Lloyd George asked me: 'Do you admit that without the English fleet this war would not have been won?' 'Yes,' said I. 'Then,' pursued Mr. Lloyd George, 'will you do anything that will prevent the English fleet in the future from acting in the same way and rendering the same service?' 'No,' said I. And Mr. Wilson stated to me that he did not wish to do anything to oppose either of us in any way."

Mr. Hughes's speech, to be sure, "lasted forty minutes," but the part that assigned "only 500,000 tons of iron-clads to England and 500,000 tons to America" occupied "but a few seconds":

Those seconds were historical. They proclaimed the equality of the navies. They proclaimed that there was no longer one mistress of the seas, but two. They proclaimed, as a matter of fact, that henceforth the seas would be free because they would no longer be subject to a single dominion.

Could anything be more perfect? The most classical of French dramatists could not desire a more rounded tale, a more artistic case of poetic justice.

But mark now how a plain tale shall put this glib journalist down. He himself gives us the material for that necessary task. For he leads up to the above dramatic episode with this statement:

When, in 1918, America came to the Paris Conference she sailed with vague and preconceived ideas, but she took with her at least one clear and well-defined principle—the principle of the freedom of the seas. America meant by that—at least so we understood—that after having crushed imperialism upon land there must be no imperialism of the sea, and no nation, however great its rôle in the history of civilization, must be allowed to be in a position to dictate one day its sovereign wishes to the universe because she holds sway over the oceans of that universe.


Now if America went to Paris with "one clear and well-defined principle, the principle of the freedom of the seas," the definition of it was to be found in the second of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points; and that definition was wholly different from what M. Lauzanne says "America meant." It was as follows:

Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.


Moreover, this point was given up not in consequence of a two minutes' conversation but because, in their acceptance of the Fourteen Points as a basis for the armistice, the Allies had expressly excluded that one. M. Lauzanne's account of the matter, therefore, bears not much more resemblance to "the exact truth" than did Falstaff's famous tale. The freedom of the seas which Mr. Wilson had proposed was not the freedom of the seas which M. Lauzanne is talking about; it was not given up as the result of a two-minute talk; and it was not reestablished by Mr. Hughes's speech, and is not at all in sight to-day.

As for what has happened to England at Washington, it is quite open to M. Lauzanne to put any interpretation he pleases upon it; this is a question not of fact but of opinion. But it is certainly at least remarkable that the English themselves should either be so utterly stupid as not to recognize the overwhelming disaster that has befallen them or so miraculously clever as completely to suppress all evidence of their chagrin. Perhaps, after all the significance of what has happened is quite different from what M. Lauzanne imagines. Perhaps England's wishes are not centered upon the domination of the universe but upon the preservation of peace and of her national safety. And perhaps British as well as American statesmen see that those objects can be best attained by an understanding which shall put an end to senseless naval competition, which shall reduce to a minimum the danger of a clash between the great maritime Powers, and which shall rest upon the assumption that both Britain and America can be counted on to stand for peace and justice in any future world-crisis. It is fortunate that those who, like M. Lauzanne, place upon what is going on at Washington a sinister interpretation are prone to indicate by their loose talk about matters of fact the weight that should justly be attached to their expressions of opinion.





# The Story of the Week



## The Week at Home

### Congress Adjourns

THE Extraordinary Session of the Sixty-seventh Congress was adjourned Wednesday. At the very last moment the Senate, by a vote of 39 to 29, approved the conference report on the Tax Revision Bill, and the President promptly signed the measure. Final action was had also during the last days on the Maternity Bill; it is now law. The most important measures which failed of enactment are the Permanent Tariff Bill, the Railroad Relief Bill, the Foreign Debt Refunding Bill, and the Panama Canal Tolls Bill.

Republican House Leader Mondell, in a closing speech, bestowed somewhat higher praise on the achievements of the House than we are inclined to accord. The fact that the House passed an average of two bills or resolutions per day is not proper ground for praise. It's quality, not quantity, we want in legislation; the less legislation the better, *ceteris paribus*.

The most important features of the Tax Revision Act are the reductions of taxes, expected to amount to \$70,000,000 for the present year and to \$835,000,000 for 1922; repeal of the excess profits tax, effective January 1, 1922; reduction of the maximum surtax on incomes of individuals from 65 to 50 per cent.; increase of the corporation income tax from 10 to 12½ per cent.; repeal of the transportation taxes, effective January 1, 1922; increase of income tax exemptions for persons with incomes of not more than \$5000; and repeal of the "nuisance" taxes.

Senator Smoot, perhaps the most competent of the critics of the bill, voted for it (like many others) not because he liked it, but because he found it on the whole better than the existing law. He is especially severe on its discriminatory features and on its retention of a very high surtax rate. The old maximum surtax rate was 65 per cent.; the new is 50. "The 50 per cent. surtax," says he, "will keep money out of business investments and prevent its circulation for extending business, just the same as the 65 per cent. did." He hopes that Congress at the coming session will revise the act so as to remove all unjust and discriminatory features and to lower the surtaxes sufficiently to permit free circulation of money once more. Senator Calder will offer a resolution at the opening of the next session authorizing appointment of a "Tax Investigating Commission" to study the subject of taxation scientifically. Such study is much needed. There seems to be a growing impression that, unless the new act is promptly revised, and much for the better, it will go hard with the Republicans at the next elections. Even the great Penrose himself admits that the act is only transitional or temporary and does not place the tax system on "a stable or scientific basis." That is very unfortunate.

Congress displays a more and more craven spirit in the face of *blocs*, such as the agricultural *bloc*, the Dry *bloc*, etc.; with an occasional peevish flare-up (sure proof of weakness) such as the House exhibited the other day. The Tax Revision Bill was in conference. The House had voted a maximum surtax of 32 per cent.; the Senate of 50. The President wrote a letter to Chairman Fordney, of the Ways and Means Committee, suggesting a compromise on 40 per cent. Thereupon the House, to rebuke the President, fatally compromised its reputation for good sense by voting a 50 per cent. rate. This at about the time when the Senate was

fatally compromising its reputation for courage by voting the compromise amendment to the Anti-Beer Bill.

### The Anti-Beer Bill

On the 18th the Senate, by a vote of 56 to 22, approved the conference report on the Anti-Beer Bill. The bill has since been signed by the President. It will be recalled how the Senate unanimously passed an amendment to this bill (whose chief features are a ban on the prescribing of malt liquors for medicinal purposes and a drastic limitation on the amount of whiskey and the like which may be prescribed), reaffirming the rights guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution (security of persons, houses, and effects against search and seizure except on legal warrant) and prescribing severe penalties for violations thereof. The conference of House and Senate substituted for the Senate amendment an amendment reaffirming the guarantees of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution only as to the sanctity of the home. As we understand it, the bill (with its conference amendment) does not touch the validity of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution. Merely the effort to prescribe penalties for violations of that amendment (except as to the home) has failed. The Fourth Amendment has received a deal of publicity; and the resolute strict Constitutionalists may perhaps content themselves in the thought that this publicity will aid their further efforts to provide a full set of teeth for that amendment. Many of the Constitutionalists are enemies of liquor. The constitutionality of the new act will be tested. May Congress play the doctor? is pertinently asked.

We should like to know the explanation of why the Senate by so overwhelming a majority repudiated the strict Constitutionalist stand which, in a moment of courage, it took up. Funk, in our opinion; poltroonery. What makes the thing so bad is that the Senate raised a particular Constitutional issue which had no necessary connection with the bill; that, having gone out of their way to assert the Bill of Rights, they withdrew that assertion. "No, they compromised," someone will say. To which the answer is that to compromise on the Constitution is a good deal more dangerous to that instrument than flatly to repudiate it. It is not many years since the Bill of Rights was in the United States, as in Britain, considered the most important charter of liberty. *Nous avons changé tout cela*. The reader will please observe that we have not touched the fundamental issue of Wet or Dry.

### Dr. Lorenz

Dr. Adolph Lorenz, the Austrian surgeon, is in New York, where every day between 8 a. m. and 1 p. m. he operates, examines, and gives consultations. He asks no fees, but takes what each may choose to give. The money thus received will go to the Austrian poor; but it is said that the main object of the great surgeon in visiting this country is to show his gratitude for American generosity to Austria's children by giving his incomparable services free to our crippled poor.

It is reported that certain medical men of Philadelphia have declared that, should he go to that town, they will have nothing to do with Dr. Lorenz, because he is a Teuton. We doubt the report; for the thing alleged is incredibly silly and ungenerous. We show a picture of Dr. Lorenz. It does not look a bit *schrecklich* to us. Dr. Lorenz's visit





International

### *Chief Plenty Coups and other Crow warriors*

to us eighteen years ago made a great noise. He came to treat little Miss Armour of Chicago, whose case baffled our experts, and he effected a complete cure. On that visit he gave free treatment to large numbers of our poor. We welcome you without any reservations, Dr. Lorenz!

#### Other Matters

The Plant Governing Committee of Armour & Company, being twenty-four employees representing plant councils of nine cities, in conference with an equal number of company officials, after examination of the company books and explanation by the officials of the condition of the industry, gave their consent to a wage reduction. An admirable system.

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Mr. Gary says that the volume of industry in the steel business has more than doubled within the last ninety days.

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A drive has been started in New York City to persuade non-English-speaking residents to join English-language classes.

## The Conference

### The Chinese Declaration of Rights

ON November 16 the Chinese delegation submitted to the Conference a statement of such importance that we (jealous for our space) make no apology for quoting it in full:

In view of the fact that China must necessarily play an important part in the deliberations of the Conference with reference to the political situation in the Far East, the Chinese delegation has thought it proper that they should take the first opportunity to state certain general principles which, in their opinion, should guide the Conference in the determinations which it is to make. Certain of the specific applications of the principles which it is expected that the Conference will make, it is our intention later to bring forward, but at the present time it is deemed sufficient simply to propose the principles.

In formulating these principles, the purpose has been kept steadily in view of obtaining rules in accordance with which existing and possible future political and economic problems in the Far East and the Pacific may be most justly settled

and with due regard to the rights and legitimate interests of all the powers concerned. Thus it has been sought to harmonize the particular interests of China with the general interests of all the world.

China is anxious to play her part not only in maintaining peace, but in promoting the material advancement and the cultural development of all the nations. She wishes to make her vast natural resources available to all peoples who need them, and in return to receive the benefits of free and equal intercourse with them. In order that she may do this, it is necessary that she should have every possible opportunity to develop her political institutions in accordance with the genius and needs of her own people. China is now contending with certain difficult problems which necessarily arise when any country makes a radical change in her form of government.

These problems she will be able to solve if given the opportunity to do so. This means not only that she should be freed from the danger or threat of foreign aggression, but that, so far as circumstances will possibly permit, she be relieved from limitations which now deprive her of autonomous administrative action and prevent her from securing adequate public revenues.

In conformity with the agenda of the Conference the Chinese Government proposes for the consideration of and adoption by the Conference the following general principles to be applied in the determination of the questions relating to China:

1. (a)—The Powers engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic. (b) China upon her part is prepared to give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or littoral to any Power.
2. China, being in full accord with the principle of the so-called Open Door, or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China, is prepared to accept and apply it in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception.
3. With a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East, the Powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions without previously notifying China and giving to her an opportunity to participate.
4. All special rights, privileges, immunities, or commitments, whatever their character or contractual basis, claimed by any of the Powers in or relating to China, are to be declared, and all such or future claims not so



made are to be deemed null and void. The rights, privileges, immunities, and commitments now known or to be declared, are to be examined with a view to determining their scope and validity and, if valid, to harmonizing them with one another and with the principles declared by this Conference.

5. Immediately, or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political, jurisdictional, and administrative freedom of action are to be removed.

6. Reasonable, definite terms of duration are to be attached to China's present commitments which are without time limits.

7. In the interpretation of instruments granting special rights or privileges, the well-established principle of construction that such grants shall be strictly construed in favor of the grantors is to be observed.

8. China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party.

9. Provision is to be made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Pacific and the Far East.

10. Provision is to be made for future conferences to be held from time to time for the discussion of international questions relative to the Pacific and the Far East, as a basis for the determination of common policies of the Signatory Powers in relation thereto.

The above is a bold, lucid, and comprehensive statement of what is necessary: to insure restoration to China of all (territory, sovereignty, etc.) that she has lost through barbarian aggression or the treachery of her own statesmen; also to insure to China opportunity (free of vexatious interference) to reconstruct herself *on lines conformable to her national genius*. But, though China is to follow the bent of her genius, the ancient Chinese ideal of isolation is repudiated; relations of reciprocal advantage with the rest of the world are contemplated. China demands the rights that inhere in sovereignty; she also admits the obligations that attach to membership in the community of nations. All Chinese questions with which the Conference could be imagined to concern itself are referable to the principles enunciated. It is not proposed that China shall come completely into her own again at once; the restoration shall be gradual. But to all commitments, limitations, etc., definite time limits shall be set. Most important: all arrangements affecting China must be published; else, by the fact of non-publication, they lapse. Those published are to be examined as to validity; if found valid, they are to be reaffirmed (*for set terms*) or annulled. We have only one adverse criticism to offer of the Chinese statement; the use of the expression "Chinese Republic" instead of "China" must, to any one aware of possibilities in China, seem unfortunate. The principles should not seem to be limited in application to the type of government in being.

The Conference did not adopt the ten "principles." Instead, it adopted a set of four principles drawn up by Elihu Root. Again we quote:

It is the firm intention of the Powers attending this Conference hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal:

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself effective and stable government.

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly states and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

Now, we feel quite sure that the ten principles are acceptable to the American delegates; that they would have been glad of their adoption. But, doubtless, discussion of those principles in conference at once discovered some of them to be unacceptable to some of the delegations; at any rate, not

to be accepted short of a lengthy debate, full of peril. An extreme wariness was "indicated" to our delegates. The wily Odysseus, not the forthright Hector, must be taken for model. Therefore, Mr. Root offered his substitute set of principles, of a millennial beauty but of a quite millennial vagueness. The Chinese discussion promises to be long and full of dangers and difficulties; the issue must be admitted to be doubtful. But the lover of China may take comfort from this reflection: that, whithersoever the delegates turn in their quest for solutions, they will find themselves confronted with the Chinese Declaration of Rights. All questions presenting themselves for discussion will tacitly refer themselves to the Declaration of Rights. For example: with tacit reference to his fifth principle, Mr. Sze has demanded tariff autonomy for China (to be accomplished by stages).

The Declaration of Rights presents an ideal which in the course of the rolling years will be realized; so just it is, so puissant is the genius of the Chinese nation.

#### Briand's Speech

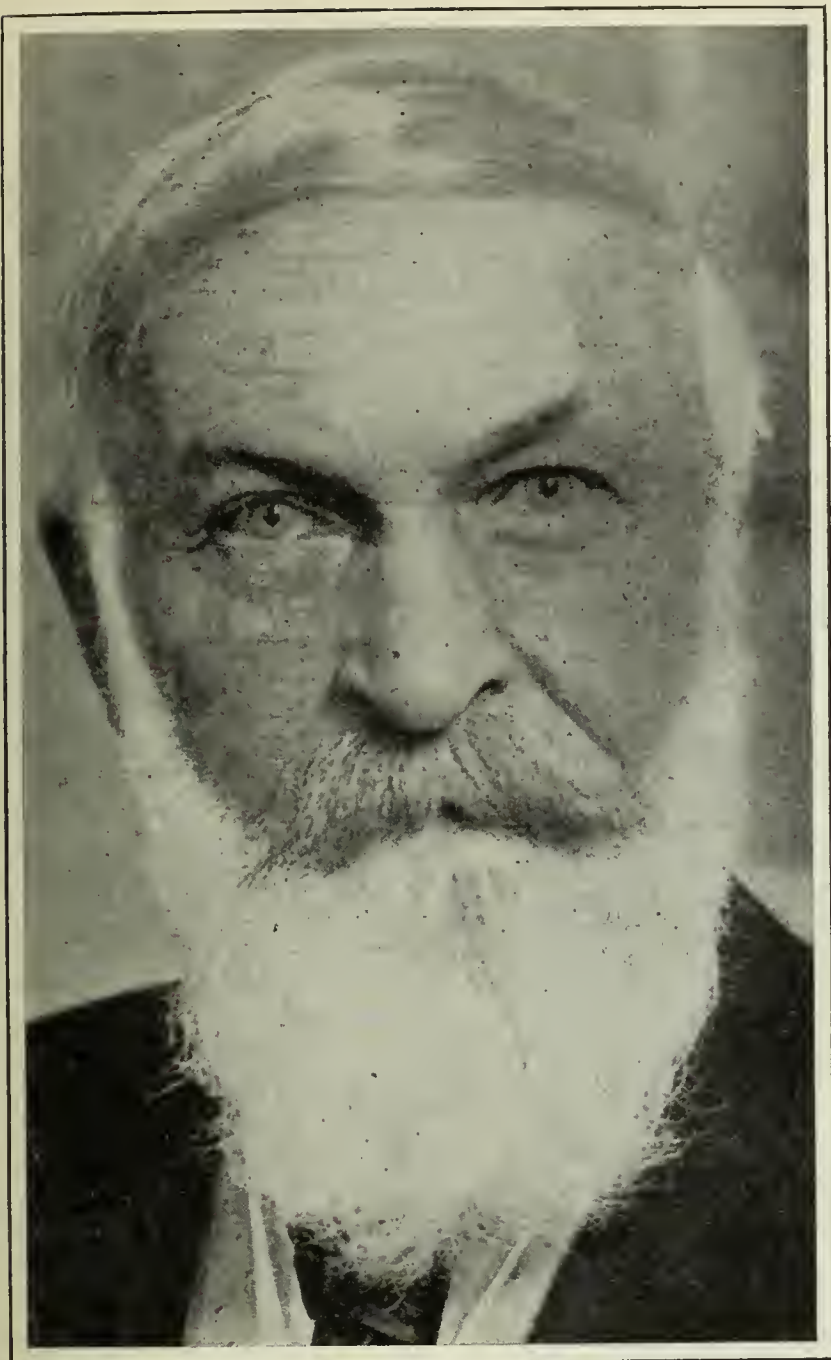
I regret that, owing to limitation of space, I can not do justice to Briand's great speech to the Conference. He convincingly set forth the European menaces which compel France to maintain a large standing army. He showed how during the past year that army has been greatly reduced through shortening the term of service with the colors from three to two years, and how a further reduction of the term to eighteen months is contemplated. Still further reduction must await "moral disarmament" of Europe. Saying that he renounced the hope of a treaty pledging to France the assistance of other Powers in case of wanton aggression upon her, he pleaded for assurances from those Powers that the justice of France's attitude on land armaments is recognized, and for assurances that France is not "morally isolated." To the latter portion of this plea the heads of other delegations responded handsomely. Mr. Balfour's response was the most superb utterance yet heard at the Conference, if we except that magnificent passage of his speech accepting Mr. Hughes's naval proposal in which he renounced for Britain her ancient rôle of Mistress of the Seas. M. Briand has returned to France with these assurances and with, we understand, the further assurance that important determinations respecting reduction of land armaments will be postponed to a future conference.

## The British Empire

### The Irish Situation

THERE was reason to regard the action of the conference of the Unionist party at Liverpool on the 17th, in refusing to pass a vote of censure on the Irish policy of the Government, and in passing instead a resolution expressing hope of a reasonable composition, as having especial significance; and there was reason to hope that, in face of such almost unanimous backing of Lloyd George by Englishmen of whatever party (and backing also by some of the more influential Unionists of South Ireland), Ulster would abate some of her obstinacy. But so far Ulster does not seem to have abated any of her obstinacy. And now appears a new and even more serious obstacle to a settlement; or rather it appears that (contrary to the general conviction) an old obstacle, the most serious of obstacles, was never removed. According to an Associated Press dispatch, it is "definitely known" that the Sinn Fein delegates to the Conference on Ireland have not given assurance that, if Ulster will assent to an All-Ireland Parliament, they will swear allegiance to the British Crown; it is "definitely known," on the contrary, that the only kind of association of Ireland with "the Commonwealth of states known as the British Empire," which would be accepted by the Sinn Fein, would be one established by treaty





International

Dr. Lorenz, the great Austrian surgeon

as with a foreign Power. It may be that, if a gesture of accommodation were to come from Ulster, the Sinn Feiners would yield on the point of allegiance. But, as we write, the Irish situation looks blacker than for a long time past.

#### The Prince in India

St. Gandhi humbly imputed blame to himself for that his followers in the non-coöperation movement got out of hand and rioted on the occasion of the Prince's visit to Bombay, with resultant loss of lives—mostly of Parsees killed by the rioters, or of rioters killed by the police. He imposed on himself a fast till peace should be restored. He seems to have fasted from the 20th to the 24th, when, considering the trouble ended, he broke fast, declaring, however, that, should rioting be resumed, he would impose on himself a penance much more severe. The Mahatma demands too much of human nature.

When last heard of, the Prince was at Baroda. He managed to break away from his guard and to go about alone among a great concourse of natives, whose demonstrations of affection were pathetic.

#### Egyptian Negotiations Broken Off

The negotiation between British Government representatives and an Egyptian delegation headed by Adly Pasha, has been broken off and the Egyptians have returned to Egypt. It is understood that the reason for the breakdown of the negotiation was the British insistence that Egyptian foreign relations should be British-controlled. Now, we suppose, for fresh disorders in Egypt!

#### The Blue Boy

Gainsborough's "Blue Boy," recently bought by the Duveens from the Duke of Westminster, has been sold to Mr. Henry E. Huntington of New York. The original glorious color, now obscured by several coats of varnish, will be restored.

#### Germany

IN our number of November 12 we reported that the German Government had obtained from the Reparations Commission permission to postpone until December 1 payment of the reparation installment (500,000,000 gold marks) due November 15, giving assurance that they would have the money by December 1 through a loan from the industrial magnates. Things have been in a terrible mess in Germany since early in November. The Allied Committee on Guarantees, with headquarters in Berlin, watches intently developments in German industry, finance, and trade. On the 7th the entire Reparations Commission, on receipt of a report from that committee, rushed off from Paris to Berlin. They were in Berlin until the 20th, studying the situation: the fall of the mark, the prospect of payment of the December, January, and February reparation installments, etc. Dr. Wirth was too optimistic when he gave assurance of a loan from the industrial magnates. The loan has not been consummated. But since the Reparations Commission does not seem to be worrying about the installment due December 1, but only about the January and subsequent installments, we infer that Wirth has scraped the money together for the December 1 payment without the expected loan. Wirth gave the Reparations Commission assurances that the January and February installments will be paid when due, but these assurances seem from report very questionable. The loan above referred to was held up because of the intolerable conditions attached thereto by the German Industrial Union;—turning over of the railways to private control and the right of the industrial chiefs to receive full information of Government plans and to "advise" the Government. The industrial chiefs have, however, abated somewhat of their insolence and have indicated a willingness to participate in a financial what-d'ye-call-it "the gist of which," according to Mr. Cyril Brown writing for the *New York Times*, "is an attempt to float a large long-time foreign loan on the security of the joint credit of German industries, agriculture, and banking"; on the condition that socialized state enterprises, especially the railroads, shall be reorganized on a sound basis (they are now run at a preposterous loss). But whether long-term foreign loans are procurable, is most doubtful. It is all very much in the vague. We should like to see the report of the Reparations Commission on its recent findings—especially as to the causes of the fall of the mark.

\* \* \*

Some are convinced that the terrible explosion in the Badische works was due to poison gas or explosive experiments forbidden by the Treaty. We are not likely ever to know, but the plausibility of the suspicion points the necessity of close and continuous Allied inspection of such establishments for many years to come.

\* \* \*

According to the German Socialist newspapers, "reaction is rampant in the German schools"; "so far as the German schools are concerned, there is no German Republic." If that is true, there is no hope of the next generation of Germans; the Hohenzollern system of education, perfected by that sophisticated sneak the philosopher Hegel, was mostly responsible for the late war. If it be true, we do not see how anything can be done about it.

HENRY W. BUNN



# Farewell to Christine Nilsson

By Charles Henry Meltzer

TO the fathers and the mothers of the moment, and to some fathers and some mothers born before them, the stars of stars of opera were for many years the peerless Patti and the witching Christine Nilsson. The present generation knows both only, if at all, as names. It groups them vaguely with such stars as Jenny Lind and Grisi, long adored, and glorious Malibran. They have receded to the mists of a dim period of which the like may not be seen again in opera—a period which would have scorned most of the spoiled favorites who sing to us, as best they can, today. Near them in splendor shone such brilliant lights as Gerster, Ilma di Murska, and that Sembrich who still teaches in New York.

But Adelina and Christine alone were rivals. They were the only queens of song who could be safely pitted one against the other. If Gye, at Covent Garden, announced Patti as the magnet of his season, Colonel Mapleson, at what was then Her Majesty's, or at Drury Lane, would promise Nilsson.

And in New York those stars once reigned supreme at the Metropolitan and the defunct Academy. Each had her followers, her votaries, her admiring friends. Each could command fees which, in a past hour, meant more than was paid later to Caruso.

Yet, when the cables told us, far too briefly, that Christine Nilsson had passed on to the Far Shore, the news excited hardly any comment; it fluttered scarcely more than a few weary pulses. A singer lives her life and goes her way. Composers are long honored, as they should be. The glory of the singer is ephemeral. The fame of great composers lasts for ages.

I am not old. But I remember Christine Nilsson. In my green youth I heard her first in "Lohengrin." She was an Elsa of incomparable charm, fair to behold, and very lovely to the ear. Poetic to a fault, with dreaming eyes, a pleasing figure, and compelling tones, she seemed to my young mind romance itself. Beside her on the boards stood Campanini. Not Cleofonte, the conductor, but Italo, who, until Jean de Reszke came and conquered, seemed for ten years or more the rarest of all tenors.

Well, Patti, Campanini, and now Nilsson have had their day and have been hushed forever. They were examples of an art we cannot match. For we have come to think of singing in new fashions. Our Farrars, and our Gardens, our Raisas have merits which are suited to new operas. Some shine as singing actresses, interpreters. Few rank with their forerunners as pure singers. Like Malibran and Grisi, though, this Nilsson could both act and sing. We who look back at her regretfully as Marguerite know well how vastly she excelled all living artists—even those who are most popular—as the heroine of Gounod's tuneful opera.

She was the ideal, the inimitable Marguerite; an ingenuous maiden on the brink of womanhood. Not vicious or perverse or over-proud, but trusting, simple, and, while ardent, free from guile. She had the graces and sincerities of youth, the warmth and tenderness of a confiding girl. When she told Faust, as he first wooed her in the marketplace, that, as she really thought, she was "ni demoiselle, ni belle," she convinced us of her maiden modesty. She did not rustle haughty skirts as she swept by, or wither up poor Faust with her disdainful airs. She was a plain, sweet, unaffected, German bourgeoisie, just ripe for love and not a high-born lady. Her faxen hair, her modest dress, her walk were true to Goethe and to Barbier and to Gounod. It seems a pity that we should approve the methods of sophisticated Marguerites, who slight traditions and defy good logic by their strange antics and caprices on the stage.

Her Elsa, too. Who ever saw one like it? When she appealed for help, and waited for her knight, she had the eager, helpless, and pathetic looks and tones of the distressed princess whom Wagner had conceived. In many another part she seemed supreme. Yet it is first as Marguerite and next as Elsa that she will linger in some grateful memories.

By birth she was a Swede of humble parentage, the eighth child of a farmer and his wife in a small village. Her father taught her what he knew of music. Her brother Carl lent her his violin. With Carl she played and sang at rustic fairs till one day a discerning amateur agreed to pay the cost of educating her as a musician. She studied first under Franz Berwald in the Swedish capital, and under Wartel, later on, in Paris. At the

Théâtre-Lyrique (now Sarah Bernhardt's theatre) she made her début under the management of M. Carvalho, as Violetta, in "La Traviata." Her winning voice and her engaging grace were soon acclaimed, and before long she added to her early triumphs by her appearance in the trying rôle of Ophélie in Ambroise Thomas's "Hamlet." She made an ideal Ophélie, as was but natural. She found it easy, with her voice and style, to invest Ophélie with the needed charm and pathos. I once heard her sing the florid "mad scene" as no one since, perhaps, has ever sung it. Sincerely, poignantly, with perfect art, which somehow seemed to voice not art but anguish.

She touched the summits of success in her long career. She was eulogized and idolized by thousands. And, of a sudden, she lapsed into private life. Soon most forgot her. She had ceased to be a star. I had imagined her long dead when Emma Eames one afternoon in Paris informed me that she was still quite alive.

She was in Copenhagen when, at last, she died. The rest, for her and for us all, is silence.



*Christine Nilsson as Marguerite*



# Business Today and Tomorrow

By Archer Wall Douglas

IN a recent trip through the South I acquired a realization of the elemental causes of the present business depression in a conscious fashion that neither figures nor statistics could ever convey. In August of this year the Southern States exhibited in most acute manner those symptoms of economic trouble which are world-wide in all agricultural countries, save those of Europe: an abundance of wealth of natural products for which there was scant demand, and then only at unremunerative prices to the growers. Accompanying this was that invariable earmark of every era of economic depression: a plentiful lack of both money and credit, especially in the producing world of agriculture.

So the cycle of misfortune was complete, with no relief in sight.

The solution was simple, and it came in an announcement that was neither unexpected nor un hoped for—merely the official forecast of a very short crop of cotton for the present season. Immediately the machinery of readjustment was set going. Demand sprang up overnight, both here and abroad. Frozen credits in the banks began to thaw as cotton came on a market now quickly absorbing it. Long overdue obligations began to be discharged. Business took on new life and hope with the widespread realization that the era of depression was largely over and that better days lay immediately ahead. Supply and demand had been adjusted for cotton, the chief agricultural product, the great money crop of the country, and prosperity depended upon the continuation of such adjustment in the future.

Meanwhile the grain regions are illustrating and exemplifying the reverse side of the picture. They have an abundance of the things of the harvest, more than they can sell at a profit, but are without power to arrest prices that go steadily lower. Measured by the peak of values during the war, the staple farm products have declined fifty per cent. in most cases, and from sixty to seventy-five per cent. in not a few instances. The purchasing power of the farmer has been reduced accordingly. Meanwhile there are very few commodities that he buys that have declined in that proportion or anywhere near it. It now takes six bushels of corn to purchase a cheap hat where it formerly took only one, and twenty-five bushels of wheat to buy a hand-me-down suit of clothes where once ten bushels sufficed, and the farmer cannot haul enough bushels of oats to town in his Tin Lizzie to pay for a \$1.50 shirt. These homely illustrations tell the story of the paralysis of buying power that has come upon the largest single class of the purchasers who make up our economic life. And it is an obvious corollary that general business will continue to halt and go slow until this purchasing power is restored to something nearer to its former proportions.

One way to bring this about is to lower the prices of those commodities that the farmer uses and thus restore the relation of what he buys and what he sells. The chief obstacle to this is the usual greed and selfishness of human nature, as well as its shortsightedness. Railroad labor threatens a nation-wide strike because of a twelve per cent. cut in its purchasing power, and much-needed building throughout the country is delayed in many cities because labor blindly refuses to take its share of the inevitable reduction, while manufacturers of some forms of building material have all manner of excuses as to why they cannot reduce their costs, and consequently their selling prices—forgetful, meanwhile, that one tried method of reducing costs is by increasing the volume of output, which under

present conditions can only be accomplished by a lower selling price initially to create necessary demand.

The other way out of the agricultural dilemma, that of advancing the price of farm products, can come only from the operation of the natural laws of supply and demand. Legislation in the form of protective tariffs has been tried and found wanting. Coöperative associations of farmers help somewhat, but mostly in the way of reducing the cost of distribution. The South blazed the trail by planting less cotton, enough less in fact to bring supply and demand into close relation. The same plan will probably be tried with other farm products in the grain regions this coming spring. Nor need any fearful souls have cobwebs of apprehension in their minds as to the results and the effects upon the welfare of the country. It is not a question of producing a shortage in food and clothing products, but merely an attempt to do in agriculture what is done every day in industrial life: produce enough to supply such demand as exists or is likely to be in the near future, but not sufficient to create an unwieldy surplus, as in corn today, which breaks down the price below the cost of production and paralyzes business in those sections where corn is the principal source of revenue to the farmers.

The difficulties of such procedure are obviously greater and more far-reaching in agricultural than in industrial life. But the farmer is now increasingly conscious that it is something which must receive more intelligent consideration and treatment than has been accorded it in the past. Both this plan and that of the coördination of relative prices of commodities to each other are factors in readjustment that only stress and necessity and the slow process of time will bring about. It is perfectly obvious that the unprecedented high costs of commodities and of operation in every phase of economic life have only been partly adjusted to the necessities of the situation, and that the burdens of readjustment must be more generally borne before there can be any genuine and enduring prosperity. There are plenty of individual instances of the truth of this statement. Leather and textile goods early took their declines in prices, both drastic and far-reaching, and co-ordinated their costs of operation to the conditions which surrounded them. They have consequently come back with such business in general as gives them hope and cheer.

Meanwhile in our own country we are laying some solid foundations of which many of us, especially the dwellers in the great cities, have scant knowledge. Farming is fast becoming a business, rather than an occupation, to which its followers are giving most constant and intelligent study. Because of automobiles and steadily growing good roads, life in the countryside is being fast redeemed from its loneliness, its monotony, its intellectual barrenness, and its lack of creature comforts and conveniences. A new-born desire for education takes definite shape in new school buildings wherever you go, and in a flood of students that swamps the capacity of schools and colleges. The development of natural resources goes on unceasingly in the draining of swamp lands, the reclamation of the desert through irrigation, the discovery of new mineral wealth, and the utilization of every agricultural resource. For our present problem is not that of production but rather of finding adequate market for the vast wealth we are capable of producing. There is no prosperity imminent in the very near future, despite much foolish and unknowing talk to that effect. But there is the consciousness of steady, intelligent progress in constructive ways that is reasonably certain to bear fruit before another twelvemonth has passed.



# Drama

## An American Dramatist Developing

"Anna Christie." By Eugene O'Neill. Vanderbilt Theatre.

"The Straw." By Eugene O'Neill. Greenwich Village Theatre.

TECHNICAL excellence may be, and indeed often is, achieved by American playwrights who can never hope to be considered dramatists. Their plays may make millions of dollars, yet their true cleverness usually consists only in their ability to conceal, until the final curtain, the fact that they have nothing to tell us that is worth listening to. Their products are like the confections of pastry cooks, often pleasant on the palate, but no more to be considered drama than "French" pastry can be considered sculpture. Some of them rewrite the same play over and over, but *plus ça change*, the more it is the same thing. The quality that differentiates the dramatist from the playwright is not that of technical ability. The dramatist is confronted with the complex and difficult task of re-creating, of creating anew, the very structure of drama, in this effort to impress upon us his vision of reality, his new scale of values. In Eugene O'Neill we find such a dramatist—a dramatist with imperfections and defects, perhaps, but a dramatist struggling to express his vision in a medium that presents at every moment difficulties and complexities. Our deepest interest in these plays is aroused not so much by their theatrical vigor as by the opportunity they afford of watching a dramatist at work—a man in the process of growth and development.

Eugene O'Neill's vision of the world is not an ordinary one. It is this that lifts him above most of our dramatists, whose intuitions concerning the universe, as indicated in their works, are usually those of a prosperous restaurateur. O'Neill sometimes has so much to convey that his vehicle of expression creaks and groans under the load. Each of his plays has the supreme merit of arousing our interest in his next one, since we always anticipate a greater mastery of his medium, a fresher recreation of structure, a more dynamic unity of matter and form. In "Anna Christie," for instance, he seems to have come into closer contact with his problem, to have attained a greater intensity of vision. Yet we are apt to be sidetracked by the purely picturesque, the tang and color of his dialogue, his power to saturate us in the heavy atmosphere of that waterfront saloon and grimy coalbarge in which the action is placed. Old Chris, Anna his daughter, Mat Burke, might seem to be mere portraits painted from the life. But, considered more deeply, these figures of the sea and of the underworld, dirty, drunken, and generally disreputable as they are, are placed before us because in them Eugene O'Neill finds embodied

the fundamental realities of his world. Unflinchingly men and women must face the bitter realities of this mysterious universe in which we seem to find ourselves more or less aliens. Useless, he seems to imply, is the effort to patch together makeshift shelters in any futile attempt to shut out the ruthless universe; useless, even cowardly, not to measure one's strength against these stern eternal realities. Morally and physically men befoul themselves in their eternal whining for another world, in creating for themselves the illusion of happiness to be found "somewhere else."

For Eugene O'Neill the sea is usually the constant symbol of these eternal realities, the inhuman powers of nature against which men and women must measure their puny strength. Yet in facing unafraid this reality, this very act brings out into full expression all of their latent qualities of courage, honesty, and strength. The ending, happy or unhappy, has really nothing to do with the case, provided in the conflict people shed their pettiness, dishonesty, and fatuity. In this play Anna Christie has been sent away inland to a farm, to be saved from the devastating influence of what her father, Old Chris, calls "that old devil Sea." She returns to him, soiled, crushed, escaping from the unspeakable pit of prostitution into which she had fallen, far from the sea. It is the loneliness, the detached majesty of the sea, that awakens in the girl the courage to fling into the unwilling ears of her father and her love the story of her degradation. The scene of this stinging revelation was built up with increasing centripetal power. We seemed to be swept into the maelstrom of its significance. Audience, actors, and author seemed here to become one. This scene marks the most exalted moment yet attained by Eugene O'Neill. After this superb triumph, only a carping critic would emphasize the demerits of any particular act or insist upon the supremacy of the first act. If there is any particular weakness in the play, it is to be found in the author's dependence upon "exposition." The great danger of expository first acts is not that the audience may learn too little, but that it may be told too much. It seems to me that in "Anna Christie" the impact of Anna's relentless confession in the third act would have been tenfold more overwhelming if she had refrained, in that first act, from telling the detailed story of her downfall and degradation at first meeting with an apparently chance passerby. To have suggested this past would have sharpened our interest; to expose it completely seems to me to have loosened rather than to have tightened the screws of Mr. O'Neill's dramatic mechanism.

In Pauline Lord, the difficult rôle of Anna found the ideal interpreter. It was a part that required all that the actress possessed of flexibility and reserve power. Miss Lord's was the problem of making this ignorant, laconic, almost inarticulate girl the mouthpiece

of O'Neill's burning ironies. She must flame into exigent and exalted expression. Her very eloquence was heightened, in Miss Lord's interpretations, by the limitations and colloquial brevity of her vocabulary, by the suggested fatigue of her emotional expression. Never did this actress give any sign of strain or exhaustion of resource. Her achievement can only be indicated by the statement that Miss Lord reminded us of those great continental actresses whom we have never seen, but whose art has inspired legends of great acting among critics.

Of "The Straw," produced by Mr. Tyler at the Greenwich Village Theatre, much less can be said. In this the theme is tuberculosis, and its central victim an eighteen-year-old girl, Eileen Carmody, on the very threshold of life. Until the illuminating flash that lights up its last act, the play is for the most of its length an ironic picture of the regulation, the standardization, almost the capitalization of the white plague. Mr. O'Neill exposes the life of its heterogeneous victims in a sanatorium in Connecticut. The basic conviction which flashes finally into a challenge seems to be in what modern science terms the psychogenetic origin of disease. Dying, Eileen Carmody is brought to the belated realization that she may vanquish death because so she must live to save the life of her lover. This decision to live may have come too late in her losing battle against death and disease; but it seems to be Mr. O'Neill's great and thrilling point that it does come; and that with this decision his heroine lives, lives intensely, triumphantly, if only for a few days or a few moments.

The smouldering fires of romance blaze up in the last final moments of this play. Mr. O'Neill is all on the side of romance, even as a vital lie, and is opposed to a coldly statistical science and a therapy that passively accepts and charts the inevitable. Our regret is that the road to this great moment is so beset with *longueurs* and repetitions. Perhaps it was the somewhat uninspired production and acting that failed to bring out the values the author had implanted. The performance of "The Straw" was in a sense almost conventionalized and sentimentalized into the familiar Broadway production. It was played in the mood of light comedy, and the more acid lines of Eugene O'Neill's incisive pen almost eradicated. Miss Margolo Gilmore as the stricken Eileen is a pretty and charming actress, who is not yet old enough to suggest and depict disillusioned and dying youth. Otto Kruger, as Murray, on the other hand, fully met the requirements of the part.

But one surmised that the dramatist himself had not felt as intensely as in "Anna Christie" the full possibilities of his theme, that his interest in its possibilities had occasionally wandered. The play was nevertheless full of suggestion. Its very imperfections, as in all of the plays of this developing dramatist, arouse keen anticipation of new and greater achievement.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

OF ALL THINGS, by Robert C. Benchley. Holt.

A book which sets out to be amusing—and succeeds.

OLIVER CROMWELL, a Play by John Drinkwater. Houghton Mifflin.

THE STORY OF MANKIND, by Hendrik Van Loon. Boni & Liveright.

Primarily for children, but sure to be read by many others.

EDGE OF THE JUNGLE, by William Beebe. Holt.

THE HERMIT OF TURKEY HOLLOW, by Arthur Train. Scribner.

Short novel about a murder trial.

THE hope that Sir Sidney Colvin would write something new about Stevenson, of whom he was the well-beloved friend and correspondent, has hardly been realized in the "Memories and Notes of Persons and Places, 1852-1912" (Scribner). Sir Sidney makes a long and interesting chapter about Stevenson, especially about his earlier and less known days. It confirms all the other accounts of his gypsy-like appearance and conduct, his rightful place, in those years, with the literary vagabonds. This was no pose on the part of Stevenson, but an honest following of his natural tastes. Only about one-sixth of the book is about Stevenson. The other chapters describe the author's memories of his long connection with the British Museum, and also give his recollections of such men among others as Ruskin, Browning, Meredith, and Gladstone.

A life preserver is often flung from the most unexpected quarter. Just as I was about to liberate a wail (in the best manner of Jeremiah) over the decline and death of romance, just as I was going to lament the fact that H. G. Wells had stopped writing about Mars and time-machines and had turned to the pleasant task of vilifying France in the daily papers, and that Conan Doyle had dropped adventure for spirit-rappings, just, in fact, as the decay of lying seemed to have become a dreadful certainty, along comes Mr. Floyd Dell, of all people, and in his novel "The Briary Bush" (Knopf) provides one or two incidents of the kind with which the White Queen used to exercise her believing powers before breakfast. There is, for instance, that magnificent whopper about his heroine who, dressed to imitate Lady Godiva, rushes out so early in the morning to wallow in a snowdrift. (Later she takes a swim in an "icy moonlight"—all the heroines nowadays are in swimming half the time. Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn would be glad to meet them.) Now, there are, of course, the interesting "snow-birds" of Coney Island. I once knew a man who always broke through the ice, if there was any, and took a swim on Christmas morning—even at great personal

inconvenience. Another man, old enough to consider me a mere child, has been reporting to me, within a week of Thanksgiving, of his almost daily swims off the deserted beaches near New York. I am even capable, myself (shameful as the confession may appear), of seeking a cheap reputation for heroism, by referring to my cold baths in mid-winter. (Generally, I have noticed, nobody believes you. They set you down as either a liar or a nuisance.) But a woman, old or young, rolling in a snow-bank in mid-winter—!

I end with a quotation from "The Wrecker":

"Well, it don't look like real life—that's all I can say," returned Wicks.

"It's the way it was, though," argued Carthew.

"So it is; and what the better are we for that, if it doesn't look so?" cried the captain, sounding unwonted depths of art criticism."

This comment upon a few pages is unjust to "The Briary Bush." Mr. Dell is not a realist nor a revolutionist, but a writer of romances, of books about a man and a girl and their love affairs. He is not one of the major prophets, as you might think if you listened to the excited young intellectuals. But he can write extraordinarily good dialogue—witness, the conversation between Felix and his father-in-law.

The editorial articles written by Colonel Roosevelt for the *Kansas City Star*, in 1917-1918, are published as "Roosevelt in the *Kansas City Star*" (Houghton Mifflin). The introduction is by Ralph Stout, managing editor of the *Star*. He speaks of the opposition aroused, especially in Democratic communities, by Roosevelt's criticisms of the Government's slothfulness during the first thirteen or fourteen months of our seventeen months' participation in the war. This was the era of Secretary Baker's "happy confusion," when it was considered by some Americans to be the part of a patriot to remain content with whatever the President and the War Department chose to do or to leave undone. In the end, even such bitter opponents as *The Nation* acknowledged the country's debt to Roosevelt for suggesting that perhaps "happy confusion" in the camps was more fun for Secretary Baker than for the men in the camps.

This volume is the second of the publications of the Roosevelt Memorial Association—the first is "Roosevelt in the Bad Lands" by Hermann Hagedorn.

If only for the purpose of enjoying the moving-picture "scenarist's" description of his great drama "Sin," it is advisable to read Messrs. Kaufman and Connelly's "Dulcy" (Putnam). This is a comedy in three acts, a witty commentary on a number of phases of American life. The parody on the moving-picture play is inimitable and delicious, but the whole play is well worth publication as a book.

Some books are to be glanced at; some to be skimmed through. A novel, or a book of short stories, by Arthur Train, is to be sat down with before the fire—if fortunately you have one—and enjoyed. It is a treat. Such has been my experience in the past, and his new book, "The Hermit of Turkey Hollow" (Scribner) is true to form. It recounts a legal adventure of that engaging old criminal lawyer, Ephraim Tutt, who could not resist the offer of a chance to go up-State and defend a harmless tramp from the charge of murdering a hermit. The only fault I can find with the book is that in reading it aloud it cannot be made to last more than two evenings. When Mr. Train begins to say, "Well, I think I had better stop," I am always ready to stir in my chair, and shout: "No, no! Go on!"

Despite the fact that the South Seas and their islands are somewhat obscured, of late, by the gale of laughter created by a certain literary burlesque (often mentioned on this page), the authors and publishers have not hesitated (or have they?) to bring out "Fairy Lands of the South Seas" (Harper), by James Norman Hall and Charles Bernard Nordhoff. Probably they will be justified in their courage; the chapters have found many interested readers as they have appeared in *Harper's Magazine*. Mr. George A. Picken has delicately illustrated the book with pencil drawings; if one or two of his pictures are rather trivial, most of them are appropriate.

Stephen Leacock is an American humorist in everything but birth and citizenship. Mark Twain, not Owen Seaman nor W. S. Gilbert, nor Charles Lamb, was his literary parent. But Mr. Robert Benchley is an American humorist, without fear or reproach, and while it is stupid to compare every amusing writer to Mark Twain, it is truthful to say this: Mr. Benchley has only to write one or two more books as good as "Of All Things" (Holt) to take the place that Artemus Ward and Josh Billings and George Ade and F. P. Dunne held in their own days. His book not only has an amusing preface—he can make even Thomas Jefferson amusing by transplanting him—and a comic dedication, but he even gets Stephen Leacock to parody the blurb on the jacket, and make it absurd by saying "the appearance of Benchley's first book is an event in the history of literature not equaled since Milton produced his 'Paradise Lost.'" Inside are some twenty or more essays, from "The Social Life of the Newt" to "A Romance in Encyclopaedia Land." I have a mind to borrow a trick from a book-seller, and guarantee to refund the price of the book, if you do not like "Of All Things." Instead, I will do this: if you do not like it, I will tell you the title of another book you ought to read. It is "Are You a Bro-mide?"

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Viscount Haldane on Relativity

THE REIGN OF RELATIVITY. By Viscount Haldane. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$5.

ONE of the most dramatic incidents in the intellectual history of the world occurred in London on November 6, 1919, when the Royal Astronomer, Professor Eddington, announced to the Royal Society that the British eclipse expeditions had confirmed Einstein's Theory of Relativity. This proves how Science transcends the arbitrary boundaries with which politicians would confine nations, for even while Great Britain was engaged in a life and death struggle with Germany her astronomers were organizing expeditions to Africa and South America to test the prediction of a Berlin professor, and the president of the Royal Society announced the result with as much pride as if the theory which he called "one of the highest achievements of human thought" had been the product of a British brain.

The French have taken comparatively little interest in the development of the theory of relativity during the last fifteen years. A scholarly Paris periodical alluded to the Einstein Theory as one of those philosophical absurdities which only the Germans could take seriously. But in Germany and the United States a flood of books have appeared on Relativity, especially since the outside world became aware of it through the announcement at the Royal Society meeting. The collector of *Einsteinismus* is likely to require as much shelving as the collector of Napoleona. The John Crerar Library of Chicago has already a collection of two thousand volumes on the Theory of Relativity, mostly published within the last two years. These books range from hasty journalistic attempts to satisfy the public curiosity as to "what it is all about" to serious treatises, working out the mathematical, physical, and metaphysical consequences of the theory.

The latest and one of the most important contributions of the latter sort is "The Reign of Relativity" by Viscount Haldane. British statesmen are apt to have as a recreation not only golf, but also metaphysics. Salisbury and Gladstone of the past and Balfour and Haldane of the present have contributed largely to current philosophic thought. In trying to think of American Cabinet members who can compare with the British in this respect one can only recall ex-Secretary of State Bryan's ever-popular anti-evolution lecture.

Lord Haldane is particularly well qualified to give the historical background of the Theory of Relativity from his lifelong familiarity with both classical and modern metaphysics. He is so devoted a student of Kant and

Hegel and such an admirer of German *Sittlichkeit* that he got into trouble with the Jingoos during the war period.

But those who think of Relativity as a new fickle fad, like the ouija board or silk sweaters, will be surprised to hear Lord Haldane say that he has studied the subject for over forty years and to find a large part of his book devoted to Aristotle and Plotinus. In its essence the Theory of Relativity is the commonsense idea that one's view of the world depends upon where one stands and that it is possible from different points of view to see very different aspects of it and yet these may all be true. This is one of the most fundamental principles in the world, for it determines one's entire attitude toward the universe, and has, therefore, far-reaching and practical consequences. It is absurd to say that Einstein's Theory, whether it is confirmed or not, will make no possible difference to one's philosophy, religion, or conduct. The discovery that the earth was not the fixed centre of the universe, but a whirling ball revolving around the sun was a mathematical theory of astronomy with apparently no conceivable consequences to ordinary human beings, yet the revolution which the Copernican Theory wrought in astronomy was not greater than that which it wrought in political, ecclesiastical, and ethical fields. Lord Haldane shows the relation of Relativity to the League of Nations, and to spiritualism, and to the trades unions and to the leisure class and to many other things. His summing up of its bearing upon life and conduct is worth quoting:

Assuming the principle of relativity to mean all that has been said, what guidance does it offer for the conduct of our individual lives? I do not think that the question is a difficult one to answer. The real lesson which the principle of the relativity of knowledge teaches us is always to remember that there are different orders in which both our knowledge and the reality it seeks have different forms. These orders we must be careful to distinguish and not to confuse. We must keep ourselves aware that truth in terms of one order may not necessarily be a sufficient guide in the search for truth in another one. We have, in other words, to be critical of our categories. As an aid to our practice, the principle points us in a direction where we may possess our souls with tranquillity and courage. We stand warned against "other-worldiness" in a multitude of concealed forms. We are protected, too, if the doctrine be well-founded, against certain spectres which obtrude themselves in the pilgrim's path. Materialism, scepticism, and obscurantism alike vanish. The real is there, but it is akin in its nature to our own minds, and it is not terrifying. Death loses much of its sting and the grave of its victory. For we have not only the freedom that is of the essence of mind, but we are encouraged to abstract and withdraw ourselves from the apparent overwhelmingness of pain and even of death itself. Such things cease to be of the old importance when they lose the appearance of final reality.

What Einstein did to this ancient metaphysical theory was to introduce it into physical science as a fundamental principle and—what is more important—he showed how it could be put to the test of actual experiment and observation. With it he was able to explain an incomprehensible deviation in the orbit of Mercury and to predict and calculate a deflection of a ray of starlight as it passes the sun. His other prediction, the shifting of the spectral lines of the sun's rays toward the red end, is still in dispute. The famous Michelson and Morley experiment of 1886 to detect ether drift, which started the whole discussion, is being repeated and rescruinized by various physicists and their results are waited with eagerness by the scientific world. This vast superstructure of mathematical, logical, and metaphysical speculation, with its amazing paradoxes, is built upon a foundation of two negative and contradictory experiments, one proving that ether did not drift through matter and the other proving that ether was not carried along with matter. If both are true the natural deduction is that there isn't any ether. And yet physicists hate to part with a hypothetical substance that has proved so useful in conveying light and electrical waves. The microscopic measurement of seven stars on a photograph plate at a single eclipse is not the sort of evidence that the scientific world likes to have for the basis of so far-reaching a theory.

Yet no fear of what future experiments may bring forth disturbs the serene confidence of Einstein. He may well be calm, whether the experiment on which he based his theory or the experiments that appear to confirm it prove shaky or not. His work is well done and nobody has been able to discover any fault in his logical reasoning.

Lord Haldane anticipates that "a time may arrive when even the good old name gravitation will not be discoverable in any respectable textbook" and when school children will think as easily in Einstein tensors as they do now in the Galilean coördinates that would have confounded even the learned of an earlier and Ptolemaic outlook. But even Macaulay's school boy of that day will not find it easy to run through Haldane's four hundred solidly printed pages of solidly argued metaphysics. The cursory reader who is seeking a royal road to Einstein will not find the volume to his taste. But to those who wish to study the philosophical aspects of the theory of relativity it will be found as essential as the four former British contributions to the subject: Professor A. N. Whitehead's "The Principles of Natural Knowledge" and "The Concept of Nature;" Professor Wildon Carr's "The Philosophical Principle of Relativity;" and Professor Eddington's "Time, Space and Gravitation."

EDWIN E. SLOSSON,  
Author of "Easy Lessons in Einstein."



## Quandary and Vision

THE WASTED GENERATION. By Owen Johnson. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

BEGGARS' GOLD. By Ernest Poole. New York: The Macmillan Company.

MR. JOHNSON'S latest effort, "The Wasted Generation," leaves us turning over anew the old questions. What is this novelist trying for? Is it worth trying for? Does he succeed to the extent of his ability? What is his ability? And what do we expect of a novel, anyhow? If this sounds like a classroom quiz, reflect, reader, that we are our own quizzee, a momentary victim of the principle that every man has now and then to suffer under his own pedagoguery. And our last question had better be honestly answered first—in the first person. I expect more of, or from, a novel than many people seem to do. I expect a story that lives and is not a mere machine; and I expect it, with its completed action, to embody and interpret some real phase of human fact or fancy or even (at worst) of thought. Mr. Johnson, like nine-tenths of his contemporaries, seems to have no such expectation of his own work. He seems to think that a lot of earnest discoursing and argumentation about topics and problems of our time, tacked to a respectable amount of naturalistic detail, and bungled into the gaudy vehicle of a sensational plot, is a good recipe for an important novel. His publisher and Mrs. Gertrude Atherton and nine-tenths of his reviewers seem to agree with him. If the reader of this review agrees with them, let him pass on in peace.

Gloomy as his view is of the present or passing generation, we can very easily forgive Mr. Johnson that much. For his gloom is based on a healthy discontent with the futilities of our time, and at least a leaning toward a doctrine of courageous acceptance as against indiscriminate rebellion. He even believes it is not a bad thing to be good: "Sometimes out of evil there comes a healthy reaction, but the moral quality of an act remains, much as we should like to believe otherwise." His earnest discoursing and argumentation are brilliant and often searching and suggestive: the voice is the voice of his hero, David Littledale, but the hand is the hand of Owen Johnson. In substance, the result is a running commentary, from August, 1916, to April, 1918, by an intelligent and sensitive American, upon his own and the world's reactions to the War. As a commentary, it is excellently well worth reading. As a study of type, David Littledale himself is of some moment. But he is not of a type to arouse very active sympathy or concern on the part of those of us who in street or club are wont to avoid contact with the male blend of snob, prig, and egoist. If the book were a satire, this would not matter. But the author clearly means his portraits of Littledale and his "respec-

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table New England family" to be taken as sober interpretation. His group indeed is striking and, as a somewhat carefully arranged composition, life-like. It is the attempt to put its members in action that spoils them. Mr. Johnson writes here presumably as a story-teller, but the virtue in his book lies in its talk and its pictures; and the story simply does its best to "queer" them. The romantic—all the business of Bernoline (unctuous name!) and the villainous German and the ducal brother and the concealed infant and the rest—is strained and hectic. The final scene, in which Bernoline is "made an honest woman," and then avenged, and then caused to withdraw nobly up-stage under the spotlight, is labored claptrap—toward which we have been too obviously moving from the outset. We cannot envy New England Anne the romantic remnant of her David which (with somewhat surprising promptness) falls to her lot. David is a clever writer, and a citizen of the world honestly and painfully anxious to help mend matters; but he is not much in himself, and we cannot make ourselves pretend that he is. Perhaps we need not try, since he is only a member of "the wasted generation."

In contrast with Mr. Johnson's fevered vision of a world out of joint, which we, alas, were born to set right or at best to endure with resignation, Mr. Poole, who is by no means a blind acceptor of things as they are, in "Beggars' Gold" discerns hope for the future from those generous treasures of character and opportunity which lie almost unsuspected beneath the hard and weedy surface of human nature. We are all "beggars sitting on bags of gold." In the widespread development of individual faith and responsibility, not through any mechanical and conforming rule of class or mass, humanity will come into its own. The young Chinese prophet of the story sees the world of the relatively near future trying out the experiment of freedom through leveling and conformity. He sees that revolution may be "needed now to blast away the rubbish heaps of old ideas." But he sees eventual failure in the process of rebuilding, because the radical ignores both the common weaknesses and the uncommon virtues of man. He sees a world, at best, comfortable, monotonous, stagnant in mind and spirit. But this cannot be the end: "For, from the beginning, while all that is going on, beneath that comfort of the body, that stagnation of the mind, will still be the eternal, unconscious, yearning, cry of man, 'Let me be free within my soul! Let me be different—myself!'" And slowly, through many generations, a new race will be bred of their spirit; a new humanity of "children growing up, different in every land, will slowly rear upon the earth and reaching up into the stars, a new civilization, built on the communion of free individual souls—helping one another—giving, receiving—rising still!"



Such is the "idea" upon which the story is frankly based—so frankly as to have almost the character of parable. But it is parable in modern dress and beautifully told. The theme is honestly embodied in an action which, slight though it be, is balanced and complete. "Beggars' Gold" stands safe on the hither side of the scarce visible line which divides the novel of interpretation from the novel of invention and discourse.

H. W. BOYNTON

IN a slim volume of one hundred pages, "Insects and Human Welfare" (Harvard University Press), Charles Thomas Brues has treated of insects in relation to health, food supply, the forest, household, and the outlook for the future. In the comparison of helpful versus injurious forms, we find a melancholy lack of balance, with the honeybee and silkworm on one side and unnumbered hosts on the other. All confusing details are omitted, and in well-written and balanced generalities we are presented with the principles and practices of economic entomology. The book gives, in brief, the entire world problem of the warfare which man must wage in order to maintain his artificial alteration of the earth's flora—his gardens, enormous wheat fields, his replanted forests. Of especial interest is the lesson taught by the introduction—the rapid spread of such foreign insects as the gipsy moth, house mosquito, and some of the cockroaches, and the consequent attempts to combat these pests.

"Across Mongolian Plains" (Appleton), by Roy Chapman Andrews, is rather an extreme example of the myopic type of travel book. All the high lights are here, all the captions, all the general outlines, but the lesser details, as important as pigment to a painting, are inexcusably absent. With Mr. Andrews, his wife, and the changing companions of his Mongolian hunts, we become intimate. We are told of their appearance, their emotions, their daily activities. But we cannot see what they saw, except in misty, impressionistic glimpses. Page after page tells of exciting pursuits of antelopes with an automobile, an experience which should be as moving as any invention of drama or fiction. Yet the narration of this glorious feat in such a wonderland leaves us cold. The author is full of enthusiasm for his work of collecting mammals for the American Museum, and every hunt was successful. His expeditions led through strange and unknown lands, with rare and fascinating interests, human and regional, at every step. This we know from the numerous and excellent photographs. But Mr. Andrews must learn to know the perspective of the reader. he must read Darwin's "Beagle," Roosevelt and Stevenson again and again, he must think carefully and transcribe slowly, before he ventures to transmute hasty journal notes into type and precipitate them upon white paper.

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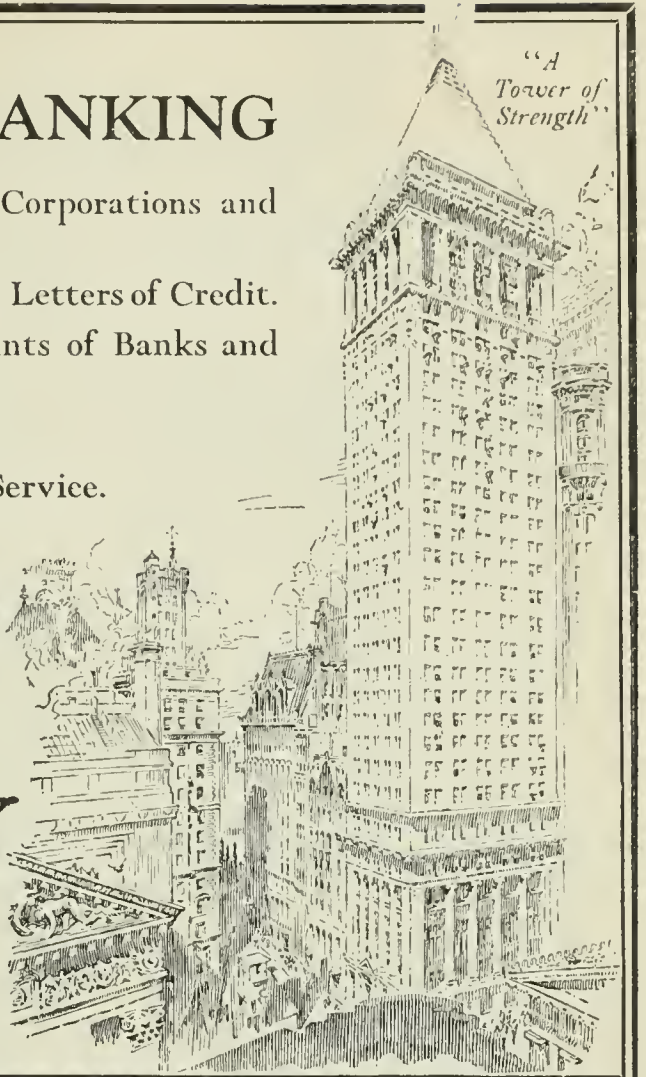
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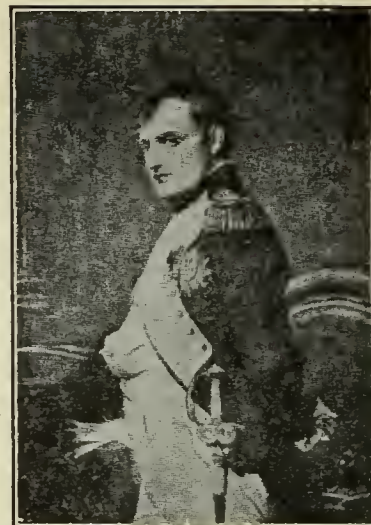
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First Class Scout—Most things go to the buyer, but some things don't.

Tenderfoot—What do you mean?

First Class Scout—Why coal goes to the cellar.—*Boys' Life*.

"That's a fine lot o' pigs there. What do you feed 'em?"

"Corn."

"In the ear?"

"No, in the mouth."—*Virginia Reel*.

The woman was wandering about at her first society ball. She saw a lanky individual in evening dress standing at the door of the supper room.

"Wouldn't you like a partner?" she said.

"Thank you, madam," said he, "but the other waiters might be jealous."—*New York Globe*.



# Some Notes on New Books

## Gift Problem Solutions



IN the column opposite is a list of new books published by us, arranged so that titles may be conveniently checked for purchase. As a help to readers in selecting titles for gifts to themselves or to others, we shall here try to make clear what sort of books they are.

"Messer Marco Polo," by Donn Byrne, is a handsome book, an utterly delightful love story, hauntingly illustrated by C. B. Falls. "Where the Young Child Was" is by Marie Conway Oemler, author of "Slippy McGee." It is a cheerful book of Christmas stories which should appeal to people who like Dickens and Barrie and Stevenson. "Quin" is a full-sized novel by Alice Hegan Rice, author of "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch." It has met with such a cordial reception that we have already had to print twenty thousand copies. It is gracious and kindly and whimsically humorous. "The Crystal Heart," by Phyllis Bottome, author of "The Dark Tower," presents one of the most poignantly appealing heroines of all fiction.

Altogether the most beautiful book in the opposite list, as to print, binding and illustrations, is "The Land of Haunted Castles," by Robert J. Casey, dealing with Luxemburg, that lovely bit of yesterday living miraculously on into today. "The Book of Jack London" is the story of his life, which was as varied, as dramatic and as intense as his own works of fiction. The book is by his wife, Charmian London, the one person best fitted to write it. It is already something of a literary sensation. In "Working North From Patagonia" Harry A. Franck, the famous philosopher-vagabond, gives the second half of his odyssey of South America, the first half having previously been covered in "Vagabonding Down the Andes." Mr. Franck spent, not months, but years exploring South America in his characteristically thorough way. He saw it all. A perfect gift for one interested in adventure or travel. "Lost Ships and Lonely Seas," a book of true stories of strange and daring exploits of heroic sailormen, is by Ralph D. Paine, and there are few living authors who write of the sea so well as he. An extremely handsome book, with many pictures. "White Shadows in the South Seas" is Frederick O'Brien's fascinating record of a year's residence among the extraordinary natives of the Marquesas Islands. Reading it is really a thrilling experience. In "Mystic Isles of the South Seas" Mr. O'Brien tells of visits to other magically beautiful isles, especially Tahiti, the fragrant capital of the French Pacific island possessions. It is an extremely good-looking book, with many illustrations. "The Pacific Triangle" is the result of six years of wandering by the author, Sydney Greenbie, all over the Pacific Ocean: an entertaining travel book and a reliable source-book of information about many lands and peoples. "Adventures in Swaziland" is an account of a cultivated Boer who lived much among the stalwart blacks of southeast Africa. The book has many quite remarkable illustrations. Robert Chauvelot traveled through India under the most auspicious circumstances, penetrating the inner circle of high-caste society, and the record of his trip is entitled "Mysterious India." "Conquests of Invention," by Mary R. Parkman, tells the stories of the world's epoch-making inventions and the men who produced them. "Animal Life in Field and Garden" is by Jean-Henri Fabre, the great French scientist whom Maeterlinck has called "the insects' Homer." In this book, for adults as well as young people, he tells of man's little animal friends and foes in field and garden.

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#### I. The Drolleries of Clothes.

1. Draw from the article material for a coherent criticism of present-day costume.
2. Write a short composition on "Follies of Fashion in the Past."
3. Write a similar composition on "Follies of Fashion Today."
4. Draw from the article material for a serious composition on "Ideal Costumes."
5. What advantage does the writer gain by showing that there is much in common between savages and civilized people?
6. Prepare a report on John Evelyn's "Diary." You will find information in any encyclopedia.
7. Prepare a similar report on the life and work of Robert Herrick. Read aloud to the class any poem that will well illustrate Herrick's style.
8. Prove that the article is an essay. Show in what respects it differs from an ordinary information article.
9. Write a similar essay concerning any important custom that is somewhat in need of reform.

#### II. Farewell to Christine Nilsson.

1. Write an original short story in which you incorporate the principal facts in the life of Christine Nilsson. Introduce realistic characters: use sufficient dialogue; and make your story develop to an important climax.
2. Prepare a report on the life of Goethe.
3. Explain the relation between Christopher Marlowe's "Faustus" and Goethe's "Faust." Consult any encyclopedia.
4. Imagine that a company of modern singers meet together and talk concerning Lind, Christine Nilsson, Adelina Patti, and other singers of the past. Represent the conversation in such a way that the notable facts about the famous singers are brought out.

#### III. Drama.

1. In what respects are the plays of modern dramatists "like the confections of pastry cooks, often pleasant on the palate, but no more to be considered drama than 'French' pastry can be considered sculpture"?
2. "The quality that differentiates the dramatist from the playwright is not that of technical ability." What quality does the critic believe most important? Refer to any one of Shakespeare's plays as an illustration in proof of your answer.
3. Explain what is meant by "dynamic unity of matter and form." Prove that there is, or is not, such unity in "The Ancient Mariner," "The Vision of Sir Launfal," "The Idylls of the King," Carlyle's "Essay on Burns," or any other book that you have studied in school.
4. What is meant by "the tang and color of dialogue"? Show that the expression can be used appropriately concerning the dialogue in Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar," "The Merchant of Venice," "As You Like It," or "Twelfth Night."

#### IV. New Books and Old.

1. Tell the story of Stevenson's early life. Consult some good biography of Stevenson.
2. The following authors are alluded to in the book reviews. Write, concerning each author, a single well-formed sentence that will tell something important about his literary work: Ruskin, Browning, Meredith, Charles Lamb, Artemus Ward, Josh Billings, George Ade, Mark Twain, W. S. Gilbert, F. P. Dunne, H. G. Wells, Conan Doyle, John Milton, Walt Whitman, Dostoevsky.
3. Apply to "Ivanhoe," "Treasure Island," or "Silas Marner" the questions given in the first few lines under "Quandary and Vision."

#### V. The Story of the Week.

1. Write an appeal that will aid in persuading "non-English-speaking residents to join English-language classes."
2. Write an argument for, or against, the Chinese Declaration of Rights.
3. Write an original short story founded on the work of Dr. Lorenz.
4. Summarize the most recent developments in the work of the "Conference on Limitation of Armament."
5. Write a list of the most important matters that now occupy the interests of the civilized world. Give a full explanation of the matter that interests you most.

### History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,  
Head of the Department of Social  
Science, Julia Richman High School

#### I. The Washington Conference.

1. Show in what way any conditions in China now violate the "ten principles" of the Chinese statement.
2. Compare the "ten principles" with the "four principles" of Mr. Root. What are the main differences?

#### II. A Great Project.

1. Having read the whole article, explain why the editor thinks that sound money is "the most fundamental of all requirements for the carrying on of organized economic life."
2. Explain as fully as you can how and why the countries of central Europe have lost "an intelligible money standard."
3. Outline the scheme of Mr. Vanderlip and explain its safeguards.
4. Those of you who have studied our Federal Reserve Bank compare that bank with Mr. Vanderlip's "Gold Reserve Bank of the United States of Europe."
5. Is it true of the United States that the volume of our foreign trade "is insignificant in comparison with the transactions of the people of the country among themselves"? Explain your conclusion.

#### III. Government - Conditions in American Budget.

Individual excellencies; predictable. The right, of course, is that there is absolutely no precedent in life for an optimistic conclusion that the right must be the old have all the best positions: they are behind public opinion, they are established in a proposed, in essence, to any change or courage. The almost without exception, already failures; they to be insulted by the truth about the world and young have much better things to do.

#### IV. The Tax Revision.

1. Looking at the past national legislation, do you see into nothingness statement, "the less legislative."
2. Summarize the chief provisions of the Tax Revision Law and show why they do not afford a permanent settlement.
3. Just what do you think it would mean to study the subject of tax legislation scientifically? Show how it would differ from the present policy of Congress. In how far has a Tariff Commission resulted in a scientific tariff? Why?
4. Show what would have happened to President Harding if, as Premier of France or England, his recommendation on legislation had been treated as the House treated his tax recommendation?
5. Look up the chief steps in the passage of a bill through Congress and show the significance of a "conference report." In the conference reports mentioned here which house won? Is that result typical of our past experience?

#### V. The Business Outlook, Business Today and Tomorrow.

1. Summarize the suggestions for legislation and decide which of them "conforms to economic laws" as required by Mr. Schwab.
2. Make a careful outline embodying the other suggestions for improving business conditions and see how far you agree with each proposal.
3. Summarize the evidences, from all the articles, to prove that "domestic business has 'turned the corner.'"

#### VI. The British Empire.

1. Explain what seem to be the present obstacles to a settlement of the Irish Question.
2. If you were in the British Government, would you insist "that Egyptian foreign relations should be British-controlled"? Why?
3. State briefly the relation of Great Britain to the foreign affairs of her colonies. Show in detail how the war has affected the relation of the self-governing colonies to foreign affairs.

#### VII. Germany.

1. Summarize the unfortunate features of the German situation as pictured here.



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

December 10, 1921



### Present and Future of American Literature

#### Degradations of the English Language

W. Eliot, President Emeritus Harvard University

grounded opinion  
in literature as  
for read-  
public  
which  
orable  
words, and  
the inaccurate use  
to think that these degra-  
language make a written style more  
or "picturesque," and add "pep," "push,"  
or "snap." The telegram, with its charge per word, and  
the condensed headlines in newspapers tend to produce an-  
other deterioration in the English language. Display ad-  
vertisements with their exaggerations and superlatives in-  
dict other kinds of damage on English speech in street,  
shop, and market. I am told that similar injuries are in-  
flicted by some of the "best sellers" of the season. Alto-  
gether good English usage in speech and writing seems to  
need more advocates and exemplars. Will American  
schools produce them? Apparently the families will not.

#### Release from Puritans, Pedagogues and Anglo-Saxons

H. L. Mencken, Editor of "The Smart Set"

THE past few years have witnessed a very radical change  
in the general aspect of American literature. The  
decay of academic authority, once so potent and so suffo-  
cating, must be obvious to everyone. The American liter-  
ature of a dozen years ago, or even half a dozen years ago,  
if he had novel ideas or sought to express old ideas in a  
new way, faced an opposition that was violent, powerful,  
and implacable. It was difficult for him to get his work  
published; it was hopeless for him to look for any sympa-  
thetic understanding of it, save from a small band of  
heretics. Meanwhile, the endless parroting of old ideas  
went on, and its chief practitioners were solemnly revered  
as ornaments of the national letters. Today the current  
runs strongly in the other direction. Comstockery, true  
enough, still flourishes, but the critical dignity that stood  
behind it has disappeared. A new author gets a fair hear-

ing, no matter how startling his notions. The attack of  
the professors weakens; the defense converts itself into an  
enterprising and vigorous offensive.

This revolt against the dead hand, now so successful,  
started among the poets, and they carried it on with great  
pertinacity and resourcefulness. I doubt that it produced  
any poetry of unquestionable first class, but that it greatly  
raised the level of American verse must be plain. What  
the revolting bards sought to better was not a body of  
poetry that was itself first class, but a body of poetry that  
was intolerably dull, formal, and stupid. The same busi-  
ness confronted the workers in prose, once they had joined  
the movement. Very few of them were of the highest tal-  
ents, but they were at least honest and courageous—they  
at least made a genuine effort, particularly on the plane of  
the novel, to put aside all the old formulae and all the old  
sentimentalities, and to observe the life of their country at  
first hand, and record it with accuracy and understanding.  
Such a book as "Sister Carrie" or "Winesburg, Ohio," or  
"My Antonia" is full of patent defects, but it certainly  
lacks the prime defect of dishonesty. It is the product not  
of an effort to please a camorra of unintelligent pedagogues,  
but of an effort to discover and tell the truth. And to tell  
it not in terms of morals, but in terms of beauty.

Under the old aesthetic there were the stern commands  
and unshakable certainties of the national Puritanism: the  
ethic of timorous and ignorant men, dismayed and angered  
by a national life that refused to fit itself into their groove.  
The lingering exponents of that Puritanism seek to enforce  
its mandates in the old way: by erecting all sorts of unen-  
forceable prohibitions, by raucous and disingenuous appeals  
to history, by a furious advocacy of extraneous standards—  
moral, social, patriotic. Their failure grows greater and  
more pathetic day by day. The future of all the arts in  
the United States is in the hands of persons who are not  
Puritans, and who, in a great majority of cases, are not  
even Anglo-Saxons. Puritanism becomes a mere bellowing  
on their flanks, increasingly falsetto and increasingly dis-  
regarded.

#### The Mood of Denudation

Stuart P. Sherman, Professor of English,  
University of Illinois

"THOU art the thing itself," says mad King Lear to the  
naked Edgar, "unaccommodated man is no more but  
such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art. Off, off, you  
lendings! Come, unbutton here." Thereupon the king be-



gins to pull off his clothes; and presently he is judging himself and all his realm with the fierce unflattering vision of a Swift or a Carlyle: "I smelt 'em out. Go to, they are not men o' their words: they told me I was everything; 'tis a lie, I am not ague-proof."

The literature of the past year does not attain the mad intensity of disillusion displayed in these scenes on the barren heath. There are notes of nonchalance, impudence, and even gaiety in the youthful cynicism of its disrobing. There is, here and there at least, a confidence in clean young bodies to be disclosed when the process of slipping off the old clothes is complete. Yet the predominant mood of the year's literature may not unfairly be suggested by a bit of dialogue from a recent novel. The scene exhibits some members of the A. E. F. crawling out of their mud-caked, vermin-infested uniforms beside a pond in France:

"Sarge says a delousin' machine's comin' through this way soon."

"We need it, Chris."

Andrews pulled his clothes off slowly.

"It's great to feel the sun and the wind on your body, isn't it, Chris?"

To the generally felt need of a "delousin' machine" and a bath, writers in all the important forms of literature have responded with increasing efficiency since the war. For a short time, indeed, it was hoped on one side and feared on the other that "war-weariness" would result in a violent romantic reaction in which people craving for the quick and easy peace of "normalcy" would scramble into any kind of antique raiment discoverable in hair-cloth trunks of ancestral attics.

But no. The signs indicate bonfires and baths and a distaste for hand-me-downs and whitewash. On every hand there is movement toward the pool, denoting faith in the virtues of sun, wind, water, and the scrubbing-brush. War-correspondents rush up gasping, "Now it can be told!" English officers sternly remove the uniforms of their deceased chiefs and expose the poor, bare, forked animals to laughter. Diplomats toss into the fire their shoes of gum and rend their garments of invisibility. A great lady appears in her *robe de nuit* and flings her *journal intime* to the crowd. Biographers run away with the royal robes of queens. Poets throw off their "singing-ropes" and invoke the Muse in the garb of the Greek athlete. A popular American novelist presents a heroine whose favorite costume is a pair of wings; an English rival exhibits her characters as far as possible in bathing suits—and in the bathing suit of the present day, that is tolerably far.

While the mood of denudation is on, the one unpardonable sin in a writer is to fall into the "grand style." Whoever seeks prestige in a silk hat or a periodic sentence is suspect—"Go to, go to," cry the young people, "they are not men o' their words!"

## The Young Versus the Elders

Joseph Hergesheimer

THE present tendency of American literature, or rather its present position, resembles that of two trucks met on a narrow road with no possibility, no hope, of either turning out for the other. Either the newer and more gaudily painted truck will shove the old sedate affair into the chasm, or the ponderous vehicle will force the younger to destruction. Nothing else, no compromise, is possible: if what, for the moment, may be called the new spirit succeeds, the old will subside under an undisturbed accumulation of dust; if the old is still strong, the young will vanish in the guise of radicalism, addressed to all the jails of the land.

Superficially it might seem reasonable to expect a gentle merging of force with force, and a consequent benefit to both—the old taking on the vigor of the new, and the young acquiring the authority of the old. Nothing of the sort can

happen, because should the young become old they can no longer be young; and for the old no fountain of youth has been discovered.

The truth is that the young, in literature, regard their elders with contempt; they find them, above everything else, cowardly, cowardly and lying. And, almost always, the young are right. So much accumulates around a man past his youth, reputation and possessions and love and, stronger than all else, habit; these things exert their tyrannical or gentle forces . . . in no direction is there a clear, a free, horizon. The young, if they have any value at all, are untrammelled; they can hate whom they very well damned please; and, while they are young, they can fling their periods abroad without a trace, a shadow, of the ulterior or the merely prudent.

It is their right, for example, to detest what I write; to find it trivial, yes—cowardly; it is their privilege, almost their duty, to think of me as—in my romantic pages—no more than a realist, and to regard themselves, in their realism, as fine romantics. But it is my privilege, if I have become one of the elders, to think of them as, well, young. I hope that this isn't necessary, that there is no need for their contempt, or for my smile from a comfortable and secure place. But that natural hope can be no more than my individual blindness: I am one with the young, or I belong to the elders.

This, remember, is a paper on *tendances* in literature; it is not concerned with the outcome of the war and the outcome is unimportant with the young; but to justify the triumph of the fortified public or the aging are, do not want themselves; and the more than the reading of books. in literature is too heavy to be the would be—almost—better to go crashing with the young.

## Symptoms of Unrest

Agnes Repplier

THE field of American letters is still overshadowed by the Great War. We think it isn't because the war book is out of date. Novels of German intrigue, personal narratives of soldiers, tragic tales, heroic verses, and the "Dere Mable" brand of humor have lapsed into oblivion. Even spirits have ceased dictating "War Letters" from the other world. But American officials have not yet concluded their profitable reminiscences. They are still drawing copiously from notebooks, and diaries, and correspondence. They are still telling us at pitiless length the open secrets of diplomacy.

The war must also be held responsible for the acute curiosity of the public in regard to Washington and its inmates. We have been taken so generously into the confidence of those who helped in the making of history that gossip about these gentlemen provides a piquant sauce for their intimate and somewhat ponderous revelations. Twenty years ago New York and Boston, to say nothing of Chicago and Denver, were not keenly concerned with the cut of the President's trousers, the luncheons of the Secretary of State, the way in which a Senator brushes his hair. These news items found their way now and then into the daily press; but never into the solid and substantial volumes where they now alternate with vivacious impertinences from anonymous critics, and solemn praise from commentators who have been bold enough to sign their names.

That a wave of cynicism should have followed the im-



portunate emotions of the war was inevitable. After great national upheavals there has always come a letting down of the bars. They are let down now, socially, artistically, and intellectually. The extravagance with which new forms of verse have been exploited, the nakedness of fiction, the elimination of reserve from published memoirs and correspondence—these things are symptoms of unrest. So too is the exaggerated realism which has supplanted the exaggerated sentimentalism that ran riot for four long years. A book like "Three Soldiers," by Mr. John Dos Passos, marks a natural reaction from many scores of books in which our fighting men were depicted as happy combinations of Mark Tapley, Sir Galahad, and Saint George.

The refusal of human nature to accommodate itself to a point of view leaves the cynic and the sentimentalist equally far from the truth. When Mr. George Arliss ventured, with a hardihood which impelled admiration, to play "Disraeli" in London, *Punch* thoughtfully observed that if the Bank of England had had a president resembling Sir Michael Probert, Great Britain would never have controlled the Suez Canal. The reader of "Three Soldiers" is equally sure that if the American expeditionary force had been largely composed of such men as these, we should never have won the war. Instead of putting up monuments, we should now be fulfilling Germany's fondest hope by paying its cost into her plethoric pockets.

## Form as Goal and Irritant

Henry Seidel Canby, Editor of "The Literary Review"

IT is much easier to write of "present tendencies" in American literature than a "present tendency." There has been in the past year a clear tendency toward novels with a thesis, as exemplified in "Main Street"; a tendency toward old-fashioned romance in such books as "Messer Marco Polo," and more obscurely in the travel books of Mr. Frederick O'Brien; a tendency toward old-fashioned Zolaesque realism in the poetry of Mr. Masters and in many novels; a tendency toward a finer appreciation of the problem of form, which is fully realized in the fiction of Mrs. Wharton, Miss Gale, and Miss Cather, and passionately attempted in the work of the much referred to younger generation.

Of all these tendencies can one be singled out as most significant—I mean most significant, not necessarily most important? If there is one of real significance I think it is the restlessness with stereotyped methods of presenting what has become stereotyped life, in our fiction and in our poetry. It is this restlessness which leads to the experiments in minute and profuse realism which are becoming almost the thing to be expected from a young author. Our older writers have grown tired of the short story and are seeking relief in the novel, where it is not so necessary to have a quick beginning, a quicker middle, and a snappy end. It is noteworthy how many well-known writers of short stories have published novels this year. Our younger writers display a dissatisfaction with the conventions of the magazine world generally and are pouring out their hearts in audacious poetry, and in novels far more honest in detail than those we knew best ten years ago, but almost formless in their attempt to be true to remembered experience. "Three Soldiers," for example, is more interesting as an example of a method of describing life, than for the ideas on war which it happens to contain. Form, it seems to me, form as a goal and form as an irritant, has concerned American writers this year more than either character or ideas. And if this is a real tendency it is interesting because it may be a prelude to new types in our literature.

## Dreiserish Drab and Pollyanna Pink

Katharine Fullerton Gerould

TO comment, in five hundred words, on "present tendencies in American literature as shown by the books of the past year," is no easy task. Let us say briefly that we seem to swing, in modern American fiction, between two extremes: a Dreiserish drab and a crude Pollyanna pink. One gathers, too, that at present drab is more fashionable than pink, with the public that endeavors to read what it criticizes. Take a group of outstanding recent novels: "Main Street," "Blind," "The Narrow House," "Invincible Minnie" (quite the best of the lot cited), "The Great Desire," "Three Soldiers"—where, in any of them, do you find it implied that there is any *legitimate* happiness to be got from life as it is? The people who admit the legitimate happiness are apt to lay it on too thick, and escape the extreme of gloom only to fall into the extreme of sentimentalism. Yet Harold Bell Wright and Gene Stratton Porter are not the antidote for Ernest Poole and Evelyn Scott and John Dos Passos. Far from it. It is only the truth that makes you free, and life as it is is a bigger and more enduring thing than conservative wail, sentimental simper, or radical growl will admit.

The study of human nature is of course a purely empirical science; and the best American novels, from Hawthorne down, have been sharply delimited as to subject and scene and social atmosphere. Mrs. Wharton's New York, Mr. Cable's New Orleans, Mrs. Deland's Old Chester, Mr. Hergesheimer's Salem—these are worlds that have been reclaimed by art from the uncertainty, the blurriness, of the merely typical. Our best novelists have discovered the eternal verities in highly individualized incarnations. Their results have been won by patient research into life itself, not by building a skeleton into a preconceived idea.

It is also an interesting fact that the best of our novels, year by year, are those which lie outside the "main American current," and do not specifically illustrate "present-day tendencies" at all. They eschew the ephemeral. Far and away the best work of fiction of the present year is a book only just published: Mr. White's "Andivius Hedulio." Andivius has nothing to do with the moods of this particular moment of ours, except as those inherit from all time. It merely taps the perennial sources of interest and delight:

Sir Walter, and the brood who sprang  
From Homer, through a hundred lands.

It is, in its adventurous and breathless kind, a masterpiece. There can be no invidious comparison of it with "Main Street," for Mr. White's is not the naturalistic game; but I should like to recommend it to the attention of Mr. Dos Passos, who might discover therefrom that even in a world of violence (and Commodus could have given points to the moderns) both virtue and joy can and do exist, and that "Three Soldiers" is no more valuable as a document than "Pollyanna" itself. The game is not a real game if the dice are loaded—even though you load them to lose, instead of loading them to win.

## "Out of Nowhere Into Nothing"

Wilbur Cross, Editor of "The Yale Review"

NINETEEN-TWENTY-ONE has been on the whole a rather lean year in American literature. In fiction there has appeared no work of so great literary distinction as "The Age of Innocence," and no such *tour de force* as "Main Street." In biography Bliss Perry has produced an admirable specimen of the art in the "Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson"; and Mrs. Robinson and Mr. Hagedorn have each written an interesting life of Roosevelt. Booth Tarkington has written a readable novel in "Alice Adams"; Dorothy Canfield in "The Brimming



Cup"; and Gertrude Atherton in "The Sisters-in-Law." Miss Lowell has given us "Legends," Percy MacKaye a bit of American verse folk-lore in "Dogtown Common," and Edwin Arlington Robinson has brought out his collected poems. But these works have not added new laurels to their writers nor revealed new powers. Among the novelists of established reputation, Mrs. Wharton, Miss Cather, and Mr. Hergesheimer have been silent except for contributions to the magazines.

The year in general literature has belonged especially to the "younger generation." In their work the mood of disillusionment and restlessness—a hang-over doubtless from the war, which crowded too many and too intense experiences into the narrow house of youth—is still dominant. It is, of course, natural that the generation which has come of age in the literature of the last decade should be pre-occupied with the more morbid aspects of life and death. Most of the young novelists are obsessed by—they would say "intrigued by"—the sex motive. They are terribly worried over the difficulty of adjusting love to the marriage state and present economic conditions. The problems they discuss are so serious in their opinion that there is no longer any place for that humor in which the Victorians delighted. Sherwood Anderson's "Triumph of the Egg," Dos Passos' "Three Soldiers," Floyd Dell's "Briary Bush," Ben Hecht's "Erik Dorn," Stephen Benét's "The Beginning of Wisdom," Charles Norris' "Brass," and Evelyn Scott's "The Narrow House," Eugene O'Neill's plays, and the poems of Edna St. Vincent Millay and Elinor Wylie—all reflect the sophistication that we have come to associate with the "young pens." Nevertheless on the humorous side we have had clever expressions of this disenchantment in parodies and burlesques—notably Captain Traprock's "Cruise of the Kawa," and Mr. Stewart's "Outline of American History." The title of one of Sherwood Anderson's stories—"Out of Nowhere Into Nothing"—puts in a nutshell the prevailing mood of this group of writers.

## Public Taste in the United States

*William Lyon Phelps, Yale University*

I DO not know that there are any marked "tendencies" in American literature. Some favorite authors write well and others do not—is there any other statement that can be proved? Popularity proves nothing either for or against the standards of American taste. An American scholar, for whose judgment I have high respect, told me that he thought the prevailing tone in modern America was vulgarity. In serious meditation on this remark, one observes with regret that many European importations suffer a sea-change, quite the opposite of an improvement. Some French plays which, in the original, whatever their faults, have both wit and grace, are on the American stage downright vulgar; some great foreign novels are debased on the screen, as though a coarse hand had blurred their beauty ("The Three Musketeers" and "Les Misérables" are happy exceptions); much contemporary American verse seems to be written under the impression that noisy profanity is a sign of virility; much literary and dramatic criticism, which ought to be composed in English, is set forth in the language of musical comedy, which vernacular has in turn affected the conversation of many who ought to know better.

Much has been made of the fact that Turner's "Hagar's Hoard"—an admirable novel—did not sell, so that the author was forced to "write down"; I do not know whether this is true or not, as "Hagar" is the only one of his books that I have read. If we should take "The Mirrors of Downing Street" as an illustration of British writing, and "The Mirrors of Washington" as our representative, the comparison would be damaging to America.

On the other hand, there are English books of high grade

intellectually and artistically which are far more popular here than in their native land. Meredith's reputation began here; that astonishing novel, "Bob, Son of Battle," was selling by the hundred thousand in America while it was still unknown in England. Archibald Marshall has probably twenty-five American readers to one British; Hutchinson's original and brilliant novel, "If Winter Comes," has had a sale of over 100,000 copies in America since the middle of August.

Furthermore, public taste in the United States cannot be wholly bad when "The Education of Henry Adams" is a best-seller.

Our popular American novelist, Booth Tarkington, has surpassed all his previous work, excellent as much of it was, in "Alice Adams"; the same may be said of Edith Wharton and "The Age of Innocence"; the expansive "Main Street" and the restrained "Miss Lulu Bett" both received merited recognition. "The Americanization of Edward Bok" is both notable and quotable. The fiftieth birthday of Edwin Arlington Robinson, who is a sincere, high-minded, and uncompromising artist, was publicly celebrated.

If one wishes to obtain a fair, honest, penetrating criticism of American opinion, taste, temperament, standards, and character, one cannot do better than read a book written by one of the foremost living men of letters—I mean George Santayana's "Character and Opinion in the United States."

## Achieving Indigenous Fiction

*H. W. Boynton*

I SHALL confine my word on current American literary tendencies to my special field of the novel. There are plenty of interesting signs of the times within its ever-widening bounds. I note, first, a rapid acceleration of the extraordinary dual process by which during the past twenty years we seem to have been achieving an indigenous fiction in the very act of surrendering ourselves to European standards and methods of expression. The process had begun in the time and work of Frank Norris—see "The Octopus," with its Gallic-flavored American realism. But even in that powerful work the pursuit of "local color" for its own sake had not been outgrown. We were still comparing ourselves with the English, and dwelling on our own peculiarities of scene and speech and manners with a sort of defiant emphasis. That phase is long and happily past. Meanwhile, as the "Anglo-Saxon" tradition has waned, we have come more under Continental influences. The younger, and especially the youngest, generation of American novelists are nourished on Flaubert and Anatole France, Strindberg and Schnitzler. A large part of the best recent American fiction and criticism is the work of writers with what we used to call foreign names—mainly German and Jewish names. Their races have already contributed distinctive flavors to the national broth and who can say that their work, for all its exotic pungency, is not indigenous to the America of today? Lately the "Middle West" has squarely established itself as the representative American scene; a polyglot land, as New York is a polyglot city.

The fact-and-propaganda, Wells-Shaw kind of novel shows signs of obsolescence. In a world which most honest citizens now perceive cannot be made perfect by any formula, why be excited about the folly of past or present formulae? As a public chiefly feminine any respectful study of woman's status concerns us nearly, hence our acceptance of the "Main Streets" and "Brimming Cups" which photograph or sentimentalize our discontents. As a public partly masculine and distrustful of the literary sugarplum, we accept novels of negative or neutral realism, such as "The Narrow House," "Dust," and "Brass," with or without a godlike spirit of irony and pity to justify them



to the imagination. As a public not to be denied its faith or its dreams, we accept and are healed by certain works of a creative realism ardently struggling to free itself from the passive realism that would fetter it—books as purely American as “Lulu Bett,” “Alice Adams,” and “Autumn.”

For the rest, an observant eye perceives just emerging

from its 'teens a youngest of younger generations, which lisps in chapters and rhapsodizes indifferently (and almost indistinguishably) in prose and verse. It has an utmost disdain for a world formerly dominated by hopeless fogies like H. L. Mencken, Carl Sandburg, and Sherwood Anderson.

# The Social Outlook in Germany

By John Firman Coar

The present article has been written with no little misgiving, chiefly because no observer can do exact justice to the social character of a foreign people. He can, at best, do approximate justice, and this he can do only if he is critically sympathetic. We are still too near the tragic events of 1914-18 to find critical sympathy an easy matter even toward each other, let alone the Germans. Yet somehow we must achieve it if the war's aftermath is to be gathered into sheaves of peace. The present writer began his after-war observation of German conditions deeply prejudiced, not only by the war, but by the activity of hyphenates and their correspondents in Germany. Still, no normal human being—and I trust I am still normal—can long move among his fellows, though they be Germans, in intimate daily intercourse without meeting sooner or later some one in whom a common humanity shines forth so finely that he begins to discover it in others also. This was my experience in Germany. In the light of it I have endeavored to tell the story of Germany's new social outlook. It is, therefore, not unlikely that I shall be charged by some with pro-Germanism. I must run this risk, hoping, however, that my readers will ask themselves and answer for themselves the questions I have asked myself and answered for myself. Does Americanism consist in being pro-English or anti-English, pro-Irish or anti-Irish, pro-French or anti-French, pro-German or anti-German? Does it no longer suffice to cherish an intelligent understanding of a sturdy faith in, and an active loyalty to, those principles on which American institutions were founded and of which they were intended to be a progressive realization? Can this understanding, this faith, this loyalty long endure and continue to make for the progress of our country and the advancement of civilization if we make them subservient to national animosities?

J. F. C.

IT was early morning when I arrived in Cologne on the international express, on my way to Berlin. We had about an hour's wait and I sought the restaurant for a pot of German coffee and some of the famous “brödchen.” In Belgium wheat bread and good coffee had been my daily refecation of a morning. It did not, for the moment, occur to me that an imaginary line known as the political frontier could make all the difference between delicious rolls and soggy war bread, between a cup of aromatic coffee and a mug of some unknown beverage. But so it was. Whatever German profiteers and get-rich-quick speculators drank and ate at the Adlon or the Esplanade in Berlin, or at the Frankfurter Hof in Frankfurt, or at the Regina Palast Hotel in Munich, it was at once evident to me, and became a definite conviction during my subsequent stay in Germany, that Lucullian food was not the portion of the German people. Shortly another surprise awaited me. Having occasion to despatch a telegram, I was directed to the platform where the express had pulled in and stood waiting. The *zugführer* or chief conductor, one-time lord of all he surveyed (and he let you know it), was conversing with another former potentate, the station master. When I inquired for the telegraph office, both officials touched their caps, and the latter pointed a few hundred yards down the platform. I started on my way. The *zugführer* hesitated a moment, then once more touching his cap, he said: “It's a bit difficult to find. Perhaps the gentleman will permit me to show him the way.” Chatting amiably, he walked by my side, turned down a dark hall, through an equally dark corridor, into the dimly lighted telegraph office, found blanks, pen, and ink, again touched his cap, turned, and vanished. I thought I knew German officials and my hand was in my pocket to do the proper thing. It remained undone.

Instances like the foregoing gradually opened my eyes to a profound change in social Germany. Speaking generally—for there were many fine exceptions—and including all kinds of service from the lowest to the highest, I venture to say that before the war German service was either bureaucratic or sycophantic, if not both. Helpful service could be had, but for a consideration. Today it is becoming the rule. I seem to recall, as one recalls a pleasant dream, a similar change in America, France, and England during the war. The spirit of mutual helpfulness was abroad among us. If it is still among us it requires sharper eyes than mine to discover it. To find it among the Germans amazed me until I reflected that the Germans, too, had struggled and suffered in common during the war, that their suffering and struggle, unlike ours, were endured in a common isolation, and that from the common tragedy of the war they passed into a common tragedy of the peace and were isolated under its deepening shadows. I wonder at times whether the principle of mutual helpfulness can survive the passing of hope. When hope vanishes, the hope of a common good, the social instinct seems doomed. The cry goes up *saue qui peut*, the social group becomes a herd, and the herd stampedes. In Germany hope is vanishing pretty fast and one begins to detect ominous signs of a stampede. As yet the ideal of genuine service holds true. Helpful service is, to be sure, too often a matter of conscious effort, a second thought, as it were. The old sense of social inferiority or superiority, as the case may be, does not as yet permit the new sense of the individual's human dignity to assert itself always spontaneously. Nevertheless, this new sense is modifying the entire social order.

A prominent German once remarked to me in the course of a lengthy exchange of views: “The difficulty with you Americans is your tendency to judge other peoples by absolute standards. . . . I'm very much afraid that America's judgment in the days to come will continue to be influenced by puritanical dogmatism. No longer in the position to object to Germany's political organization, you will insist that the new political form shall achieve what, in theory, it ought to achieve. You will insist that the honest adoption of democracy ought to manifest itself in the liquidation of the indemnities imposed on us, and, therefore, that failure to liquidate signifies an insincere democracy. You will probably take particular notice of our social classes, the more so since they contend with each other in the political arena, and you will infer that democracy is a mere sham in Germany, and that certain social groups which you held responsible for the war are still working their will.”

Since my return to America I have had more than one occasion to recall these words. Again and again I have heard it said: “Germany is unregenerate. If she wants to pay she can pay.” I wonder whether I shall confirm this *ex cathedra* judgment by affirming that class organization and class consciousness are quite as strong in Germany as ever, indeed stronger than ever. Nevertheless, there is a profound difference between the old and the new German social order. It deserves some words of explanation.



For a short time, in 1918-19, the theory of absolute human equality appeared to be going to the heads of the Germans. As was inevitable, communism and proletarianism joined forces, ran riot through the country, overthrew the Governments of every state and many important municipalities, and threatened the upheaval of the whole country's political, economic, and social life. But in 1920, over 26,000,000 Germans (80 per cent. of the people entitled to the suffrage) cast their ballots in the Reichstag elections, and of this total the Communist party polled exactly 441,793 votes, electing just two representatives (out of a total of 466) to the new Parliament. A year later proletarianism had receded still further into obscurity. It is my impression that the unsavory taste of proletarian communism did much to save the old class system, but also that the new sense of human dignity added its own stimulating savor. Instead of social equality, on the one hand, and social inferiority or superiority, on the other, the ideal appears to be social equipollence. Almost imperceptibly, and mostly without any preconceived theories, the idea of class function is superseding that of class status. Inevitably class consciousness is more acute than in the past, and inevitably the dignity of class is asserting itself. Since the destiny of Germany hangs on two classes, namely, the *arbeiterstand* (working class) and the *bürgerstand* (burgher class), we may confine our observations to these. In the former class it is the function of labor, in the latter the function of cultural and administrative leadership, that is becoming dynamic. These functions are no longer obscured by the notion of social inferiority and superiority. The change would appear almost incredible were it not for the fact that at least one of its causes is perfectly patent.

Among the leaders of the burgher class are the so-called *regierungsräte* (men at the top of the civil service list). In the working class the highly skilled industrial workingman holds a similar position. Now, in Germany, as elsewhere, social status is not uninfluenced by economic status. The average salary of the *regierungsräte* before the war was 6500 marks and the average annual wage (for a ten-hour day) of the skilled industrial worker was 1800 marks. But in September, 1921, the *regierungsräte* received an average salary of only 28,500 marks, whereas the skilled industrial worker received an average annual wage (for a day of only eight hours) equivalent to 20,000 marks. In the one case income had increased four and one-third times, in the other eleven times. This relative change in the economic standing of *regierungsräte* and skilled workers holds good all along the line. Clergymen, teachers, professional men, the upper grades of civil officials, and especially the large number of middle class *rentiers*, are today either on or below the economic level of the working class. Men would not be human if, in the face of these conditions, they retained the old sense of inferiority or superiority. The comparatively well-fed and well-clothed workingman simply cannot feel very humble toward the burgher striving desperately to keep up social appearances with an ill-fed body and poorly patched clothes. But—and here lies the explanation of the fiasco of proletarian communism—"labor" is class conscious now in so far as class represents an economic function. In demanding that its function be recognized as equipollent to the function of the middle class, it does not presume to interfere with, or to arrogate to itself, the function of the latter, and therefore does not seek to enter its social sphere. I was asked by a French friend, in whom distrust of Germany was deeply rooted (and not without cause), why the Germans retained in office all the old officials, especially reactionary university professors, instead of doing as the French did in their revolutions, *viz.*, throw out the representatives of the old régime. Perhaps the answer I gave my friend can be inferred by my present readers. A government in control of the burgher and working classes

would be a political paradox unless each class recognized, and remained within, the limits of its special function. In the new Germany the working class has done so voluntarily, and, to my way of thinking, this fact is one of the most hopeful signs of a purposeful step forward on the path of democratic progress. Think what we will of the class system (any class system), we can not logically apply New World ideas to Old World conditions uncompromisingly. There is not a country in Europe in which it would be wise to disestablish off-hand a century-old system. There are many countries that might do worse than follow Germany's example, recognize an historical postulate, and, by endeavoring to substitute class function for class status, build up a worthier social order than is theirs today. I foresee a larger measure of true social freedom in Germany's new social ideal than in the impulsive and sentimental pursuit of a vague idea which too many people call democracy. There still remains the spectre of "class heredity." If it can be laid by providing ample opportunity for individual transitions from class to class in accordance with individual endowments, Germans may yet discover for Europe a working solution of the old problem of social discord.

If space permitted it would be interesting to trace the effect of the new class ideal on the schools of Germany. While systems and methods have as yet undergone few important changes, a noticeable change has come over the attitude of teachers and pupils, particularly in the public schools, pre-eminently the schools of the working class. I had a feeling as though the windows had been thrown wide open at last and as though teachers and pupils were inhaling mentally the oxygen of hope. The new concept of labor has opened up an entirely new educational outlook. The education of the children of the working class is no longer a preparation for unavoidable drudgery or for a task in life set by a superior class and supervised by it. Their education is becoming a preparation for the fullest enjoyment of a fine privilege and for the ablest discharge of a noble responsibility. Germany's most patent need is an increasing efficiency in production. Inevitably a new dignity attaches to labor in the eyes of the workingman, which exalts the training of the productive aptitudes. Inevitably also this involves a broader and a more sympathetic training of the mental faculties than was customary in the public schools of past years. In these days of pedagogical formulæ an American risks his reputation if he speaks of the spirit of education, yet I agree with one of my German friends, a clergyman who frankly lamented the moral failure of Church and University, when he said: "There, in our public schools and in the new generation of future workers, lies the hope of my country." Nevertheless, like all European peoples, Germans face the economic problem of avoiding the segregation of the working people, especially of industrial workers, in domiciliary groups or localities. This segregation tends to keep alive the old notion of class heredity, and class heredity is a dangerous notion in a democracy.

It is difficult to speak with equal definiteness of the great middle class, or, as it calls itself today, the burgher class. It is far more complex than the working class. Social antagonisms are so pronounced that they play over into politics. On the whole, these social schisms reflect themselves in the complexion of the Reichstag. Caste, industrial and mercantile occupation, sectarianism, and sectionalism determine very largely the make-up of the various burgher parties. Whereas the working class is represented, in the main, by only two parties, the Majority Social Democrats and the Independent Social Democrats (two parties that oppose each other merely on the economic issue of the socialization of natural resources and the socialization of industrial production as well), the burgher class is represented by six socially antagonistic parties. It may be of interest to enumerate the various parties according to their



social affiliations, giving the number of representatives and the total vote (June, 1920):

	Representatives.	Total vote.
Burgher class:		
German National People's Party (caste idea)	66	3,740,107
German People's Party (industrial)	62	3,610,198
Centrists (Catholic sectarian)	69	3,541,791
German Democratic Party (mercantile)	45	2,202,202
Bavarian People's Party (sectional)	20	1,172,608
German-Hanoverian (sectional)	4	319,117
Working class:		
Majority Social Democrats	113	5,616,164
Independent Social Democrats	81	4,896,095
Communists	2	441,793
Peasant class:		
Bavarian Peasants' League	4	218,458

In 1920, the threat of communism closed up the burgher ranks, but not to the point where the burgher class is as sure of its functional privilege and responsibility as is the working class. Proud it is of its ancient calling as the bearer of German culture and the administrator of German institutions, yet it is not quite prepared to surrender its old prerogative of determining and controlling the function of the working class, and to abdicate its former social superiority. Here, I believe, lies the great danger for German democracy, and we who were determined to democratize Germany conveniently overlook it. Things have not been going well. Hypnotized, it would almost seem, by the continual repetition of the legend of German efficiency, as though German efficiency were a natural force, we conclude that Germany's present inefficiency is a mere sham, craftily staged to trick the Allies into further concessions. Aside from the childishness of this assumption, the actual evidence points to a cause that ought to be patent to Americans. All that you and I need to do in order to comprehend this cause is to recall the inefficiencies in our own affairs, namely, Federal, State, and municipal administration, railway management, not to mention the Shipping Board, industrial and mercantile affairs, etc. But Germany is "up against" not only the same problems as we, but also the overwhelming problems of the peace terms. Now, if you go to Germany and mingle with all the various social groups of the burgher class, you will discover exactly what I discovered, namely, the most intense disgust with the prevailing

inefficiency, especially among those Germans whom you will very likely class as reactionaries. What's the moral? Simply this: If you wish to convince the Germans that the autocratic principle is, after all, the efficient principle, then by all means continue to assist in discrediting democratic activity.

I do not wish to leave the impression that the spirit of democracy is not stirring in the burgher class. I wish merely to point out that it has to contend with far greater difficulties in this class than in the working class. I might point to the position of German women, especially women of the burgher class, in a way that would convince every American woman of her German sister's new dignity. I might speak of the widespread interest in books of serious import (political, economic, social, scientific, religious, philosophical) in a way that would arouse the envy of our publishers of serious literature. But I must content myself with mentioning, very briefly, a group of young and middle-aged men who seemed to me to appreciate fully the specific function of the burgher class. Coming from all parts of Germany, representing all callings, nearly every political party, every faction of burgherdom, many creeds, they are banded together to discover through absolutely frank interchange of views, through sincere and so far as possible unprejudiced investigation, and through the ever widening ramification of their connections, that line of common action and that method of procedure along and through which Germany's burgher class can best fulfill its mission. Some day I may describe at greater length just how the *Politisches Kolleg* functions. For the present, all I can say is that it would be very difficult for any American to move in that circle without finding there the corollary of that hope which my clergyman friend found in the public schools of the working class.

I have touched only on the high lights of the social outlook in Germany. There is a moral aspect which interests us deeply, but which I reserve for a succeeding article. This aspect is the German people's attitude toward the war. It is highly important. I reserve the discussion of it, since it binds together, in a way, all that I have written heretofore and may help us to ponder seriously a remark made casually in this article apropos of a possible "stampede" of the German people.

The Country of Books

THIS workaday world is so trying at times,  
Folks chatter and squabble like rooks!  
So the wise flee away to the best of all climes,  
Which you enter through History, Memoirs or Rhymes,  
That most wonderful Country of Books.

And griefs are forgotten. You go on a tour  
More wondrous than any of "Cook's";  
It costs you but little—your welcome is sure—  
Your spirits revive in the atmosphere pure  
Of the wonderful Country of Books.

Your friends rally round you. You shake by the hand  
Philosophers, soldiers, and spooks!  
Adventurers, heroes, and all the bright band  
Of poets and sages are yours to command  
In that wonderful Country of Books.

New heights are explored; and new banners unfurled;  
New joys found in all sorts of nooks—  
From the work-weary brain misgivings are hurled—  
You come back refreshed to this workaday world  
From that wonderful Country of Books.

From "John O'London's Weekly"







# EDITORIAL



## A League to Keep the Peace

IF the doings of the nations at Washington have disappointed advent pacifists who look for world peace descending out of the wind, and depressed Bolshevik pacifists who "root" for the kingdom of heaven in language not found in the King James version, they have infuriated the moral-outlaw pacifists who purloin the sign of the cross to double-cross. By God's grace, however, these sorts and conditions of men are not the only folk concerned. There yet dwell among us some, able to pass intelligence tests and not devoid of courage or truth, who know more about the hellishness of war than pacifists can tell them. Their hearts have been cheered.

Soon or late there will be a League to Keep the Peace. It will not be a super-state, but it will be more than a paper federation. It will be a functioning concert of Powers, but not an Alliance Limited. It will not rattle the sword nor dictate, but it will be respected, and on occasion obeyed. It will make the world, if not finally and altogether safe for civilization, at least safer than it is now.

A league to enforce peace was theoretically possible, notwithstanding the fact that it could never have been the sort of league that was projected (after much division of counsel) by the American organization bearing the name. An enforcing league would have been a homogeneous group, made up of Powers sharing a common civilization and substantially equal in intellectual attainments; vitally interested in peace, and strong enough, if it had also nerve and impudence enough, to command it. It would necessarily have been Rooseveltian in character and behavior, vital with good intentions, and wielding a big stick; asserting divine right to rule, and ruling by it; and never, under any circumstances, forgetting the Rooseveltian maxim that nothing is more dangerous than to hit a man a half-hearted blow. Three nations, and three only, were qualified for membership in such a league; namely, the United States, Great Britain, and France. There has never been an hour since the twentieth century began (with great bell-ringing) when these three nations, acting in concert, could not have kept the peace of the world. If the United States and Great Britain had been prepared for instant trampling on the war brand in 1914 there would have been no war.

A league of all nations to foster peace was theoretically possible. It would have rounded up and gathered in everything in political trousers, petticoats and pantalettes. Its functions would have been conference, acquaintance, adjustment, education; the clarification and energizing of sane public opinion. It would have set up a parliament, not to enact, but to recommend and promote; and a court, not to decree, but to judge and find. It could not have enforced anything, but it could have engendered and nurtured international folkways of reason and restraint.

The league that was theoretically a contradiction in terms, and, therefore, in strict logic, unthinkable, and that practically would have been forever impossible, was a league of all nations to enforce peace. We hesitate to describe this invention in accurate and adequate scientific terms because it was hailed and advocated by men of high attainments. Presumably they did not analyze the conception. It was an outstanding case of what Herbert Spencer scored as our failure to translate words (or rhetoric) into ideas. Reduced to its lowest dynamic terms, a league of all nations to enforce peace is an attempt of mankind collectively to lift itself over a fence by its boot straps. Reduced to its lowest psychological terms it is an assumption that nations which cannot keep their claws from each other's throats would purr in concert if they lined themselves up in a pattern on a stage, and no cat sneaked out to chase anything!

Unhappily (or will history say that it was providential?) it was this amazing invention that hypnotized Mr. Wilson, a man of courage and imagination, for which the world honors and will long honor him; but a bad engineer, and in this instance one of the worst psychologists who ever attempted to manage men or to shape public policy. There is an existing League of Nations for which he, more than any other one man, deserves and will surely have credit. It already has a record of achievement, and it will do large things as the years go by; but it is not the league that Mr. Wilson planned, and it never will be. It is conspicuously not a league of *all* nations, and its enforcing power is limited. There may one day be a league of all nations of the earth to foster peace; all right-thinking men must hope so; but that, again, will not be the league that Mr. Wilson planned.

The League to Keep the Peace that soon or late will exist and function may develop out of the Washington Conference, or it may not. History is a story of trial and error, and possibly further attempts must be made before success is attained. Be that as it may, the tentative experimenting at Washington has for the first time been theoretically sound, dynamically and psychologically. The concert of Powers which it has initiated, and which in all probability will be tried out, is at least an engineering and a moral possibility.

## Making Much of Borah

ONE of the curiosities of the immediate situation concerning the future of the international conference plan is the reception that has been accorded to Senator Borah's hostility by the most conspicuous and most ardent supporters of President Wilson in the New York press. The *Times* and the *World* alike find in Mr. Borah's announced position a complete *reductio ad absurdum* of the views of those who had objected to the League Covenant as formulated at Versailles, and who yet look with a friendly eye upon the possibility of accomplishing the cardinal objects of that



Covenant by means less formal and less clearly outlined. Now in the opposition to the acceptance of the Covenant there was every conceivable shade of difference of attitude, ranging all the way from that of the mild reservationists, who were ready to accept it almost as it stood, to that of Senator Borah himself, who was flatly opposed to our having anything whatever to do with the affairs of Europe. Yet when the Idaho Senator sums up the case against the Harding conference idea in the statement that "if we are going into Europe we ought to go in"—in other words, that all connections with Europe look alike to him—the *Times* and the *World* accept this shirt-sleeve rejection of all distinctions as the acme of sound thinking.

How ridiculous this is, especially as coming from staunch supporters of Mr. Wilson, should be manifest enough from one simple consideration. The view is so diametrically opposed to that of Mr. Wilson himself that it cannot be entertained without making his stand infinitely more inexcusable than his most unsparing critic would pronounce it. Mr. Wilson was as far as possible from thinking that all ways of "going into Europe" were substantially alike; his whole fight was made upon the basis of its being absolutely vital to the objects of the League that the Covenant should be accepted with practically no modification whatsoever. If it be true that in committing ourselves, in informal yet effective fashion, to the idea of recurring international conferences for the promotion of the world's peace, we are, to all practical intents, binding ourselves to participation in European affairs just as we should have done in accepting the Covenant—if this be true, then how preposterous it was for President Wilson to postpone that consummation throughout two of the most critical years of the world's history, when an infinitely smaller deviation from his project would have put it within his reach!

It might, indeed, be pleaded by the *Times* and the *World* that what they really have in mind is not that the two things are the same, but that the loose association now contemplated would involve all the entanglements of the Covenant without its benefits—that we should be as much mixed up with Europe as the Covenant would have had us, and yet not attain the ends which the Covenant would have assured. But that is not what they say, and whether it is true or not is a question of judgment. If Mr. Borah had come out enthusiastically for the conference idea, the *reductio ad absurdum* might indeed have justly applied to him, since the conference idea is as obnoxious as the Covenant to his objection against all entanglement with Old World problems. It would also doubtless be easy to quote from Senator Lodge's variegated utterances some statements bearing a close resemblance to Senator Borah's position. But all that is aside from the point. The conference plan rests on so wholly different a basis from the Covenant that it is perfectly logical for a man to be heartily in favor of the former while heartily opposed to the latter. And this is true for two reasons. In entering upon periodical conferences with the nations of the world we should indeed assume a most serious moral obligation—the obligation, namely, to take up with seriousness, and in good faith, whatever problems those conferences naturally presented for consideration. We should be implicitly pledged to do our best to help in the solution of those problems. It

would be disgraceful for us to play the part of an indifferent or a selfish looker-on. But just what we should do would remain a matter that would be determined by the intelligence and the conscience of the nation, or of its representatives, in the light of the situation that existed at the time. It is perfectly open to anyone to say that all this would be a poor reliance; but it is also open to anyone to say that in his judgment it is a much better reliance, for actual practical helpfulness, than can be furnished by any mechanically formulated compact. The one assertion that cannot be made without absurdity is that the two things are identical, and that he who rejects the one is logically precluded from accepting the other.

## The Progress of the Conference

WHILE there is a sound basis for optimism in the accomplishments of the Washington Conference to date, it must be admitted that there is also considerable reason for anxiety over its eventual success. Masterly generalship has been displayed in the handling of its problems thus far, and the programmes announced have received widespread popular support. But in this very appeal for popular support, which is the heart of the new "open diplomacy," lies a grave danger. The public is fickle and continually demands new sensations. Already the keenness of its interest in the Conference is beginning to show signs of flagging, a situation which is being taken advantage of by malevolent agencies like the Hearst press to discredit and negative the efforts of the delegates. If Conference news begins to lose its place on the front page it will be difficult to maintain the high moral standard which has hitherto characterized the proceedings; such are the limitations of the new diplomacy. The Conference must "strike while the iron is hot" and complete its labors with despatch.

Public discussion of the past week has centered about the contention of Japan that the naval limitation programme of 5-5-3 should be changed to 10-10-7. With Japan this appears to be less a matter of strategic considerations than of satisfying Japanese popular opinion aroused by the proposal to scrap the *Mutsu*. We have reason to believe, however, that the matter has already been adjusted in private conference. The point at issue is not of great practical importance and Japan stands to lose more in sympathy and confidence by insistence on it than she could possibly gain in material power.

The programme of naval armament limitation proposed by Secretary Hughes having been set up as a definite goal, the Conference is now turning its attention to the elucidation and settlement of the questions upon which the attainment of that goal depends. Foremost of these questions is the problem of China and this will doubtless hold the centre of the stage for some time. Altogether the outlook for a satisfactory agreement is decidedly hopeful. The Chinese very properly opened the discussion by the statement of ten general principles, the acceptance of which, in their opinion, would solve the problem. This was followed by a statement in the press purporting to give the Japanese programme for China and other Far Eastern matters which bears the earmarks of official inspiration. As if to clear the atmosphere and establish a solid basis of principles to govern the set-



tlement of each specific question as it arises, the Conference adopted the Root programme of four points for the protection of China. These points are:

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.
2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.
3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.
4. To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly states and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

Next came a proposal by Mr. Koo on behalf of the Chinese delegation for tariff autonomy. This, of course, goes straight to the heart of the Chinese problem and looks as if it were put forward purposely to make a test of the four principles. The right to levy her own customs duties as she sees fit would certainly seem to be implied in the assurance of sovereignty and administrative integrity to China.

Other Chinese proposals on vital points followed: abolition of foreign postoffices, withdrawal of foreign troops, gradual relinquishment of leases, and the giving up of extraterritorial rights. The first of these presents little difficulty, as the Chinese Government has already made great progress toward developing a satisfactory postal service. As to the withdrawal of the foreign troops—the total number outside of Manchuria is not large—this is simply a practical question of the ability of the Chinese authorities to preserve order with their own forces and protect the foreign settlements. The matter of territorial leases is now being earnestly discussed in the Conference and its solution in agreement with the accepted principle of the sovereignty of China is a matter of adjustment between the interested Powers. The question of extraterritoriality is complicated and troublesome. The infringement of China's theoretical sovereignty is patent, but it is a question of fact and not of theory. Desirable as the abolition of extraterritoriality may be to remove a source of vexation and an offense to dignity, it is impracticable until China not only provides adequate and competent courts to assume the jurisdiction now exercised by the consular courts, but reforms her laws and procedure to conform with modern concepts of justice. The impossibility of the immediate abolition of extraterritoriality is shown by the desperate state of a hundred thousand Russians in North China now deprived of all legal protection and subjected to barbarous injustice. The matter has been left to a commission to investigate and report.

It is scarcely to be expected that the present Conference can arrive at a detailed settlement of the complex situation presented by China. To undertake to do so would necessitate a session protracted over many months, and delay is dangerous. The adoption of the four principles with reference to China, principles by which will be tested all future specific settlements, must be regarded as marking substantial progress. If equally broad and sweeping principles can be adopted with reference to Siberia, no obstacle should remain to the acceptance of the Hughes naval programme with such minor modifications as may be agreed upon, and the Conference can adjourn with the assurance that it has safeguarded the specific settlements that remain

to be arrived at by subsequent negotiations or by a later session of the Conference.

The question of a programme for the problem of Siberia is attracting more and more attention, and it has been brought into sharp relief by certain of the thirteen points in the semi-official Japanese feeler above referred to which are calculated to cause some uneasiness. Especially is this the case with the following:

The open door and equality for other nations in both Manchuria and Siberia.

Neither annexation nor protectorate control of Siberia, but the recognition of *the principle of peaceful penetration of Japanese* into that region for purposes of trade and commerce, to obtain raw materials, and sell Japanese manufactured products.

Withdrawal of Japanese forces from Siberia *as soon as there is organized in the Russian Far East and Siberia a government qualified and able to stabilize conditions*, and in particular to afford protection to Japanese settlers, fishermen, and other subjects of Japan resident there.

The classing together of Manchuria and Siberia in this way has a sinister aspect. By "open door" is not implied a door freely opened by Siberia in accordance with her own interests, but a situation forced upon Siberia from without. The purport of this is made clear in the succeeding paragraph where acceptance is asked of "the principle of peaceful penetration" by the Japanese. What this "peaceful penetration" has signified thus far has been a process of colonization and seizure of economic resources by force. It has not resulted in any economic revival and there is little likelihood of economic improvement or the development of resources through the "peaceful penetration" now practised by Japan.

Still more questionable is the point concerning the withdrawal of Japanese forces from Siberia. The prerequisite is stated to be the establishment of stable government. But this is a vicious circle of argument, for it is precisely the presence of the Japanese forces, nullifying Russian laws, depriving Russian citizens of protection, and interfering in internal politics, that prevents the establishment of stable government. There is no valid excuse for the Japanese troops to remain in Siberia or for them to exact economic privileges and concessions as the price of their withdrawal. An attempt to secure from the Conference the acceptance of the principles thus put forward semi-officially is not likely to be viewed favorably or help the case of Japan.

## Lend Me Your Ears

IT is a great moment in the life of a nation when the hearts of the whole people beat in unison. Such a moment was the solemn noon-time of Armistice Day. But here was an added element, a personal touch, before unknown. Thanks to a marvelous development of the telephone, a development worked out by Col. J. J. Carty, not only the vast audience at the Arlington National Cemetery, but scores of thousands in New York and far-away San Francisco heard each word and note as clearly as if they had been nearby spectators of the scene. To each President Harding spoke in person and each felt the sincerity and fervor of his noble appeal. What a limitless vista is opened for a democracy like ours when space and time are thus annihilated and all our citizens can be brought into as intimate contact with Government at Washington as if they sat together in a New England town meeting of the olden time. This latter-day miracle has possibilities undreamed of for unifying



and concentrating public opinion, but in connection with this there must not be overlooked the new opportunities it may open up to the demagogue of the silver tongue and brazen heart.

## Two Vanderlip Proposals

IN his speech at the Economic Club in New York upon his return to this country after a five months' stay in Europe, Mr. Vanderlip devoted himself to the exposition not of his plan for an international bank but of an idea of wholly different character. He proposed that whatever payments may be made to the United States on account of the debt (principal or interest) owed to it by the Governments of the Allied nations shall be devoted to the upbuilding of the industrial life of the prostrated countries of Europe. This would not be a remission of the debt, but a conversion of it into productive form, the amounts advanced for those productive purposes being secured by the various forms of industrial plant that would be developed through the use of the capital. Attractive as is this idea, it seems doomed to futility by many circumstances, and first of all by the difficulty of "catching your hare"—of getting the very funds which are to be used for the purpose. What the Allied nations will probably for some years most desire of us in regard to their debts is that we shall not press them for either principal or interest.

Far otherwise is it with the project of an international bank. Here is a scheme which requires nothing of any Government except its assent to a private enterprise which would be of immeasurable benefit to the country in which it was allowed to exist; an enterprise which, once provided not with any subsidy but simply with security for its operations, would depend for its success solely upon its capacity to meet the demands of legitimate business; an enterprise which would derive its capital from voluntary investment based on the expectation of profits and not from any patronage or support by the American or any other Government; an enterprise which would fulfil the primary need of the prostrate nations of Central and Eastern Europe, the need of a currency representing a definite tangible value, and yet would not demand that the Governments should cease to print and circulate their own paper moneys if they choose; an enterprise, in a word, which would impose nothing on anybody, but would give industry and trade a chance to get back to solid ground by availing itself of the opportunity of doing business through the medium of real money.

We believe that energetic preaching of this desideratum, and of the simplicity of the means by which it can be attained, would result in its attainment. We hope that some of the biggest men in the financial world, both in this country and in Europe, will take up the idea with the earnestness which its importance warrants. The billion dollars of capital that Mr. Vanderlip's plan calls for is by no means the most essential thing about it. The most essential thing is the *idea*—the idea that a simple means should be provided, and should be made universally familiar, for enabling business to be transacted with facility in solid money instead of absurd bits of paper that masquerade as money. If such provision were made, even on a much

less ambitious scale than that of Mr. Vanderlip's proposed bank, the *idea* would take hold, and by virtue of its inherent merit would rapidly spread throughout the various departments of business. Is there not enough imagination among the big financial men of the world to see how great are the possibilities of this idea, and to develop some means—whether on Mr. Vanderlip's lines or otherwise—of realizing it, and thus rescuing the world from one of the greatest, and yet one of the most remedial, of the evils under which it suffers?

## The Latest in High Finance


THE term "high finance" came into general use as an epithet of opprobrium in this country when the great investigation conducted by Mr. Hughes brought out unsuspected depths of misconduct in the affairs of great insurance corporations. The reforms instituted as a consequence of that investigation worked a great and, we believe, a lasting change in that field. But alas the name of this sort of thing is legion; and every now and then there turns up a fresh scandal in one direction or another, of quite comparable character and sometimes even worse.

In the whole story of "high finance" few worse things are on record than those connected with traction in New York City. One most conspicuous instance was the wrecking of a splendid surface-road property by a group of men high up in the financial world, among whom was at least one whose talents, whose distinguished record in public office, and whose social standing might well have been thought an adequate guarantee against such dereliction. And now there has been opened up a new chapter in New York's traction story which bids fair to furnish a great new scandal.


The manipulation of dividends which appears to have been carried on by the men in control of the Interborough Company—which operates the principal subway and elevated roads of New York—has the earmarks of very wrongful stock-jobbing practice. The investigation had hardly begun when facts were brought out which had a most suspicious look; and thus far nothing has been presented to give any justification, or even explanation, of these doings. Responsible representatives of the company admit the facts, and apparently the men at the head are content to let the public think what it will of them. Perhaps, sooner or later, they will make some attempt to account for the declaration of big dividends that had not been in any proper sense earned, and for the carrying on their books of great assets in the shape of securities which were little better than waste paper. But for the present there seems to be no escape from the conclusion that these courses were deliberately adopted for the purpose of benefiting insiders at the expense of innocent outsiders.

Nobody ought to be more anxious to have a matter like this probed to the bottom than those who are profoundly concerned for the maintenance of the existing order of society. Hushing it up will not prevent its being used for all it is worth by advocates of socialism or revolution. The only way to prevent or minimize such use is by relentless exposure, and by such action, designed to make similar malpractice impossible in the future, as the facts may indicate. We trust there will be no let-up in the inquiry until such a result shall have been attained.





# The Story of the Week



## The Week at Home

AMERICA seems to stand still, eye and heart fixed on the Washington Conference. Washington is no longer merely the national capital; it is the capital of the world. And lo! on the Acropolis they are building a Parthenon, fairer than that Athenian one. Or do eye and heart deceive us? Is it rather, as some sinister ones suggest, a Babel tower? The sounds that came to us on that sudden flaw of wind suggest the latter. No, no! Parthenon it must be.

\* \* \*

The Senate committee which is investigating our administration of Haiti and San Domingo left for Port au Prince on November 24.

\* \* \*

President Harding has by proclamation designated the week December 4 to 10 as American Education Week. We are urged to prayerfully perpend the lamentable state of public education and to take thought how to remedy it. "More than 5,000,000 boys and girls in America," says the proclamation, "are not availing themselves of our free school advantages and are lacking in that youthful schooling which is so essential to the making of an intelligent citizenship." Is isn't, however, altogether the fault of the boys and girls, or even of their parents; witness New York, for example.

\* \* \*

The chairman of the House Committee on Education says that less than 1.01 per cent. of the Federal appropriations goes for educational purposes. Citing the fact that more than one-third of those drafted in the late war were found unfit for full military duty, he justly points the need of physical education and training. Quite so; but to what extent education is properly a Federal concernment is a question on which there is a sharp division.

\* \* \*

Secretary Hughes tore himself away from his press of duties the other day and played a round of golf with the President in a driving pour of rain. 'Tis a hearty Administration. Let us thank God for that.

\* \* \*

It is reported that President Harding will ask Congress to repeal that unfortunate clause in the Shipping Act which requires the President to denounce a number of commercial treaties. Though President Wilson signed the bill, he did not comply with the clause referred to. It is to be hoped that this Congress will repeal that clause; one highly discreditable to the Congress which passed it.

\* \* \*

A report just issued by the Department of Commerce gives a melancholy picture of our foreign trade. Our exports to Europe in October, 1921, were of a total value of \$196,000,000, our imports of a total value of \$67,000,000; the corresponding figures for October, 1920, are \$423,000,000 and \$88,000,000.

\* \* \*

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and its subsidiary, the Standard Franco-American Oil Company, have obtained the exclusive right to bore for oil in Czechoslovakia, against the competition of the Royal Dutch. The Standard has also secured a concession in North Persia. All over the world this new competition proceeds hotly. Oh!

Oil, Oil! destined (as only religion, perhaps, of causes in the past) to set the world by the ears.

Marshal Foch is touring the West and is having a grand time. At Bismarck he was entertained by Red Tomahawk and other Indian chiefs; that same Red Tomahawk who slew Sitting Bull. The Marshal has now an Indian name of which the English translation is "Charging Thunder." Not inappropriate that the Marshal should visit New France, whose exploration by the French was well-nigh the most daring and romantic of human episodes.

\* \* \*

The report by General Wood and Mr. W. Cameron Forbes (one-time Governor General of the Philippines) of their recent tour of the Philippines, with "general conclusions" and recommendations based on close observation, has been received at Washington. It is a report by two men of hard common-sense as well as generous intellects and hearts—too rare a combination. It is admirably lucid and convincing. The chief recommendation is that "the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands."

## The Conference

### A Phase of Embarrassment

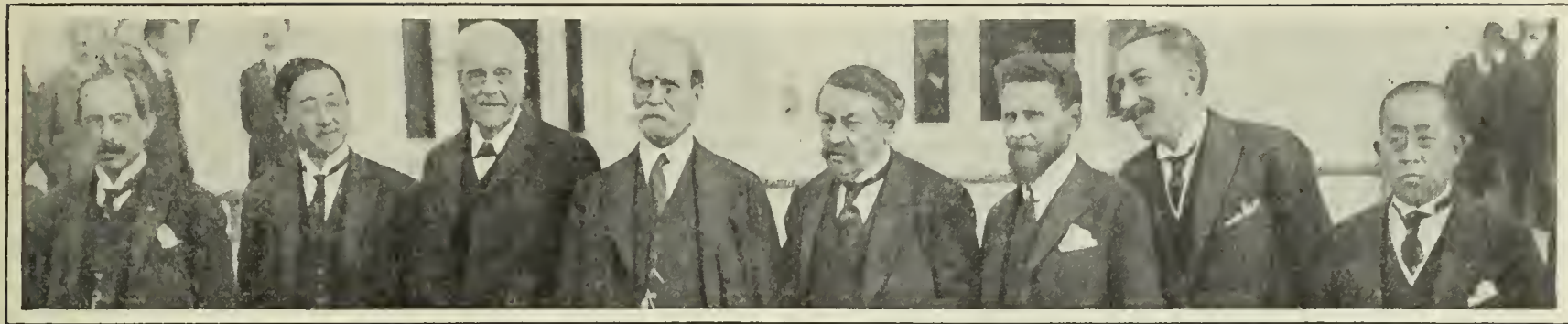
THE Conference is in a phase of uncertainty and embarrassment. The Japanese delegation, under instructions from Tokyo, is holding out for a capital ship tonnage total 70 per cent. that allowed Britain and the United States by the Hughes proposal. It is understood that the American delegation will not yield a jot on this essential issue, and that they have British support. Conference hopes would certainly be jeopardized by a flat final refusal of the Japanese to accept the 60 per cent. ratio. We have no official information concerning the work of the sub-committees considering submarines, the laws of war, and the "new agencies" (poison gas, etc.). It is unofficially reported that the sub-committee on submarines has disallowed the British plea for reduction of the total submarine allowances. We are not so much interested in that plea as in the other British plea for limitation of size (hence, also, of cruising radius) of submarines; which plea we heartily indorse.

We understand that the very important question of the naval strengths to be allowed France and Italy has not yet been taken up in conference. France wishes a capital ship allowance equal to that of Japan; not because she has any intention to build up to such an allowance (she is now far below it), but because she wishes a strength in auxiliary craft corresponding to such a capital ship tonnage total. Italy will demand a naval equality with France.

The Committee on Far Eastern and Pacific Affairs has made a certain progress in its consideration of Chinese problems. The Chinese demand for complete tariff autonomy (to be realized by stages, but a date to be set when all restrictions shall lapse) was referred to a sub-committee headed by Senator Underwood. It is a difficult problem complicated by many considerations;—that of the *likin*, for example.

The Chinese demand for abolition of extraterritorial rights in China resulted in a decision by the Committee to refer that matter to a Commission of Jurists (one member





Keystone

*Heads of delegation at the Conference. Left to right: Dr. Karnebeck, Holland; Dr. Sze, China; Balfour, Great Britain; Hughes, U. S. A.; Briand, France; Schanzer, Italy; Baron de Cartier, Belgium; Prince Tokugawa, Japan.*

to be appointed by each Government represented on the Committee), which should visit China, investigate, and, within fifteen months from the adjournment of the Conference, render a report.

The Chinese demand for withdrawal of foreign post-offices now established in China was conceded in full.

The Chinese demand for withdrawal from Chinese territory of foreign troops, railway guards, police boxes and electrical wire and wireless communication installments, is now in debate. This is an important and perplexed matter, one of the great embarrassments of the Conference. The Japanese attitude is obstructive to a decision in harmony with Mr. Root's "principles."

A still greater embarrassment has been postponed but not certainly avoided, through acceptance by the Japanese and Chinese of the suggestion of a dual negotiation of the Shantung controversy under the auspices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour. The outcome of this negotiation is dubious.

We must postpone to another time consideration of President Harding's very interesting proposals (not yet precisely formulated and only informally presented) looking to annual conferences and ultimately to that "association of nations" suggested in the President's inaugural address.

If the Powers are really resolved to emancipate China, that can only be effected gradually and through a series of conferences, as indeed Mr. Sze indicated in his tenth "principle." The annual conferences proposed by the President would insure unintermitted prosecution of that Celestial emprise.

#### A Long Step Farther

We cannot too emphatically state that, far more beneficent, could it be accomplished, than reduction of the number of capital ships and their marine auxiliaries (even including submarines), would be suppression of the use (which means prevention of the manufacture) of aerial bombs and torpedoes, and of poison and other noxious gases. It is these agencies that make aircraft truly formidable; unless they are suppressed, aircraft will ere long relegate armies and navies to secondary rôles. We would go much farther; forbidding the use on aircraft of agencies more lethal than machine guns of small calibre. Our prime object in the above would be to rid the terrible menace of aircraft to civilian populations; a secondary object would be to render warfare between combatants less blackguardly than it now is, much less blackguardly than it threatens to become. We would go still farther: outlawing the use of high explosives in warfare altogether, except in submarine mines used for defensive purposes only, and in torpedoes for submarines (submarines so limited in size as to be strictly coastal). We are told (usually with a supercilious air of superior commonsense and knowledge) that the thing can't be done. We think it can.

It would require, in the first place, international commissions of inspection on a large scale; with untrammelled privilege of inquisition. Irsome, you say. Not especially

so, we answer, to nations innocent of evasion or deception. Expensive, then. Yes, for considerable numbers of highly-paid experts would be required; but, after all, the expense would be negligible, compared with the expenses it is proposed to forestall. But feasible; really now, feasible? We think so, but at first blush we're not so certain about that.

We presuppose (and, we think, with abundant justification) a general desire of mankind to make war less hideous. We presuppose a revision and recodification of the laws of war, to which all nations must subscribe on pain of outlawry; provisions in the new code forbidding use of poison gas, aerial bombs, etc., condemning them in set terms as indecent, wantonly cruel, abhorrent to decent humanity. We presuppose an association of nations, the prime condition of membership in which shall be subscription to the code just mentioned and a solemn engagement to facilitate the work of international inspectors appointed to ferret out illicit activities. In such facilitation should be included close inspection by each nation's own agents, an up-to-date register of activities, and severe penal laws against private manufacture of the outlawed materials and instruments. We certainly should not put a curb on scientific investigations, but we presuppose a universal agreement among scientific men to publish at once any discoveries which could be used to enhance the destructiveness or the horror of war. It should be made a penal offense in individuals or societies to fail to make such publication, and sufficient ground for outlawing a nation that its Government should connive at such concealment.

Is it feasible? is asked again. And this time we reply without hesitation that it is. The universal acclaim of Secretary Hughes's proposal for limitation of naval armaments was due to the disgust and terror of mankind in face of the new developments in the science of warfare. It is true, to be sure, that Mr. Hughes's proposal should not in itself go far to alleviate such terror. Without measures to render aircraft innocuous except against each other, all these marine craft might as well be scrapped anyway, for in a short time aircraft would make them obsolete. But the world saw in Mr. Hughes's proposal the sure promise of other moves toward limiting warfare within bounds of decency. Is the world to be disappointed? We think not.

Sub-committees of the Conference are now considering submarines, revision of the laws of war, and the "new agencies." Little mention is made in the press of the work of these sub-committees, but in our view it should be quite the most important work of the Conference. If the reports of these sub-committees show lack of appreciation of the importance of their subjects or lack of courage in their recommendations, or if they stupidly assert impracticability of any effort to suppress or straitly control the new agencies of war, we shall join our voice to the voices of Galsworthy and others and shall not cease to cry out until the world shall thunderously demand reduction of warfare within decent limits, and that chemistry be not degraded from the service of intelligent Hermes to that of brutal, stupid Mars.



It can be done, it must be done, it will be done. We are not a pacifist, nor a vague idealist. Man being what he is, we do not expect an end to war for a considerable time to come; but neither do we think man such an incorrigible ass that, seeing how he is headed toward self-slaughter, and seeing how he may avoid it, he will not take the necessary measures to avoid it. Lepanto, Trafalgar, and Waterloo are one thing; a premature Armageddon is quite another.

## The British Empire

### The Irish Situation

IN an address to the Ulster Parliament at its opening on November 29, Sir James Craig made formal announcement of Ulster's rejection of the British Government's proposal of an All-Ireland Parliament. On December 1, Lloyd George submitted an alternative proposal to the Sinn Fein conferees in London. The latter immediately forwarded a copy to Dublin. If the Sinn Fein are willing to discuss this new proposal, it will be submitted at once to Ulster. It seems much more likely that the new proposal (if the outline of it given by the press is correct) will commend itself to Ulster than that it will commend itself to the Sinn Fein. It offers a dominion status to South Ireland and would allow Ulster to join the South or not, as she might prefer. To "save the face" of the Sinn Fein it would substitute for the usual oath of allegiance some euphemistic or circumlocutory form. It calls for a boundary commission to rectify the frontiers between Ulster and the South. It seems to us that the new proposal is damned at sight for the Sinn Fein, and that the provision for a boundary commission (even though under "rectification" there be contemplated an absolutely equal exchange) is likely to damn it for Ulster.

It seems probable that, should the negotiations be broken off, there will be an agreement to continue the truce in the hope of a renewal of negotiations; but there is a general opinion (in which we sorrowfully concur) that, upon discontinuance of the negotiations, the truce would "quickly decay." Before condemning Ulster for obstinately refusing to yield a single point, one should reflect that the Sinn Fein delegates have refused to admit (they may be bluffing, but that is beside the point) that under any circumstances they would acknowledge allegiance to the British Crown. We should like to know, also, the precise terms of the first pro-

posal to Ulster, the constitution of the proposed All-Ireland Parliament, the fiscal and religious guarantees, etc. We suspect there is little to choose 'twixt one and t'other, Ulster and the Sinn Fein, on the head of obstinacy.

## Germany

THE great Hugo Stinnes has been in London; London was all agog, but is yet to seek as to what he did there. He may or may not have been in conversation with members of Government (a German report says he spent the week-end with Lloyd George at Chequers Court); but without question Dr. Rathenau, who followed him and is still in London, has been in close parley with Government representatives. Rathenau's business, however, important as it is, has to wait upon the Irish crisis; one appointment after another with Cabinet ministers has been postponed on that account. That business is reparations finance.

The Reparations Commission are adamant on the January and February reparation installments; these must be paid on the nail. The German industrial and financial magnates have consented to lend their credit toward finding the money for these installments, but are hoping to jockey the situation to their purposes. One rumor, not too fantastic to be entertained, alleges that Stinnes offers his great industrial properties in Sweden and Austria to the British bankers as security for a long-term loan to be used for the January and February payments, provided a reparations moratorium become effective after the February payment, and provided the British will collaborate with him in a magnificent scheme for the rehabilitation of Russia. Rumor mentions other schemes in which he would have the British join; as a German railway combine, etc., etc. Such a loan and such collaboration by British bankers would of course imply the approval of the British Government. Now, it is obvious that, should the Germans loyally fulfill their engagements in such a connection, the British would stand to realize Golconda from the collaboration suggested. But what would be the effect on reparations? Would not such collaboration identify British with German interest in the matter of reparations, in effect make Britain an ally of Germany? And this scheme for the rehabilitation of Russia; does it not imply confirming the power of that blood-smeared crew in Moscow? So such collaboration might mean treachery to France; treachery to Russia; treachery, in fact, to civilization—rather a new line of action for Britons, proverbial in the world for loyalty. It may be to inquire too curiously to inquire so, but such hideous possibilities do suggest themselves.

No, we certainly do not expect the British to yield to temptation of that sort; though that fellow Stinnes does haunt our dreams, being to us (rightly or wrongly) the embodiment of all that is sinister in modern finance. But if the British spurn Stinnes bringing Greek gifts, we may be sure they are lending a cordial ear to Dr. Rathenau; whom we take to be a man of honor and a disinterested patriot. What does Rathenau propose? He proposes agreements between Germany and Britain, Belgium and Italy, similar to the Wiesbaden agreement between Germany and France; *i. e.*, substitution, so far as may be practicable and advantageous all around, of payments in materials, manufactured articles, and labor, for payments in gold marks. So much we know. It is rumored that Rathenau proposes a two or maybe a three years' moratorium in respect of such gold marks as would still be due after the payments under the Wiesbaden plan; and that he proposes a foreign loan upon industrial and other securities.

What chance has Rathenau of getting what he wants? An excellent chance, we think. The Wiesbaden plan is quite the soundest plan yet evolved in connection with reparations. Britain has not yet approved the Wiesbaden agreement between France and Germany (her approval is neces-



Thomas

Every now and then, they try again



sary to its operation), but she is pretty certain to approve the Wiesbaden idea applied impartially in favor of France, Britain, Italy, and Belgium.

But the moratorium? Can France's consent to that be obtained? It is to be noted that France's latest budget omits mention of German gold marks; that is significant enough. Evidently France is not counting on gold marks for the present. Then why not make a virtue of necessity and grant the moratorium with a gesture of good will? Such concession would probably insure fulfillment under the Wiesbaden arrangement and might be more than compensated by consequent increase of trade ("might be," observe; we are moving very cautiously).

The foreign loan? We think that could easily be negotiated provided trustworthy guarantees of financial and administrative reforms are forthcoming. An ideal loan would be one equally subscribed in France, Great Britain, and the United States, with security unconnected with the Stinnes or similar interests. Such a loan would be interpreted as motivated by a desire to back the Wirth Government, and should give that Government much-needed prestige and confidence.

Many Frenchmen urge that the German Government could meet the situation by bringing up the German capitalists with a round turn and compelling repatriation of German capital now withdrawn from the country. Theoretically that is precisely correct; practically, it is beyond the present power of the wobbly German Government.

There is to be in December another financial conference, under the auspices of the Reparations Commission. There is reason to believe that this conference will overhaul the program of reparations finance and will adopt a program somewhat as follows: (a) a reparations moratorium (in respect of cash payments) for two or at most three years; (b) a demand for drastic financial and administrative reforms in Germany: progressive deflation; (c) the Wiesbaden plan to be applied to its limits of practicability and mutual advantage; (d) an international loan to Germany on the very best security available and on guarantee of financial and other reforms.

It should be made clear to Germany that the Allies see no reason for reducing the total of the reparations bill, in view especially of the easement afforded by the Wiesbaden plan; that, noting German natural resources to be little impaired and German capacity of production greater than ever, the Allies ascribe the present financial plight of Germany mostly to Government mismanagement and to obstruction and sabotage by selfish interests; that the present Government will have the sympathetic backing of the Allies on condition that it proceed bravely to set the German house in order.

A complicated question—this of reparations finance. The outlook seems black enough; but we rather expect it to clear remarkably within a short time.

## A Number of Things

ACCORDING to the London *Times*, the great Powers are considering intervention in Portugal, and a mandate has ever been suggested. A later report denies the above. The denial is probably correct. The Portuguese seem to be temperamentally unfit for "good government," as we understand the expression. But why deprive the Portuguese "upper classes" of their chief amusement, which is changing governments? This pastime does little harm except to foreign investments, which may be withdrawn. The peasants, who constitute the bulk of the Portuguese population, are probably the happiest and most amiable people in the world, and what we understand by "good government" would probably quench their joy of life.



International

Prince Hirohito, recently declared Regent of Japan

This pedantic talk about "good government" wearies us sometimes.

\* \* \*

At last, after many postponements, the conference planned for the purpose of devising a scheme for economic coöperation of the states formed or augmented from the shattered Austro-Hungarian Empire, was convened at Porto Rose, Italy. It finished its labors on November 25. Presumably the eighteen recommendations voted by the conference will, if adopted, level the silly economic barriers which these states have erected against one another. We should like to know whether Hungary participated; the other "Succession States" did.

\* \* \*

There is a new Transcaucasian Republic of Nakhitchewan, a Soviet republic affiliated with Moscow and formed out of the old Caucasus Republic of Armenia. We have been trying to ascertain the boundaries of the Sovietized republics of Transcaucasia, but in vain. Apparently a good deal of the territories of Georgia and Caucasus Armenia has been transferred to Nationalist Turkey. Caucasus Armenia (now the Soviet Republic of Erivan) must have very narrow limits.

\* \* \*

By imperial rescript Crown Prince Hirohito has been designated Regent of Japan. The Emperor has long been incapacitated for rule. The young prince is handsome (of a striking resemblance to his illustrious grandfather) and is said to be intelligent, amiable and of liberal and pacific views. He recently returned from a visit to Europe (the first time Japanese royalty ever left the kingdom), which should prove of immense educational value.

HENRY W. BUNN



## New Books and Old

### Books of the Week

A PARODY OUTLINE OF HISTORY, by Donald Ogden Stewart. Doran.

Admirable burlesques, showing how certain American writers would have described the events of our history.

AN ENGLISH ANTHOLOGY OF PROSE AND POETRY, compiled and arranged by Sir Henry Newbolt. Dutton.

The main stream of English literature through six centuries.

THE SENSE OF HUMOR, by Max Eastman. Scribner.

A study of why we laugh.

VARIATIONS, by James Huneker. Scribner.

Essays upon the three arts.

HARLEQUIN AND COLUMBINE, by Booth Tarkington. Doubleday.

First publication in book form of a story written a number of years ago.

TWO cats recently disturbed the midnight calm of Don Marquis, when he was trying to compose something for his column in *The Sun*. One of them, he said, was not an earthly cat at all, but had come from the nether pit at midnight, and had to go back at 2 a. m., and knew it, and determined to make all the trouble he could while he was on earth. This cat engaged in a duet with a common, back-fence cat, imparting to the latter the secrets of his prison-house. Sang the earth-cat: "Is there no hope, pussy?" And the hell-cat replied: "None, none; all is woe, woe, woe!"

Now, I think that these were not cats at all. They were modern American novelists of the passionately youthful, pessimistic school. Theirs was what the blurb writers call "the cry of American youth"; this was "looking facts in the face"; this was seeing life clear and seeing it whole; et cetera, et cetera. And it is this little fact that makes so many of the new novels almost as engaging as a night with a body-snatcher. You look about for a novel as a Christmas gift, something about American life, you think will do. Ah, here is the book—a family in which father is a swindler, mother a shrew, brother an embezzler, and sister a lying snob. Or a novel about marriage—and you read of six married pairs, twelve people, whose characters vary from merely detestable down to loathsome. Oh, the War, you think, and a tale of mingled devotion and sacrifice, suffering and honorable deeds. Here we have the very thing, sir; all about the A. E. F., the private soldiers were all cowards, the lieutenants were cannibals, and the field officers addicted to lycanthropy in its more exaggerated forms. So you learn where Senator Watson got his notion of hanging men as an amusement before breakfast in the American army.

American and English fiction is suffering from an attack of measles as in the days of "The Castle of Otranto," the school of haunted dungeons, of clanking chains, of hollow moans, and gouts of blood. So, for a Christmas gift, you turn away from fiction entirely, and choose some cheerful book of reminiscences—James L. Ford's "Forty-Odd Years in the Literary Shop," or "Here, There, and Everywhere," by Lord Frederic Hamilton. Or you try the essayists, who do not yet feel it a duty to wear a thick coating of graveyard mould. There is "Sinbad and His Friends" by Strunsky, or Brooks's "Hints to Pilgrims," or Max Beerbohm's "And Even Now," or Benchley's "Of All Things!" or Christopher Morley's anthology of "Modern Essays." There are merry books of poems, Guiterman's "Ballad Maker's Pack" and Don Marquis's "Noah an' Jonah." Or, for the more elaborate gift books: the edition, illustrated in color, of Beerbohm's "Happy Hypocrite," Masfield's "Reynard the Fox," also pictured in color, Matz's "The Inns and Taverns of Pickwick," Ralph Paine's *Lost Ships and Lonely Seas*, the Arthur Rackham edition of Milton's "Comus," Howard Pyle's "Book of Pirates," Lord Willoughby de Broke's "The Sport of Our Ancestors," or A. Edward Newton's second volume of a book-collector's papers, called "A Magnificent Farce."

"The Sunny Side" (Methuen), by A. A. Milne, is still an English publication, but it will surely be published here soon. It has many of his best sketches in prose and verse, including his contributions to *Punch* during the War. No second-lieutenant who ever read it can have forgotten "One Star." These stanzas, about an English summer, must be quoted:

#### A SONG FOR THE SUMMER

*Is it raining?* Never mind—

Think how much the birdies love it!  
See them in their dozens drawn,  
Dancing to the croquet lawn—  
Could our little friends have dined  
If there'd been no worms above it?

*Is it murky?* What of that.

If the Owls are fairly perky?  
Just imagine you were one—  
Wouldn't you *detest* the sun?  
I'm pretending I'm a Bat.  
And I know I *like* it murky.

*Is it chilly?* After all.

We must not forget the Poodle.  
If the days were really hot.  
Could he wear *one* woolly spot?  
Could he even keep his shawl?  
No, he'd shave the whole caboodle.

Mr. Stewart, in "A Parody Outline of History" (Doran), parodies the style of a few writers—James Branch Cabell is so well hit off, for instance, that the chapter about Columbus reads like pages from "Jurgens." Ring Lardner is also closely imitated. But the Whiskey Rebellion in the manner of Thornton Burgess, and the love passage in the life of General Grant as Harold Bell Wright would do it—these are burlesques rather than parodies. Not less but more amusing are they for that

reason. (I don't believe Mr. Stewart ever read a book by Harold Bell Wright in his life. He burlesques the notion of Mr. Wright which is held by the average sophisticated reader.) Altogether a capital book, and hundreds of households are going to chuckle over it for months to come.

It is when Hendrik Van Loon's "The Story of Mankind" (Boni & Liveright) is most informal and simple that it is at its best. I am told that children take readily to the bold and poster-like effect of the pictures—especially the colored ones. Some of the smaller sketches are a bit hasty: the burning of John Huss looks like a rather ragged bunch of endive. But there is no doubt that Mr. Van Loon is sincere and effective when he is describing the state of mind in the Middle Ages, or in his fine passage about Napoleon. I think he is much more honest than H. G. Wells on a subject like Napoleon—not that he approves of conquerors and bloodshed a bit more. But after condemning him, he admits, in a singularly taking passage, the fascination he exerted and still exerts over men. The book is worth almost all the praise that it will receive.

From Logan Pearsall Smith's "More Trivia" (Harcourt, Brace) let us look at a little fable (recalling Stevenson's "Four Reformers") which Mr. Smith calls

#### IONS

"Self-determination." one of them insisted.

"Arbitration!" cried another.

"Co-operation?" suggested the mildest of the party.

"Confiscation!" answered an uncompromising female.

I, too, became slightly intoxicated by the sound of these vocables. And were they not the cure for all our ills?

"Inoculation!" I chimed in. "Transubstantiation, Alliteration, Inundation, Flagellation, and Afforestation!"

There is more research into strange sources, more curious information, more odd and amusing pictures and heathen lore in William Radcliffe's "Fishing from the Earliest Times" (Dutton) than in any book I have seen on the subject. It is a volume of nearly five hundred pages; you reach page 349 to find that you have only arrived at Assyria! Here, by the way, is an amusing foot-note to rebuke those scholars and writers about folk-lore who are hipped on a certain topic: "Furlong's obsession detects in every representation, Indian or Irish, Assyrian or Australian, some emblem of fecundity. . . . We are reminded of the quatrain:

Diodorus Siculus  
Made himself ridiculous  
By insisting that thimbles  
Were all phallic symbols!"

You may read in Mr. Radcliffe's work that the charge against Plutarch of "contemning" fish is false; you may read of "infatuation for fish"; of "wild theories as to the propagation of eels"; of the nine fish most highly prized; and of fishing with the hair of the dead.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Deflating H. G. Wells

MY DEAR WELLS. Being a Series of Letters Addressed by Henry Arthur Jones to Mr. H. G. Wells Upon Bolshevism, Collectivism, Internationalism, and the Distribution of Wealth. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

THE exposure of charlatanism is no new task for literature. It has rarely been accomplished with greater gusto, dexterity, and fairness than Henry Arthur Jones brings to the demolition of "My Dear Wells." A well-stuffed prophet has seldom been more delicately, thoroughly, and mercilessly punctured and shaken. Mr. Jones has not let a shred of sawdust escape him. The Wellsian skin flaps entirely empty in the wind.

There is exhilaration in following the process of deflation. Although Mr. Wells declined to be drawn into direct controversy (very wisely), Mr. Jones's art supplies the figment of a debate. He speaks both for and against Mr. Wells, and plays both parts fairly. The comedian naturally delights in the shifts of the charlatan. Mr. Wells's adventures in innuendo, evasion, and self-contradiction are followed with an always joyous severity. Without sacrificing seriousness, for the issues of this fight are grimly vital, the author keeps in the vein of comedy. He loves his victim for being so inexhaustibly preposterous. Mr. Wells is quite capable of saying within a page that Bolshevism is so feeble an experiment that no generous person would oppose it; and, again, so formidable a menace to Europe that mere prudence requires that Lenin be propitiated. Within six months he describes Lenin as despicable (and wishes him killed) and as the first intelligence in Europe.

What is interesting to the reviewer is less the twists and turns of Mr. Wells's eager but irresponsible mentality than the fact that such a mind has attained international influence and authority. No unprejudiced reader of Mr. Jones's book will ever again attach any importance to Mr. Wells's political thinking, but unprejudiced readers are few, and Mr. Wells will doubtless continue to practice not without following and applause the gay science of charlatany. To "think for half of Europe" it is apparently only necessary to be mercurial, to attack present conditions picturesquely, and to assert that you have a remedy. To be great in England it is enough to insist that the English are muddled, the implication being that you yourself are not. Being little attached to ideas, the English rather like to be told they are muddled, while they look at the person who vigorously insists he has ideas with the distant awe with which they regard some great killer of exotic game. Thus Mr. Wells, with the advantage of a remarkable literary gift, has become great as a social thinker. Such an analysis of his ideas as Mr. Jones has made shows

first that they are surprisingly few, next that they are mostly negative, and finally that they are largely confused and inconsistent. Thereby Mr. Jones also achieves just renown as hunter of big game, but not exotic—for the charlatan is ever with us.

For so brilliant an analysis of the weakness of collectivist thinking, and for so stalwart a defence of our civilization, which with all its faults looks too good for the scrap-heap, Mr. Jones deserves the widest reading and lasting gratitude.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

## High Comedy and High Romance

THE TORRENT: (*Entre Naranjos*). By Vicente Blasco Ibañez. Translated from the Spanish by Isaac Goldberg and Arthur Livingston. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

THE GREAT WAY: *A Story of the Joyful, the Sorrowful, the Glorious*. By Horace Fish. New York: Mitchell Kennerley.

THE publisher, though not inappreciative of the merit of "The Torrent," says nothing of its chronology. In scope and substance it more than resembles "Woman Triumphant" than any other of the novels of Blasco Ibañez thus far put before the English reader. We might even take it to be a further study of woman triumphant, even of the victory of the marriage bond, if the character of the lover and husband did not reveal it as still more clearly a study of man decadent. There is a clear parallel between the two (speaking crudely) adventuress figures. But the woman of "The Torrent" is not of the crude serene type. She is the really dominant figure in the story. She has a heart as well as a temperament. She lives recklessly, because affection has betrayed her and love has been torn from her by fate. The desire for the reality of love so drives her that she is ready to give all for even its shadow—or to fling herself away in mockery of its mockery. She becomes one of the great singers of the world and one of its great courtesans in the least sordid and most magnificent meaning of the word. Her sin is not mere brutishness; and twice, at least, she touches the hem of the garment of true love. Or it may be more within the mood of the story to say that she twice approaches the noble surrender of a grand passion. Death wantonly robs her of the first object of her devotion, a Russian aristocrat. Thereafter she wreaks herself upon her art, and mockingly adorns herself with the tinsel of amorous intrigue.

At last, weary of plaudits and heart-sick of the meaningless travesty of passion, she returns for rest to the little Spanish village of her birth. There fame and ill-fame follow her, and she finds herself more scorned for her wantonness than admired for her genius. But there she finds or is found by the simple youth to whom, mysteriously, what is simplest and best in herself goes out. He is quickly in love with

her, but it is only after much mockery of herself and him that she succumbs. He happens to be poltroon as well as fool. He is the feeble and polite son of hardy and unscrupulous fathers, unworthy of the superb woman, the magnificent artist, who now stoops to him. He shrinks from her and goes his pusillanimous way, hopelessly damned and done for by his own insignificance, though cosseted by his world as a distinguished citizen and prominent statesman and so on. The brilliant Leonora, revisiting his small scene after many years, laughs at his sentimental fumbings after the past. "You are a corpse in my eyes, Raphael," she remarks lightly; and they are her last words to him: "His future was to grow a fatter and fatter paunch under the frock coat of a 'personage.'" It is clear that in the feckless and pretentious Raphael, Ibañez is satirizing not only an individual but a racial type and tendency.

"The Great Way" is a novel of remarkable virtuosity. It has been, we are told, eight years in the making. The author is a native New Yorker, still in his middle thirties. The New York *Sun* was his university, a sojourn in Spain supplied his postgraduate courses. He came back to America with material which he has been successful in rendering to the public in popular terms; being, as Mr. Kennerley remarks somewhat quaintly, "blest, as Irving was not, with a knowledge of the technique of the American short story." What a pity the author of "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and "Tales of the Alhambra" was born too soon to learn how to write from "O. Henry"! However, "The Great Way" is not a short story, and the American magazine has not laid its hand too heavily upon its style. It has often a fresh and rich allusiveness which helps us be patient with an accompanying exuberance not always far short of the highflown and fantastic.

Here, as in the Ibañez story, the heroine or main figure is a beautiful Spanish singer. She also has very early lost her innocence, being poor and pretty, and unprotected either by parents or by an instinctive sense of right and wrong. At our first sight of her she is resting her voice and her tambourine in Cadiz, as mistress to a good enough young coal-heaver. He cannot provide many comforts, and she can, by an already familiar way which she keeps hidden from him through policy rather than shame. Then comes the high light into her life, her beacon on "the Great Way," in the person of a chance young Englishman who displaces the coal-heaver for a few days, and then disappears (reluctantly) in the direction of an advantageous marriage. The girl Dulce has conceived for him a grand passion which is also a true love. By her sudden loss of him her wanton youth is slain; from henceforth she lives only to be worthy of the lover to whom, against all probabilities, she hopes some time to be reunited. For his sake she is chaste, for his sake she sets forth upon her toilsome path to



glory as a public singer. And at the very height of glory she finds that her hopes are a mockery and that only self-destruction or renunciation lies before her. She chooses the first, but fate and her lover intervene.

The story is highly romantic, and, from a Latin point of view, sentimental. One has a suspicion that this may be a nice American girl (not of the newest generation) concealed in the raiment and flesh of a Spanish singer. Dulce and her American José part in the end because he happens to be the husband of one who has been a very dear friend to her!

H. W. BOYNTON

## Notes

"THE rise of Islam is perhaps the most amazing event in human history," says Lothrop Stoddard in his new book "The New World of Islam" (Scribner), in which he rather apprehensively calls our attention to events occurring in Mohammedan lands. He aptly describes Mohammedanism, showing how it started about 650 A. D. from a comparatively insignificant nucleus, reaching its climax in 1000 A. D., when it covered the greater part of the then known world, after which it rapidly declined until today it is at a crucial point in its history.

As with all great religious movements, the crucial test comes when they have expanded to the point where their leaders differently interpret their fundamental laws. To the West, except to students, Islam has always presented a picture of the homogeneous mind entirely in harmony as to religion and religious leadership. Stoddard's book brings the realization that Islam is a house not only divided against itself on religious issues, but that its leaders have also attempted to combine with these many of the issues causing turmoil and unrest in the Western World today, such as Nationalism, Socialism and Bolshevism. The effect of attempting to foist these theories on a people which has not gone through the industrial revolution of the Western World is difficult to foretell. It is certain that the best policy is for the West to guide the East by the education of its leaders to avoid the mistakes and pitfalls which have caused so much trouble in the development of our industrial and economic history.

Lothrop Stoddard's fear that the World of Islam may again combine in a movement of the East against the West is open to doubt. The success of any such movement, as this last war has shown, will be largely dependent on their relative industrial development. Progressing as at present, the West will probably continue to maintain its leadership, unless, of course, its people are afflicted with some devastating movement such as Bolshevism in Russia today.

The book is an excellent analysis of the situation in the Near and Middle East. It both arouses and satisfies interest in those regions.

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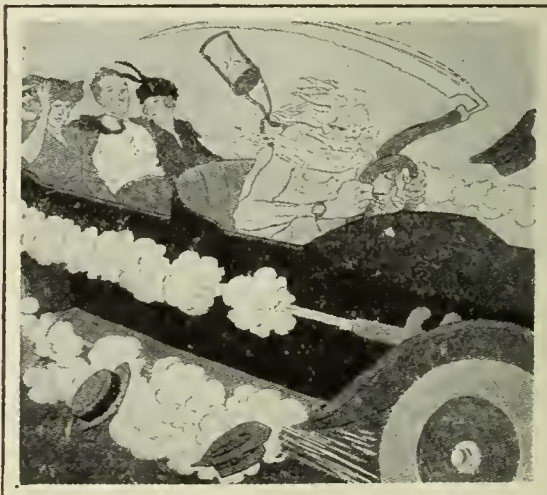
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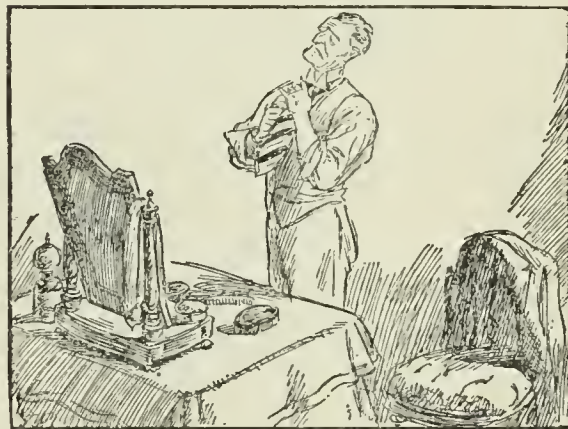
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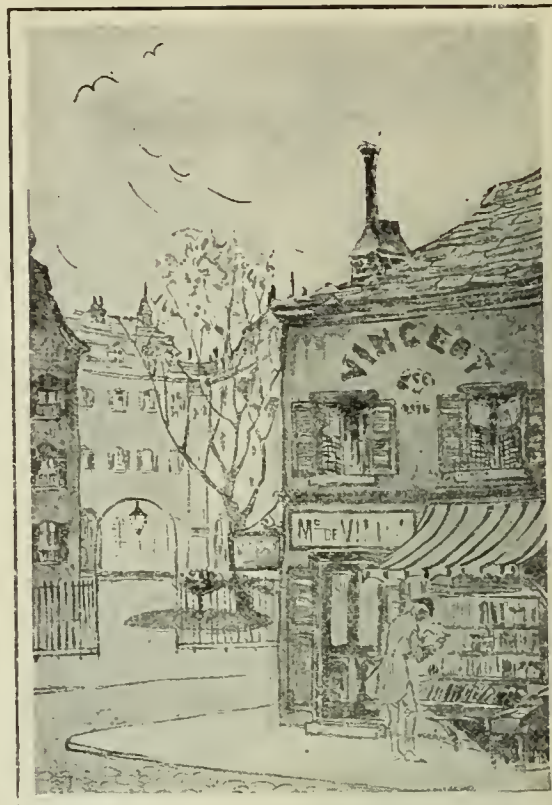
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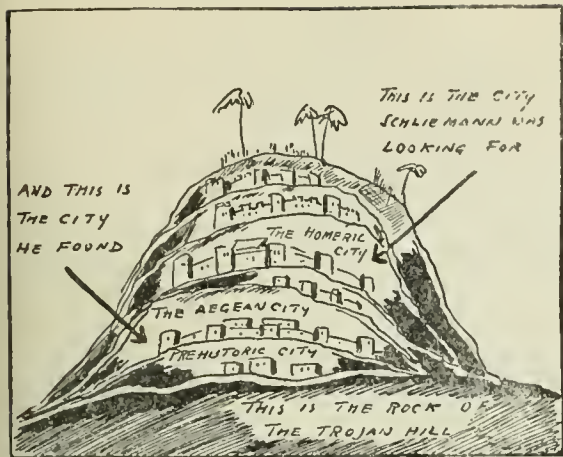
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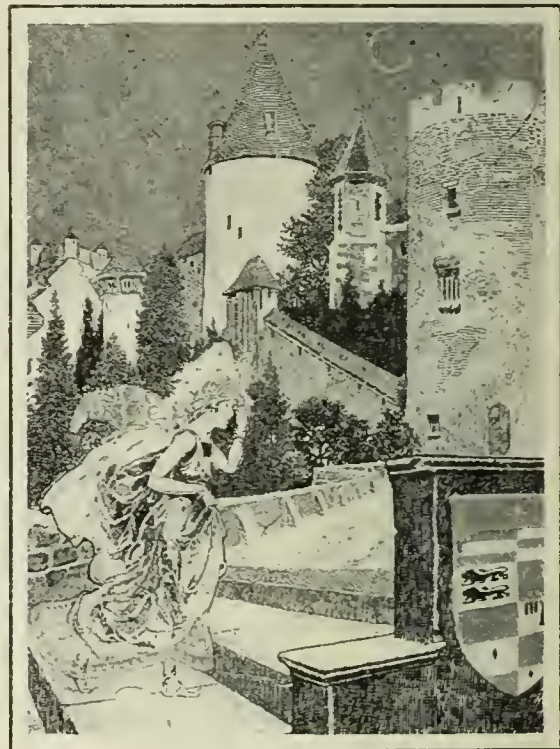
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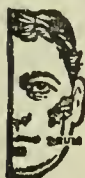
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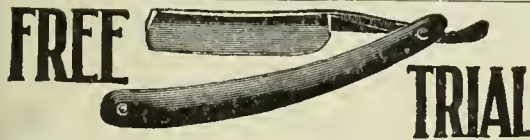
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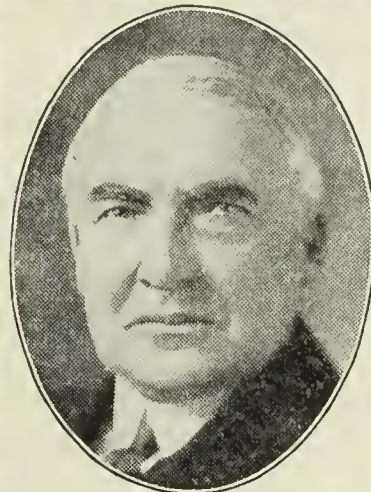
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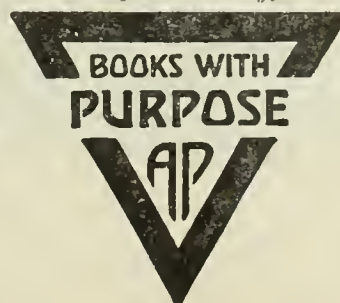
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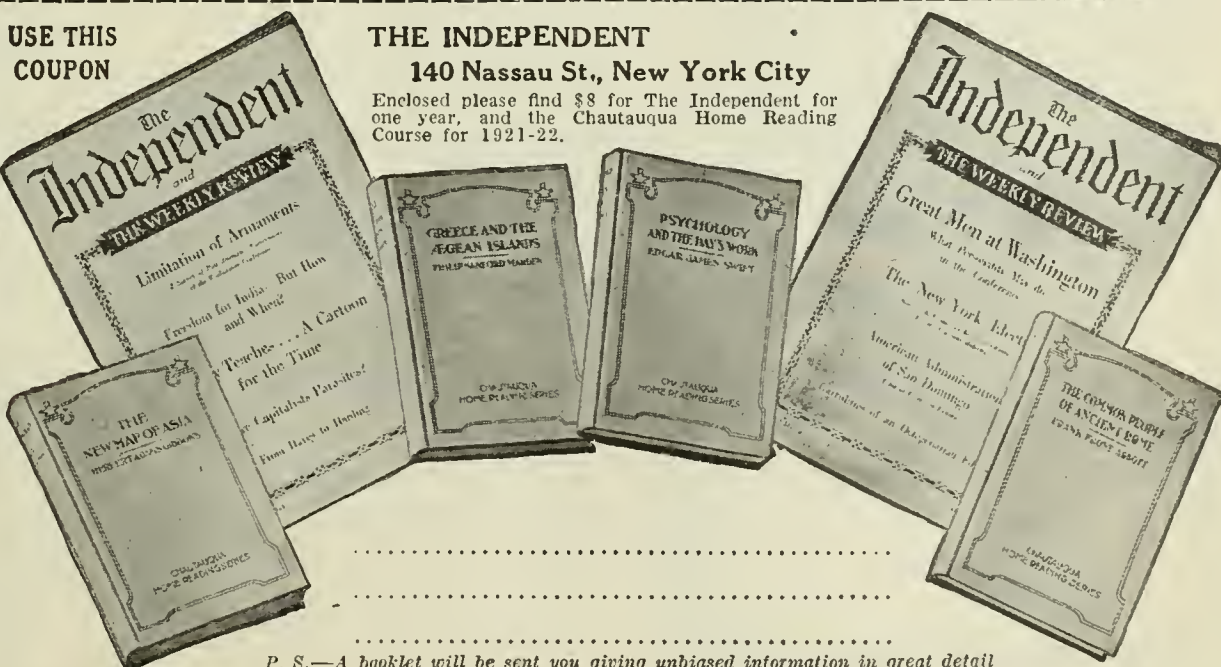
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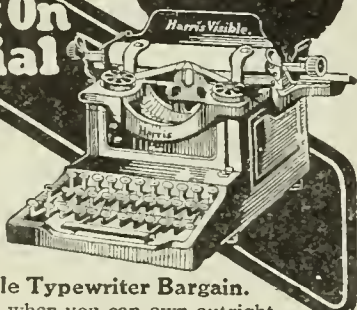
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Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York**I. Present and Future of American Literature.**

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2. What do the ten articles say concerning good tendencies in present American literature?
3. Write, for every article, a single well-formed sentence that will express the writer's thought.
4. Make a list of present-day American writers who are named in the various articles. Tell something concerning any three of these writers.
5. Why do many people think it inadvisable, as President Eliot does, to read many new books? Why should one read new books on urgent public problems?
6. Explain what President Eliot means by "the suppression of conjunctions," "the inaccurate use of inflections," and the use of superlatives.
7. How does the use of slang and abbreviated words degrade the English language?
8. Explain what Mr. Mencken means by "the endless parroting of old ideas."
9. What does Professor Sherman criticize in present literature when he says it is in "the mood of denudation"?
10. Mr. Hergesheimer says that "the young, in literature, regard their elders with contempt." Are we justified in regarding the literature of our predecessors with contempt?
11. What is the "wave of cynicism" to which Miss Reppier refers?
12. Explain the following terms used by Mr. Canby: "Novels with a thesis"; "Old-fashioned romance"; "Zolaesque realism."
13. For what does Mr. Canby praise Mrs. Wharton, Miss Gale, and Miss Cather?
14. How can you apply to the writing of stories for your school paper the criticism implied in the expression used by Mr. Canby: "stereotyped methods of presenting stereotyped life"?
15. Miss Gerould refers to "A crude Pollyanna pink." What does she mean?
16. Name some books that you have read that showed that there is "Legitimate happiness to be got from life as it is."
17. Miss Gerould makes a very important literary criticism when she says "Life as it is is a bigger and more enduring thing than conservative wail, sentimental simper, or radical growl." Explain what she means by the three expressions.
18. What sort of literature is that which "eschews the ephemeral"?
19. Explain the last sentence of Mr. Cross's article.
20. Professor Phelps speaks of a person who told him that "The prevailing tone in modern America is vulgarity." What forces tend to counteract such a tone?
21. What good indications does Professor Phelps find in present literature?
22. Mr. Boynton speaks of the "Anglo-Saxon tradition" and "Continental influences." What are these?

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1. Explain all that the poem says concerning the value of reading.

**III. New Books and Old. Book Reviews. Holiday Books. High Comedy and High Romance.**

1. Explain the following expressions: "The really dominant figure in the story"; "The mood of the story"; "Satirizing an individual tendency"; "The technique of the short story"; "The story is highly romantic."
2. Make a list of twenty books, named in this issue, that you think would be good reading for the members of your class. Explain why you select every book.
3. "Comus" has been published "with exquisite pictures in color." What parts of "Comus" are most worthy of illustrations?

**IV. The Story of the Week.**

1. Define the following expressions that are used in telling the news of the week: An All-Ireland Parliament; An alternative proposal; Some euphemistic or circumlocutory form; Fiscal and religious guarantees; Moratorium; Repatriation; Reparations.
2. Make a list of the important questions that have been brought before the Washington Conference. Write a composition in which you show how any one of these questions deeply concerns your own future happiness.

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1. State the agreements that have already been reached by the Conference.
2. What questions are proving embarrassing and why?
3. What questions are being considered by subcommittees? On what grounds do you agree or disagree with the idea that in their hands lies "quite the most important work of the Conference"?
4. State just how much of "A Long Step Farther" you would like to see the Conference take.
5. What questions have yet to be reached for discussion?
6. What danger of "open diplomacy" is here stated?
7. Explain the elements in the Siberian situation which "are calculated to cause some uneasiness."
8. Reviewing the history of European colonization during the last century give all the illustrations you can of the working of "peaceful penetration."

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1. Explain the references to "super-state," "paper federation," "Concert of Powers," "an Alliance Limited."
2. Contrast the ideas in the expressions "League to keep peace," "League to enforce peace," and "League of all nations to foster peace."
3. What is the "record of achievement of the existing League of Nations"?

**III. The Week at Home—Oil and the Dependencies.**

1. What accounts for the world-wide search for oil?
2. Why is the Standard Oil Company turning its attention to foreign fields?
3. In what way have oil questions become a subject of our diplomacy?
4. Summarize the situation in the Philippines, Haiti, San Domingo, and Porto Rico.

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1. How do indefensible methods of finance react upon the solution of our transit difficulties?
2. Why do revelations such as these affect "the maintenance of the existing order of society"?
3. What incidents in the financing of our steam railroads are suggested by this editorial?

**V. The Social Outlook in Germany, Germany.**

1. Look up as fully as you can the social classes in Germany before the war and see what help that gives in understanding Mr. Coar's article.
2. What does he mean by: "The ideal appears to be social equipollence"; "the idea of class function is superseding that of class status"?
3. What, in his opinion, is the great danger for German democracy?
4. See if you can state clearly and concisely Mr. Coar's beliefs about the social changes in Germany.
5. How did the French Revolution change the position of social classes in France? What social changes did the Revolutionary period bring in Germany?
6. What measures of relief for Germany are approved by Mr. Bunn and why?
7. What was the Wiesbaden agreement?
8. What are the grounds for Germany's hope that she can get a large share of Russia's trade?
9. Explain the position of Hugo Stinnes in Germany.

**VI. The Irish Situation.**

1. Point out the different respects in which the Irish situation is disappointing.

**VII. Two Vanderlip Proposals.**

1. Compare Mr. Vanderlip's proposal on the use of the payments of our foreign debt with the action of the United States on the Boxer indemnity from China. What differences are there in the two situations?
2. Why is the proposal for an international bank considered a more practical and a more important matter?



# The Independent

*and*

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

*December 17, 1921*



## OURSELVES

### In the Hour of Opportunity

By Percy MacKaye

#### I (The Hour)

IT strikes—the tidal hour of time!  
The drowning Titans writhe and call  
Where toppling into surge and slime  
The riven towers of Europe fall.

Apocalyptic, thunderous,  
The winds of dawn and dark have whirled  
East unto west, evoking us  
Where Washington convoys the world.

Blown from the ruined eaves of kings,  
Old roosts of contumelious years,  
They come on tempest-battered wings—  
The breathless premiers and the peers;

They come, from famine-beggared marts—  
The banker-statesmen, void of state;  
They come, from shrines of broken hearts—  
The human ministers of fate.

Shorn of their rainbow-shimmering veils,  
Ancestral China and Japan  
Rumble our occidental rails  
Black-coated, cosmopolitan;

And where our feet toward Valley Forge  
Once trod the hoarfrost, numb and few,  
Now with a veteran St. George  
Europe and Asia pullman through.

It strikes in truth—our tidal hour  
Foretokened of our pilgrim youth;  
It strikes in providential power—  
In all-transmuting power—of truth.

#### II (The Pact)

IN earlier days of jest in wine  
They hailed our youth, with cynic ire,  
A David of the Dollar-sign  
Harping his silver-gutted lyre;

And half in mock-amusement, half  
In condescension bred of fear,  
They acquiesced our cosmic laugh  
To hog ourselves a hemisphere.

But yawping brag and giant sprawl  
Of joke—no more they fling at us:  
We loom at last imperial  
To serve them, not imperious

To thwart their missions, but to make  
Toward peace one common pilgrimage  
In glad concurring give and take  
Of neighbors, tired of threat and rage;

Wherein to compass by our act  
The purpose deeper than our lips  
We will absolve our righteous pact  
And scrap the ships—and scrap the ships,

Our ghost-begotten broods of war  
Ere yet their offspring breed and spew!—  
As once the Argonauts of yore  
Their fate-emboweled bullocks slew

To alien gods, so we to God  
Will raise on holocaustal pyre  
Our bellowing sea-beasts, for His rod  
To wreck the engines of our ire.



## III (The Pilgrim)

YET though our will their charnel delves,  
 Oblivion is not Avatar;  
 Our Eldorado is ourselves;  
 Our empire is but what we are.

What, then, of all the burgeoning seed  
 Sown in Ourselves, shall climb in flower  
 To grace the nation's awful need  
 Of grandeur in this tidal hour?

O, far from little Plymouth town  
 Far winds the road to Frisco Bay,  
 And up and down and up and down  
 A Pilgrim wanders on his way;

And over hill and over plain  
 Though he has trod three hundred year  
 He packs his tattered poke again  
 And whistles with a grinning leer.

For he has swapped his poke for gold,  
 And he has swapped his gold for blood,  
 And always he has swapped his old  
 For new, and bartered fire for flood;

And he has swapped his new for newer  
 Of next year's corn the mildew cropped,  
 Yet always he has kept for sure  
 One oldish thing he never swapped:

An oldish book he 's seldom read  
 Since he swapped Plymouth for Creation  
 Still keeps a-running in his head  
 From Genesis to Revelation.

## IV (The Faith)

IS he, then, he the Power to whom  
 The drowning Titans cry in prayer  
 To still the whirlwind of their doom  
 Above their waters of despair—

This huckster gypsy, bred of all  
 The mottled tribes that wandered free  
 From garden pales since Adam's fall?  
 Is *he* our planet's Destiny,

This hybrid pilgrim?—Even this  
 Is he! And 'neath his weathered cloak  
 He sorts his pack of mysteries  
 And conjures kingdoms from his poke.

For this is he who, in despite  
 Of shop-made serf and overseer,  
 Crook, cynic and cosmopolite,  
 Strides on—the Yankee Pioneer

Questing his dream—a new-world peace  
 Under a wind-clean shield of stars—  
 An eagle, lording the release  
 Of blood-striped bondage from old bars—

The faith of freemen—factionless,  
 Uniting all, in common trust,  
 To learn of Lincoln tenderness,  
 Become with Robert Lee august,

Rough-ride the stars with Roosevelt,  
 Aspire in Wilson's lonely prayer—  
 The faith of all who ever felt  
 Love of each other, everywhere.

## V (The Empire)

REALITY is but a wraith  
 Till vision gives it bodiment;  
 Self-revelation builds self-faith;  
 Great tasks are done by great intent.

Empire is ours—but not of tribes  
 Eating our culture at command;  
 Gospel is ours—but not for Scribes  
 And Pharisees to sell and brand.

Splendor is ours—the priceless dome  
 Of the Eternal City—ours:  
 The Eternal City is not Rome,  
 No, nor Manhattan's Babel towers;

But where Mt. Vernon shadows fall  
 Glimmers its silent Parthenon,  
 And on its cabined Capitol  
 A wood-thrush sings by the Sangamon.

From there no hasting white man packs  
 His burden over the seven seas  
 To lay on brown and yellow backs  
 In overpeopled, far countries;

But there our gypsy Pilgrim oft  
 From headlong empire turns aside  
 To dream in a little cabin loft  
 Till all his haste is clarified,

Till all his crumpled brow is smooth  
 And he once more goes whistling clear  
 Because the silence that can soothe  
 All hearts is singing in his ear.

## VI (The Pioneer)

SO in our modern Mystery—  
 The Peace of All Hearts—'neath the span  
 Of plot and miracle, 't is he,  
 Our Pilgrim, who plays Everyman,

Under his million-changing masks  
 Remaining still the Pioneer,  
 Who quickens all newfangled tasks  
 With sap of his Yankee yesteryear.

And they who unawares mistake  
 The masks he shuffles for the man,  
 Their darkled wits are not awake  
 To unriddle our American.

For though as Everyman his rôle  
 Expands through all the narrowing earth,  
 And though he would inscribe the whole  
 As measure for his spirit's girth,



He would not pawn the hallow'd light  
Of homeland for world-empire,  
Nor make his soul suburbanite  
To any city oversea.

Though dawn of Hellas, Plato's dream,  
Isaiah and the Prophets' lore,  
The songs of England, Dante's stream,  
Are his divinely evermore,

Yet homelier his to trail at dawn  
With Thoreau Concord's storied plain,  
Or raft the twilight marshes on  
The Mississippi with Mark Twain.

## VII (The Trail)

UNCOUTH, unconquered, unafraid  
To serve without servility,  
Under his roaring masquerade  
Of pomp and squalor, this is he

Who leads us by his hardy trail  
Home to ourselves, and there at last  
Unbares the glorifying grail  
That lights our morrow from the past—

That lights our morrow, blended now  
With mornings of a vernal sphere,  
Where down the trail-furrow with his plough  
He strides—the Yankee Pioneer:

There ever the world is new to his eyes  
That lift from valor-conquered loam  
Where rose Sierras ever rise  
Sublime beyond the fields of home;

There ever the world is a new world  
Of labor towards another day;  
Ever the Pilgrim's breath is whirled  
To the vast horizons far away;

And ever there, as he flicks the dew  
From an oldish tattered book and sings,  
His psalm goes up forever new—  
Goes up on whirring of April wings:

*How beautiful upon the mountains  
Are the lambs of the Lord in their cloudy  
fleece!*

*How beautiful upon the mountains  
Are the feet of Him who bringeth Peace!*

# What Will Ulster Do?

By Stephen Gwynn

FIVE years ago, in December, 1916, when Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, members of Parliament serving in France were recalled to Westminster for a few days to take stock of the situation. The Irish question bulked big to us Irish, but of course to nobody else. Yet the rebellion had occurred in the previous April, and had been followed by the abortive negotiations of July, on which Mr. Lloyd George, having been appointed to negotiate, was thrown over by the Cabinet, who refused to accept the conditions which he had made with both the Irish parties, and further insisted on accepting Ulster's construction of these terms on a vitally important point. Sinn Féin had not begun to win elections in Ireland, but there was no doubt of its spread.

Redmond had counted upon it that Mr. Lloyd George would resign unless his agreement were honored, and that Mr. Asquith would stand or fall with him. That had not happened; yet Redmond knew that Mr. Lloyd George believed—as to my knowledge he still believes—that the great opportunity for an Irish settlement had been lost. December, 1916, found that Redmond expected Mr. Lloyd George to use his new authority to impose an Irish settlement. "He can do what he likes. Nobody can stand against him. Carson would not be listened to for a moment." The event brought us nothing but disappointment. Mr. Lloyd George only renewed the offer previously made—which carried the acceptance of partition. Six counties were to remain under Government by and from Westminster as long as they pleased.

We are still up against the same problem—Ulster's claim to secede from Ireland—but it has assumed a new form. Ulster has accepted self-government for itself, and no longer insists on being governed from Westminster. That is important. But much more important is the fact that Mr. Lloyd George apparently means to do now what Redmond expected of him five years ago: namely, to stake all

his power and credit on securing an Irish settlement by threatening resignation. And, further, it would seem that he had accepted also Redmond's view that there can be no settlement in Ireland without recognition of Ireland's unity. That recognition must—it would seem—be immediate and embodied in real powers of a central Irish Government.

American readers should understand that the proposals submitted to Ulster today are not such as were put forward by Redmond. They create—if conjecture is grounded—a central authority like the Government of Canada, but they leave in existence the Governments of Northern and of Southern Ireland with local powers. Ulster, a mainly Protestant community in a mainly Catholic nation, will have the same kind of independence and the same securities as Catholic Quebec in Protestant Canada. If a settlement on these lines had been proposed by Nationalists in the Irish Convention of 1917-18, it would, I am certain, have found acceptance by Ulster. It was not proposed by Redmond because it would then have been denounced as "partition" by all who wanted to make an end of Redmond and his party—including Sinn Féin. Things have moved, since Mr. de Valera has within the past year declared his willingness to concede local autonomy to Ulster within an Irish state.

At present we do not know the precise attitude which will be assumed by Ulster. Sir James Craig and his cabinet have brusquely rejected the proposals which are put forward as a result of discussion between Dail Eireann's delegates and the British ministries. They have undertaken to submit counter-proposals. It is anticipated that these will take the form of suggesting that equal powers shall be given separately to Northern and Southern Ireland: in other words, that Ulster and the rest of Ireland shall be in the same position as Quebec and Ontario were before the Union of Canada.

In the abstract, this is a proposal which I personally should accept. The unity of Ireland will never be real till



it is voluntarily recognized, and I believe that if the states start working separately natural causes will bring them to a union, as happened in Australia, Canada, and South Africa. But in the particular circumstances of the case, it is presumable that Mr. de Valera could not, if he desired it, persuade his followers to accept this policy. Ireland has, by an extraordinary series of blunders in policy, been goaded into declaring for a separate Republic: this ideal has been proclaimed, men have died for it, and Ireland could not be induced to surrender this flag except for a settlement which satisfied the national sentiment; partition infuriates it.

Mr. Lloyd George and his associates have doubtless become aware of this. They also know, what is known to Sinn Fein as well, that the British military experts estimate the cost of renewing and completing war in Ireland at \$250,000,000 with a force of 200,000 men. They will therefore probably say to Ulster: "We cannot afford to wait for the operation of nature; you must begin where Canada, Australia, and South Africa finished—you must accept the model they reached without seeking to impose on Ireland the process by which they reached it."

Ulster apparently refuses. The position of moderate men in Ulster is shown in a private letter just received:

The one thing of which I am quite sure [says the writer, a well-known business man in Belfast] is that our leaders will not agree to come into our United Irish Parliament, which it seems to me would be little else than a simulacrum, or pretence, and save the face of Sinn Fein, if an Ulster provincial government is to have real autocracy not only in administration but in finance and all the essentials of an independent government. I can quite understand and indeed sympathize with the intense desire to see Ulster in, both on sentimental grounds and as bringing in a stable element in politics and countering the Bolshevik movement led by the transport workers union, which I think any Irish Government will find a tough nut to crack. I wonder the Nationalists don't see that they *can't* bring Ulster in at this stage, but our common interests will bring us in once they have shown that they can form a competent and national Government for Southern Ireland. *Very many* of us would look forward to such a consummation and work for it.

That seems to me perfectly good sense and such arguments might have prevailed in the atmosphere of the Convention. But the Sinn Fein leaders cannot move as if such an atmosphere existed; and they have got Mr. Lloyd George on their side; nor only Mr. Lloyd George. The vote in the House of Commons showed a tremendous majority against those who wanted to stop parleys with the Sinn Fein unless Sinn Fein would swallow the oath of allegiance as a preliminary. The vote was impressive not by the smallness of the minority but by the bigness of the support. It was no day of abstentions.

What is the resulting position? There is a pledge that Ulster shall not be coerced. Mr. Lloyd George was of those who gave it and will adhere to it, by resigning if he cannot persuade Ulster to agree to that which he and his ministry think essential for Ireland and the Empire. But he may then go to the country and say that he has reached a point at which Ulster must be forced to accept the view taken by the majority of Great Britain and Ireland as to the degree of partition which Ulster's interest requires: in that case he will almost certainly overwhelm his opponents. Sinn Fein is unpopular in England, but Ulster is no way popular. The fact that Mr. Austin Chamberlain is with the Prime Minister in this must count heavily. And if the anticipated reappearance of Lord Carson in politics took place, every element of Liberalism in England would be roused, and a vast proportion of the finest conservatives would support the Liberals, remembering that Carson was the man who, before the war, made rebellion real, and physical force a live issue in British politics.

*Dublin, Ireland, November 23*

## The League of Nations at Work

By Philip Marshall Brown

[The following account and discussion of the proceedings of the League of Nations Assembly at its recent session, by Professor Philip Marshall Brown, of Princeton, was written at Geneva during the session. Its publication has been delayed by lack of space, but Professor Brown's observations have lost none of their interest in the interval.]

THE League of Nations is hard at work. It is functioning actively. As to the nature of its functions and the results achieved, that is another question.

The Secretariat is highly organized into various divisions with over three hundred officials of many nationalities. The Americans stand third in the relative number of national representatives—a fact unfavorably noted by some, particularly by the Indian delegates. They complain that while India for purposes of financial assessment is rated next to the great Powers, it has only one representative on the Secretariat.

The headquarters of the League on the shores of Lake Lemman is an intensely interesting centre of activity. Here are the various sections or bureaus of the Secretariat, an excellent library on the American plan, rooms for various committees of the Assembly, and a large room for public meetings of the Council.

One meets here representatives of nearly every tribe and nation. National differences are ignored rather than accentuated, and one is made aware of a genuine effort to create an international, or rather a supra-national, sentiment transcending frontiers. The fervor of the officials of the League and their consecration to their task is almost religious in character.

The Secretariat is under the able direction of Sir Eric Drummond, former private secretary to Lord Robert Cecil. The powers of the Secretary General are great. Not to mention the original organization of the Secretariat, he can prepare, and to a considerable extent give direction to, the work of the League. When neither the Council nor the Assembly is in session he can carry on negotiations with various nations on his own initiative, as in the recent case of Panama and Costa Rica. These negotiations cannot decide anything, but they certainly may implicate the League quite definitely.

The work of the various sections of the Secretariat is carried on for the most part by men of high ability. They have to deal with most intricate and delicate problems, as for example the supervision of the administration of the City of Dantzig and of the Sarre Basin, matters demanding the highest kind of training and executive ability.

The labors of the Secretariat are naturally increased very much during the session of the Assembly, when data and reports of all kinds are required at every moment. During the session of the Second Assembly it has been found necessary to resort to night and day shifts of the personnel, with a rest only on Sundays.

Many committees are sitting during the session of the Assembly, among which are to be noted those on Amendments to the Covenant, on Reduction of Armaments, on International Blockade, on Communications and Transit, on Economics and Finance, on Epidemics, on Health, on Mandates, on Traffic, on Russian Refugees, and on Statistics. There are also special committees appointed by the Council of The League, such as those on Upper Silesia, Lithuania, and Albania.

The meetings of the Assembly are occupied principally with speeches by delegates, presenting either specific national questions or general observations concerning the work of the League. These speeches are frequently tiresome, especially on account of the rule that prescribes translation



of every word from English into French and vice versa. And now a serious movement is on foot among the numerous Spanish-speaking countries, under the leadership of Spain, to add Spanish to the list of privileged languages! I remarked to a Spanish acquaintance in Geneva that it would appear wiser, in order to facilitate discussion in the Assembly, to make French the sole official language, in view of its universality. His objection was of interest, because he preferred the use of *English* on the ground that the latter was excellent for purposes of exposition irrespective of faults of grammar, whereas a mistake in French was not merely confusing but also a crime!

Many of the speeches revealed a certain uneasiness, an apprehension lest the League should not succeed, an obvious sensitiveness to criticism of any sort. These protests against criticism are generally courteous and of a deprecating character, though a delegate from India evoked considerable applause by asserting indignantly that no one had the right to criticise the League unless he gave it his support.

M. Léon Bourgeois, Senator Lafontaine, and Fransen of Norway are those who reveal the greatest faith in the success of the League. When they speak one is conscious of a genuine elevation of sentiment and a fine disregard of national prejudices. M. Bourgeois and Senator Lafontaine speak like kindly old grandfathers who desire before they die to see complete harmony among all their descendants. Fransen is a robust figure who speaks with great candor and independence, if not always with diplomatic sagacity.

Lord Robert Cecil of South Africa is doubtless a sincere zealot for the League, though one is warranted in wondering whether a Cecil could ever follow a line hostile to the interest of the British Empire. He is certainly a good deal of an *enfant terrible*, but his cousin Arthur Balfour is always at hand to call him gently to order and prevent any harm to British interests. Balfour with his great parliamentary prestige, his urbanity and diplomatic skill, as well as his intimate knowledge of the aims and desires of the British Government, can hardly be classified as a disinterested advocate of the League.

There are others, such as Imperiali of Italy and Ishii of Japan, both, like Balfour, members of the Council as well as of the Assembly, who seem to look on with a kind of cynical amusement as if watching the children of the Assembly at play and knowing that all power rests ultimately with the Council. One of the ablest and most interesting personages in the Assembly is Wellington Koo of China, who as President of the Council presided at the opening session of the Assembly with great dignity and finesse.

It may seriously be questioned whether it is desirable that members of the Council should also sit in the Assembly, where their status is rather that of cabinet ministers prepared at any moment to defend their official acts. This is to exalt the power of the Council in an incidental way probably not contemplated originally.

Regarding the work of the Second Assembly, its greatest accomplishment is undoubtedly the election—in collaboration with the Council—of the judges of the Court of International Justice. This device, so cleverly suggested by Mr. Root, for the choice of Judges by a method calculated to soothe the susceptibilities of the smaller nations would seem to have worked to perfection. The Judges elected are fairly representative of the diverse races and systems of jurisprudence of the world.

This event is of the utmost significance and certainly gives an enhanced prestige to the League, as well as a more solid basis. Such a Court has long been needed, in addition to the non-judicial process of arbitration, as a permanent tribunal capable of rendering strictly judicial

decisions and of crystallizing the principles of international law into a more definite system. Nations henceforth should be able to secure through this Court a much surer knowledge of international law and better guidance in their intercourse.

In observing critically the activities of the League one is conscious of many influences and tendencies. There are unquestionably certain nations and groups of nations concerned primarily if not solely with forwarding by means of the League special ends and interests. It would appear that the nations of South America are tending in many respects to act as a solid *bloc* in coöperation with Spain. This was evidenced in the attempt to secure an additional Spanish-speaking Judge in the Court of Justice. This, by the way, would have been accomplished had it not been for the failure of seven or eight countries of Central and South America to send delegates to the Second Assembly. This *bloc*, if ever antagonistic to the United States, could always be a source of great embarrassment, particularly in questions involving the Monroe Doctrine.

The Assembly affords an opportune forum for certain nations to advance claims or express criticism against other nations in a way likely to cause considerable trouble. It is evident that the representatives of India are cautiously alert for opportunities to advance nationalistic claims most embarrassing to Great Britain. And Ireland, as well as Egypt, is obviously only too eager to seize its chance to enter the Assembly.

There exists among the small nations the conviction that the League is largely controlled by Great Britain. This is true in fact because of the initial advantage it possesses in having a Britisher as Secretary General. It is also true in the sense that Balfour is by all odds the most resourceful and influential representative in the League. His vigilance and leadership are ever apparent and effective British diplomacy.

The League should never have been saddled with the burden of executing the treaties signed at Paris. It should more properly function as a means of conciliation in fresh controversies not arising directly out of this peace settlement. It is a great pity that the League could not have contented itself originally with the rôle of a great international clearing house of a non-political character for purposes of a better mutual understanding and conciliation among nations. A critical survey of its present activities must impress one with the fact that the League is primarily a European concern. It is preoccupied mainly with questions involving political considerations. Even such matters as transit, communications, and finance, which are of general interest, are closely connected with political interests of a European character. The League, with headquarters in Europe, sits as a kind of European Areopagus.

It is possible that the League may undergo in process of time a certain decentralization, with local regional understandings and agencies, as foreshadowed in a proposal by Mr. Benes of Czechoslovakia to apply to Central Europe. Furthermore, another organ of the League may develop in the shape of a council of conciliation for world peace, entirely distinct from regional groupings for legislative and administrative purposes. This has been actually suggested and is under consideration by a special committee of the Assembly.

In view of the facts it would seem that the United States is in a fortunate situation in refraining from active participation in the League, at least during its early stages of development. While observing critically its activities and tendencies, we may coöperate sympathetically in many ways. The Disarmament Conference should prove of great practical help to the League in removing serious obstacles which now stand in the way of anything like world peace.

Geneva, Switzerland





# EDITORIAL



## The President's Message

**M**R. HARDING'S message at the opening of the first regular session of Congress in his Administration covers an enormous range of subjects, but presents little in the shape of definite programme. It is devoted to enunciations of purpose and opinion rather than definite recommendations.

A few specific recommendations are made, however. Foremost among these is that relating to the debts to the United States incurred by the Allied nations during the war. The President urges the great importance of the bill granting authority to the administrative branch of the Government "for the funding and settlement of our vast foreign loans growing out of our grant of war credits." He rests the case for this upon the manifest practical desirability of making a reasonable accommodation of the matter, the absence of which is "hindering adjustments among our debtors and accomplishing nothing for ourselves." We could wish that he had added a higher consideration—that he had felt that he could successfully appeal to a spirit of generosity toward those who suffered infinitely more than we in the common cause.

Another recommendation urged with emphasis and with all possible warmth of feeling is that of a modest contribution toward the relief of the famine in Russia and the prevention of its recurrence next year. To "supply the American Relief Administration with 10,000,000 bushels of corn and 1,000,000 bushels of seed grain" would be an act involving so trifling a sacrifice on our part, productive of such incalculable good to a population in appalling straits, and so calculated to promote good feeling at a time when good feeling is one of the world's greatest needs, that it seems inconceivable that Congress should hesitate a moment to carry out the President's recommendation. Never was there a case in which the maxim was more true that he gives twice who gives quickly; and we could wish that Congress would not only give quickly, but give twice the amount which the President proposes.

Still another specific, though not quite definite, recommendation has reference to the tariff. The President suggests a way out of the difficulty which the "American valuation" scheme embodied in the Fordney bill was designed to meet. He recognizes the fundamental objections to that plan, going so far as to say that there is danger of its having the effect of "making our tariffs prohibitive" in many cases where there was no such intent on the part of Congress; but he feels that something must be done to meet the extraordinary variations of price which exist in the present abnormal industrial and monetary situation of so many foreign countries. He accordingly recommends that the Tariff Commission be empowered, in instances in which it may be found necessary, to "proclaim" American valuations—a device deserving of consideration, but by no means free from objection.

More important, we believe, than this specific recommendation on the tariff is the tone in which the whole subject is treated. The idea of protection as a sacred institution, the notion that nothing is so essential to our prosperity as the exclusion of foreign goods, is wholly absent. Just what kind of tariff Mr. Harding would like to see enacted does not, indeed, appear; but no Republican in Congress who wants to play the old high-tariff tune will be able to refer to the President as having sounded its keynote. That the tariff must take account of the interest of other peoples as well as our own, and that our own interest is bound up with their welfare, is a sentiment that runs through the message—the tariff part as well as the rest—and is quite inconsistent with the notions which Mr. Fordney has made so peculiarly his own.

On two great aspects of public welfare the President, while putting forward no definite proposals, expresses sentiments which will receive hearty public support. In discussing the relations between labor and capital he urges what has been understood in some quarters as the establishment on a national scale of a Court of Industrial Relations such as that which has been instituted in Kansas under the leadership of Governor Allen. But it has been pretty authoritatively stated that that is not the President's meaning. The Kansas court is still an experiment; and it is questionable whether a body with compulsory authority is either a practicable or a desirable agency for dealing with great labor difficulties. Something modeled on the Canadian law, which only prohibits strikes or lockouts pending inquiry and report, seems much more likely to meet the need of the situation.

The other subject to which we have reference is that of farmers' coöperation. Coöperative effort, whether of farmers or of any other group in the community, is as yet in a very undeveloped stage in this country, and the President justly points to the splendid results obtained by organized coöperation in Russia—before the days of Lenin. There is, however, a danger in what Mr. Harding says about the loss suffered by farmers when the crops are superabundant. If the farmers are led to imagine that this can be averted by mere coöperative selling they will find themselves deluded.

Of very great importance is the question raised in the concluding portion of the President's message, of the desirability of a Constitutional amendment forbidding the issue of tax-free securities, a subject which we shall discuss in a separate article. That the introduction of the budget system is a forward step whose value can hardly be overstated, all intelligent persons will agree; and of the President's earnestness in promoting the economies which that system will powerfully help to make possible there can be no doubt. Both in this matter and in that of the Conference, upon which, as the President says, "a world hope is centred," there is fortunately no line of division between the two great parties; and it is clearly Mr. Harding's wish to



promote in all matters of similar fundamental and permanent concern a non-partisan spirit.

Between this attitude and that view of party responsibility which the President takes occasion to put forward at the very outset of his message, there is no inconsistency. A national election imposes on the victorious party the general responsibility of government. It does not relieve any individual of the duty of dissent when a course is proposed by his party which is contrary to his conviction of right; but it should preclude the formation of cliques and combinations dictated not by convictions of what is right for the nation but of what is to the interest of a class or a section. We have to choose between being whole-hearted citizens of a common country and being men whose devotion is to a class first and to our country second. Up to the present time no departure from the better and higher choice has held, for any great length of time, any great body of adherents. In sounding his note of warning the President has done much toward making the country safe from that danger in the difficult days through which we are now passing.

## Ireland

AT this moment, the question of peace or war in Ireland is still hanging in the balance. Reason and sentiment are alike on the side of Arthur Griffiths, the veteran Sinn Fein leader, and when reason and sentiment unite in pointing the way, the Irish people will hardly turn their back upon it.

If a settlement is to be rejected which gives to Ireland so nearly all that she could possibly demand then it was preposterous for her to enter into negotiations with England at all: she should have sent to Lloyd George not plenipotentiaries but an ultimatum. She did send plenipotentiaries; and her emissaries accomplished all, and more than all, that could possibly have been expected. To repudiate the work of men like Griffiths and Collins would run counter to the Irish instinct of loyalty to friends and fellow-workers; to reject a settlement which opens up a splendid hope to Ireland, and plunge back into the darkness and horror from which she has for a brief space emerged, would be to fly in the face of reason and common sense.

All the world is watching with breathless interest the contest in the Dail Eireann. Its favorable outcome will be hailed with joy by men of good will everywhere; with peculiar joy, because at a time when the world is oppressed with the thought of a hundred new problems, here will be a problem solved, and happily solved, which has baffled twenty generations of statesmen and thinkers.

## Ford-Edison Anticipated

JUST two years ago—in the issue of *The Weekly Review* for November 22, 1919—Mr. George E. Roberts closed an important and elaborate article on the monetary outlook with this remark:

There was inflation during the Civil War, and proposals were made to pay the bonds in greenbacks and never redeem the greenbacks, but the people rejected them all. The signs of the times are that all the fundamental principles of sound finance will have to be fought over again.

Could anything be a more perfect fulfilment of Mr.

Roberts's prophecy than is the wildcat scheme of Henry Ford for Government manufacture of so-called money, and the endorsement of the scheme by Thomas A. Edison? Both of these gentlemen have done wonders in their own line, but modesty in talking about things that they don't understand is not a virtue to which either of them can lay claim. Perhaps the best sign that we have made some advance since Civil War days is to be found in the fact that the public seem to feel instinctively that there must be something wrong about the promised miracle, even though it is proposed by men who, in their own field, have won the distinction of miracle-workers.

## Alliance, Understanding, League & Co.

WHILE the Washington Conference has a limited objective and owes its possibility of successful achievement largely to the fact that it is attacking in a practical manner certain specific problems, it is nevertheless making positive contributions to the advancement of international law. The solution of these specific problems is important enough and the world will heave a sigh of relief if a halt is called in the race of naval armament and an adjustment is made in the rivalries and conflicts of interest that threaten peace in the Far East. But of still greater importance to the peace and well-being of the world is the basis on which these adjustments are being worked out.

That basis is the principle of legality and justice. It is this which differentiates the present Conference sharply from previous bargaining congresses which, indeed, at times did do lip service to principles of justice and equity, but only to conceal the doctrine of the right of the stronger that actuated their decisions. To Elihu Root belongs the credit of having introduced at the Second Hague Conference the principle that disputes between nations should be adjudicated *on the basis of justice*. To us in America there was nothing surprising in this; it seemed self-evident, so self-evident, indeed, that to state it appeared almost superfluous. But to a world accustomed to view international relations as a cynical rivalry for power and which took as a matter of course the acquisition of territory or the subjection of peoples as the reward of successful war, this was a striking departure, idealistic if not visionary. Upon this principle of legality and justice Senator Root laid great emphasis in his address before the last annual meeting of the American Association of International Law, and its acceptance by the Washington Conference as the basis of its decisions marks a momentous step in advance. Writer after writer has pointed out that the weakness of international law lay in the absence of the sanction necessary to enforce it, corresponding to the police power in national law. The school of Treitschke held that it was not law at all but merely a code of international politeness. Sir Frederick Pollock more justly esteemed it a body of custom and practice sanctioned by the moral consciousness of mankind. That sanction has continued to grow in strength and effectiveness despite the setbacks occasioned by wars of aggression. Today that sanction has received



an accession of power that bids fair to place international law on the same plane as national law. A treaty, for example, is no longer merely an expression of the relative strength of two nations, to be altered when one becomes strong enough to enforce a change, but a contract to be revised only by mutual consent of the parties thereto.

A corollary to this was the announcement by Secretary Hughes of the doctrine of "moral trusteeship" in the case of a nation temporarily disabled. This was specifically applied to the case of Russia, but it has a far wider significance. It means that the weakness or disability of a nation is not to be taken advantage of to deprive its people of their rights or territory; that the community of nations must act as a trustee to preserve and safeguard their rights and territory during a period of helplessness. A few decades ago such a doctrine would indeed have been considered Quixotic, but today we are no longer under the law of the jungle.

Side by side with this has grown up another conception of international relations, a conception for which Anglo-Saxon ideas of ordered liberty and democracy are primarily responsible. Historically, international law has been concerned with the relations between governments, and more especially between monarchs. So strong has been this tradition in theory and practice that it is difficult in international matters to think of peoples apart from their governments. Yet the extension of democratic ideas has at last brought about this conception. Rights belong to a people and a lack of government or a change of government cannot deprive a nation of them. The government is but an instrument through which the nation speaks and acts. The doctrine of moral trusteeship marks a long step forward toward the attainment of world peace, for it affords a security to the smaller and weaker nations and to those in temporary collapse such as no balance of power, no alliances, and no artificial international organization could give.

It is curious that a large proportion of the well-intentioned, of those who cherish noble ideals of world peace and world betterment, do not in the least understand that their ideals can only be realized through the development of ideas and sentiment. Instinctively they turn to artificial and mechanical devices. In order to do away with the use of force in disputes between nations they would resort to force. The great weakness of the League of Nations idea lies in the fact that such a mechanical device invites the very intrigues that it is intended to counteract. President Harding has not yet made clear exactly what he means by an "association of nations," but if we may make deductions from his course in summoning the present Conference he has in mind something that is the very antithesis of the League of Nations and its Covenant. We judge it to be a method, not a machine; a means of developing ideas, not an instrument for imposing rules. It is not of great moment whether the Conference embodies its settlements in formal treaties or states them in protocols. Alliances assuredly there will not be, though some form of four-Power agreement will undoubtedly be concluded, as a means of putting in written form the settlements arrived at.

The greatest achievement of the Conference will not

be a treaty, or even an understanding. It will lie in the contribution which it has made to the law of nations through the establishment of the principle of legality and justice as the basis of its settlements, thereby giving to it a sanction which no civilized nation may disregard. It is this contribution, this advance, that gives the greatest hope for lasting peace.

## The Future of Picketing

OF some human questions it can truly be said that the simpler they are the more difficult they are.

This is eminently true of the long-standing question of picketing in labor disputes. When it first became a prominent subject of controversy most people fell into one or other of two classes. On the one hand, there were those who declared that all picketing by strikers ought to be stopped because, in the very nature of the case, it could mean nothing but an attempt to intimidate "scabs." On the other hand there were those who regarded any attempt of the officers of the law to interfere with picketing as a clear infringement of the fundamental right of any freeman to persuade any other freeman to do or to refrain from doing any lawful act.

All along, however, there was a third class of people who stood between these two extremes. They recognized that Smith had a perfect right to buttonhole Jones on the sidewalk—if Jones himself did not object—and try to convince him that he ought not to offer his services to Robinson; but they also recognized that what was on its face a mere conversation between Smith and Jones might really be—and in the case of most picketing actually was—only the outward and visible sign of what was in reality concerted and organized intimidation. The problem has been to find a way to protect Jones from actual intimidation and yet not to deprive Smith of his fundamental rights. This problem has been brought much nearer to a solution by the United States Supreme Court's decision of last week defining the limits to be set upon the use of pickets during strikes.

The decision is an important forward step in the limitation of private war in industrial disputes. The doctrine of the decision—that strikers must not resort to intimidation to prevent others from taking their places or from continuing at work in a "struck" plant, and that mass picketing, "dogging" of workers, and obstruction of access to the plant are all forms of intimidation—is not novel, for it has been applied in varying degrees by courts all over the country. The great importance of the decision lies in the fact that the tests it suggests clearly condemn every form of intimidation—including "moral" intimidation—and that these tests now become the standard for all courts.

When the Supreme Court's rule comes to be widely applied it will probably be found that labor unions must considerably change their methods in order to keep within the law. Labor leaders always say that they are opposed to violence, and even to intimidation, and in many cases such statements are true. Yet it is flying in the face of our knowledge of human nature to think that picketing ever accomplishes much except through some species of intimidation. If intimidation



is effectively prevented, it seems likely that strike leaders will have to rely more than they usually do now on educational publicity. It is even possible that the wiser among them will see the need of reorganizing their work on a basis of service to all workers in a trade instead of service merely to members of the union.

## The "Harding Doctrine"

*[The following article, by Mr. Walter E. Maynard of New York, presents so forcibly the suggestion of a way to meet the demand of France for a safe future, and the grounds on which the suggestion rests, that we gladly give it special prominence in our columns.]*

FRANCE has recently, through her spokesman, M. Briand, stated the severely logical position in which she stands. The Prussian wolf is still at the door. France promises an army reduction to the lowest limits of safety. She will not agree to cut the army further unless one of two things is done—either, (1), the German menace removed, or, (2), the future defense of France undertaken by others, namely, the United States and England.

France believes sincerely in the German wolf at the door. You may say this feeling is pathological. Perhaps it is, but she points to the activities of Herr Stinnes in Europe, to the writings of the eminent Viereck and other German spokesmen in America, as showing what is in some German minds and hearts, and those not the least vigorous either. The present naval disarmament conference at Washington is only a part of a greater plan, the noblest conceivable by man. An essential element in the world-wide peace movement with which our present Administration is identified is the reduction of the great army of France. A prosperous, contented, safe France is the cornerstone of a reconstructed Europe.

Can either of the above-mentioned necessary conditions be met so that France can be induced to disarm on land? Needless to say, the electors and taxpayers of France would jump at the chance to disarm if they thought it safe. It would be made safe by the removal of the German menace. Many people, including the happy band headed by Mr. Wells, and consisting of all the pacifists, "intellectuals," pro-Germans, and parlor Bolsheviks, insist that Germany is flat on her back—unable ever to hurt anyone again. This sad picture they present to us, and with streaming eyes implore us to accept it. The writer has recently returned from Europe and found generally accepted there a different picture. Against a background of flaming furnaces and whirring factory wheels, the German people are making a magnificent fight to recover their industrial position. They have not forgotten the war and will not forget it. They are convinced of the justice of their cause—the war was forced on them. The word "revenge" is heard. Needless to say there are some sensible people in Germany, but the body of active men feels as stated above. France knows this, and therefore feels that the German menace cannot be removed. It can only be gradually eliminated by a long missionary effort to teach the rough, vigorous old

Teuton stock how to live with fairness and justice in the community of nations.

The removal of the German menace being thus practically out of the question, France is compelled to fall back on the second possibility. She demands, as an essential prerequisite of any project of disarmament, an agreement by England and the United States to supply armies at need to take the place of the disbanded French forces if Germany gathers herself together for another fatal spring at her victim's throat.

England would doubtless again join us in a treaty meeting this condition. How about the United States?

Peoples are governed to a great extent by traditional ideas and phrases. Washington's Farewell Address will always echo in the ears of a reverential people. His warning against permanent foreign alliances has become a basic political doctrine among our people. They would not without years of persuasion support their representatives in Congress in an effort to ratify a formal treaty of alliance with France. There can be no doubt that there exists in this country, at least among descendants of the old stock, a strong feeling of gratitude and affection for France, but a formal undertaking to defend her by treaty contract is a different matter. Is there any political device which would be acceptable to the people and which would meet the requirement outlined above, namely calm the fears of France and serve stern notice on Germany to drop her ideas (if they exist) of new aggression?

In December, 1823, President Monroe in his annual message declared that the United States would not regard favorably any attempt of European powers to colonize or exercise control in South America. This Presidential declaration has, with the lapse of years, as the Monroe Doctrine, become a cornerstone of our foreign policy; and, while in no sense a treaty or an entangling alliance, has assumed a sanctity—a solidity—of the most unchangeable character.

The United States has only recently sent her armed forces to fight on French soil. She would doubtless do so again if Germany unwarrantably attacked France. Why not say so? If President Harding were to express with due solemnity his conviction that if France were again unwarrantably attacked the United States would defend her, such a declaration made with the proper degree of ceremony would be hailed as an epoch-making event. The new "Harding Doctrine" would echo around the world. Such action would be Constitutional, would calm France, serve notice on Germany, and be acceptable to England, Italy, and Japan. Our people would approve it. For the development of its full strength it would have to receive appropriate press support in France and America, an essential feature in forming public opinion.

France cannot obtain a treaty. She can obtain the comforting equivalent. The "Harding Doctrine" with the passage of years would assume the same infrangible sanctity that the Monroe Doctrine has gradually acquired. It would justify a progressive French land disarmament.

The peace of the world demands some new formula. The "Harding Doctrine" may supply it.

WALTER E. MAYNARD





# The Story of the Week



## Foreword

WE regret that, owing to certain circumstances of a melancholy interest only to ourself, we are unable to review this week recent developments of the Conference on Limitation of Armament, of the dual negotiation on Shantung between China and Japan, of the discussions on reparations finance now proceeding briskly in London between British, French and German representatives. In our next number we shall recover the ground lost.

## The Week at Home

### Back to Normal

GO to any of the great bookstores, reader, and note the super-sumptuous display of illustrated books of old authors, or books by contemporary hands on old romantic or picturesque themes—pirates, fox-hunting, spooks, such charming people and things. The illustrations are good, bad, and indifferent; but the books are all illustrated to the hilt. The reaction has come. We are going back to the old delights; sick of the sniveling, Freudian, nose-in-the-corner offerings of the new literary tribe. We want to read of and to see fairies, fox-hunters, and pirates, things picturesque and wholesome; we're tired of the ravings of a myriad moral hunchbacks wrestling with their morbid little souls.

### The President's Message to Congress

On Tuesday, the 6th, the President addressed Congress. In the gallery were the foreign delegations to the Conference on Limitation of Armament.

The President devotes a not inconsiderable portion of his speech to a defense of government by party. In the following passage he delicately reproves those Republican legislators who, by unholy alliance with Democrats, obstruct realization of the Republican party program. He is thinking chiefly, of course, of the agricultural *bloc*, who ran amuck during the extraordinary session; who mangled the Tax Bill, who are making of the permanent tariff bill a fantastic museum specimen, who threaten to kill the Foreign Debt Refunding Bill. The last sentence of the passage to be quoted delicately reminds the insurgents of the coming elections:

There is vastly greater security, immensely more of the national viewpoint, much larger and prompter accomplishment, where our divisions are along party lines, in the broad and loftier sense, than to divide geographically, or according to pursuits or personal following. For a century and a third parties have been charged with responsibility and held to strict accounting. When they fail they are relieved of authority, and the system has brought you to a national eminence no less than a world example.

The President graciously compliments Congress on its industry during the extraordinary session, in order, it might seem, to soften the effect of the following:

It would suggest insincerity if I expressed complete accord with every expression recorded in your roll calls, but we are all agreed about the difficulties and the inevitable divergence of opinion in seeking the reduction, amelioration and readjustment of the burdens of taxation.

In other words, the most important work of the extraordinary session (tax legislation) was badly done. "Later on," says the President, "when other problems are solved, I shall make some recommendations about renewed consideration of our tax program." To this we say: "Amen."

Inviting attention to the creditable fact that neither his

predecessor nor he himself has complied with that preposterous clause of the Jones Act which requires the Executive to denounce all our existing commercial treaties "in order to admit of reduced duties on imports carried in American bottoms," the President asks Congress to tolerate his non-compliance for a very few weeks longer with the clause so properly obnoxious to his predecessor, to himself, to decency, and to common sense; that is, until a plan, as yet only in a crude state, is ready for presentation to Congress. The which plan "gives such promise of expanding our merchant marine that it will argue its own approval." On presentation of the plan the Jones clause of wholesale repudiation will, of course, be repealed.

The President urges prompt completion and enactment of the permanent Tariff Bill. His proposal for making the Tariff Act more flexible has started a hot controversy. The method proposed intends greater justice, but would introduce a vexatious element of uncertainty into the transactions of foreign trade:

I hope a way will be found to make for flexibility and elasticity, so that rates may be adjusted to meet unusual and changing conditions, which cannot be accurately anticipated. There are problems incident to unfair practices and to exchanges which madness in money has made almost unsolvable. I know of no manner in which to effect this flexibility other than the extension of the powers of the Tariff Commission, so that it can adapt itself to a scientific and wholly just administration of the law.

I am not unmindful of the constitutional difficulties. These can be met by giving authority to the Chief Executive, who could proclaim additional duties to meet conditions which the Congress may designate.

At this point I must disavow any desire to enlarge the Executive's powers or add to the responsibilities of the office. They are already too large. If there were any other plan, I would prefer it.

The grant of authority to proclaim would necessarily bring the Tariff Commission into new and enlarged activities, because no Executive could discharge such a duty except on the information acquired and recommendations made by this Commission. But the plan is feasible, and the proper functioning of the board would give us a better administration of a defined policy than ever can be made possible by tariff duties prescribed without flexibility.

Upon the whole, this proposition dislikes us.

The President's remarks on the economic predicament of the farmer are very sympathetic, and, though doubtless not so especially intended, seem to greatly please the gentlemen of the agricultural *bloc*:

In the main the remedy lies in distribution and marketing. Every proper encouragement should be given to the co-operative marketing programs. These have proven very helpful to the co-operative communities in Europe. In Russia the co-operative community has become the recognized bulwark of law and order, and saved individualism from engulfment in social paralysis. Ultimately they will be accredited with the salvation of the Russian State.

But what is to become of the middleman? Well, the President goes on to lament the drift of population from farm to city. Why shouldn't the middlemen drift out to the farms? They should, of course, if there were such a thing as poetic justice, but they won't; they will always remain comfortably seated somewhere in the middle.

The President admirably urges Congress not to stint appropriations for reclamation, pointing out that there are 20,000,000 acres of public domain susceptible of reclamation through irrigation. He intimates that the best of solutions of the problem of the "returned soldier" is to settle him on the land. We could wish the President





Kadel &amp; Herbert

*An American anthropologist seriously contends that the African belle is the supreme type of beauty. Here is the proof.*

had dealt more vigorously and directly with this subject; that he had recommended a program like the Canadian one, involving not only a generous gift of land to the ex-soldier willing and fitted to settle thereon, but also financing him, instructing him, heartening and supervising him through the first critical years. The President seems to shy that important subject, the ex-soldier. Some people are cynically saying that Congress is sure to pass a bonus bill against the next elections.

The most striking of the President's recommendations is for Government aid to the starving Russians. He urges Congress to appropriate for 10,000,000 bushels of corn (presumably to feed adults) and 1,000,000 bushels of seed grains for the spring planting. But why, doubtless millions of good people will be asking, could not that recommendation have been made months ago, and thus oh! how much of suffering, how many lives, have been spared. The answer is that the recommendation could not properly be made until the Administration could be assured that the Soviet authorities were acting toward the American Relief Administration in good faith, that relief supplies would certainly reach the persons for whom intended. The ineffable pathos of the situation lies in the fact that the answer given is really sufficient; the delay was completely justified.

#### Aid to the Merchant Marine

It is understood that the President will in a special message to Congress early in January recommend legislation for subsidizing the Merchant Marine according to proposals submitted by the Shipping Board which will be embodied in the message. That business of the merchant marine has been fumbled badly. It is still possible to keep afloat under our flag the vast shipping recently acquired by us, through wise legislation to tide American owners past the critical period of depression in sea-borne trade. That we hate and propose to repudiate Mars is not a sufficient reason why we should refuse to take advantage of the start he has given us toward acquiring the primacy in oceanic commercial shipping. We should be once more a seafaring people. O ye ghosts of the clipper captains!

However, we must have a very close look at the proposal before we can approve it. Subsidizing legislation must be very, very discreetly conceived and framed to be acceptable. Through their pocketbooks the people have learned the distinctions between grand and grandiose, between splendid and specious.

#### Please Define "Scrap"

We note an interesting statement by Mr. Powell, president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, to the effect that the six great battle cruisers of ours now under construction, which under the Hughes proposal must be "scrapped," could be economically transformed for passenger service. The six cruisers are the Constellation, the

Ranger, the Constitution, the United States, the Lexington, and the Saratoga; names once carried by frigates of eternal fame. Each of these vessels has a length of 874 feet, a mean draft of thirty-one feet, and a displacement of 43,500 tons. They were designed for a maximum speed of thirty-four knots. Their economical speed as passenger craft would be, of course, much less than thirty-four knots, but still greater than that of any passenger craft now afloat. Converted into passenger craft in the manner proposed, they could not be retransformed more easily than other passenger craft could be transformed for war purposes. Each could accommodate 4,000 passengers. The one feature retained which would assimilate them to warcraft would be the under-water "skin," making them (theoretically, at least) unsinkable; a feature, we think, not unsuitable to passenger vessels. It is to be hoped that the expression "scrapped" will not be pedantically interpreted. To sink or to break into fragments all the ships condemned to be scrapped (including those that could be innocuously transformed) would be a magnificent insult to Mars, but not exactly sensible. [Note.—Construction on one of the cruisers referred to is so far forward that it is doubtful that it could be economically transformed.]

## The British Empire

### The Irish Agreement

HAPPILY, all of us were out in our reckoning on the Irish situation. The signing of an agreement (at London, about 2 a. m., Tuesday, the 6th), by the Sinn Fein and the British conferees, was a complete surprise to the world. The agreement is in eighteen articles and an annex. We quote or digest the more important items as follows, with brief running comment:

*Article 1:* The Irish Free State (the name is a pleasant concession to Irish pride) is created, having the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa; with a Parliament, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament.

*Article 2:* The relationship of the Irish Free State shall be the same as the relationship of the Dominion of Canada to the Imperial Parliament and Government and to the Crown.

*Article 3:* There shall be a representative of the Crown in Ireland corresponding to the Governor General of Canada (i. e., a terrific swell, a human tulip, with no political attributes).

*Article 4:* The question of allegiance, or rather of the mode of pledging it, was perhaps the chief difficulty athwart an agreement. The following formula (being the oath to be taken by the members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State) was apparently evolved at the very last moment in a sudden triumph of the Comic Spirit:

"I do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to his Majesty King George V., and his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence



to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations."

It isn't the customary oath, but it smells as sweet and has precisely the same meaning.

*Article 5:* The Irish Free State takes over its equitable share of the public debt of the United Kingdom; the precise amount to be determined by agreement, or, failing that, by arbitration.

*Article 6:* It is contemplated that the Irish Free State shall ultimately undertake its own coastal defense, but for the immediate future the existing imperial arrangements shall continue.

*Article 7:* Certain peace-time facilities appertaining chiefly to wire and wireless communications and to defense by air, by the navy and by fortifications, as per annex made part



Morris

### The Shadow

of the agreement, are conceded to the imperial Government: in time of war, or strained relations with a foreign power threatening war, the British Government shall have unrestricted use of everything necessary to coastal defense.

*Article 8:* The Irish Free State may maintain a military defense force, but not larger in proportion to the population of the State than the military establishments in Great Britain in proportion to the population of Great Britain.

\* \* \*

[There follow the very interesting and important provisions respecting Ulster, which we quote in full.]

*Article XI.*—Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for the constituencies of Northern Ireland unless a resolution is passed by both houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland in favor of holding such elections before the end of said month.

*Article XII.*—If before the expiration of said month an address is presented to his Majesty by both houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect, subject to the necessary modifications;

"Provided, that if such an address is so presented, a commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed

by the Government of Northern Ireland, and one, who shall be Chairman, to be appointed by the British Government, shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such commission.

*Article XIII.*—For the purpose of the last foregoing article the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland, shall, after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted, be exercised by that Parliament.

*Article XIV.*—After the expiration of said month if no such address as mentioned in Article XII hereof is presented, the Parliament of the Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred upon them by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, but the Parliament of the Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters, in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not the power to make laws under that act (including matters which, under said act, are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland), the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed to in the manner hereinafter appearing.

*Article XV.*—At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the Provisional Government of Southern Ireland, hereinafter constituted, may meet for the purpose of discussing provisions, subject to which the last of the foregoing article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented, and those provisions may include: (a) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland; (b) safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland; (c) safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade and industry of Northern Ireland; (d) safeguards for the minorities in Northern Ireland; (e) settlement of financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State; (f) establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the defense forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland, respectively, and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included among the provisions subject to which the powers of Parliament and of the Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article XIV hereof."

\* \* \*

The following article respecting religious establishments is also quoted as of very especial importance:

*Article XVI.*—Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on the account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction of the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of the different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on the payment of compensation."

\* \* \*

There follow arrangements for a provisional government for Southern Ireland to operate until the constitution of a Parliament and a Government in accordance with the agreement.

The instrument of agreement must be ratified by the British Parliament and by the members elected for the House of Commons of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. Our recollection is that these gentlemen were elected about the time that election of a new Dail Eireann had been contemplated, and that their election to membership in the Southern House of Commons was by a Hibernian fiction considered an election to a new Dail Eireann. The only persons elected to that House of Commons who were not thus transferred were the four Loyalists elected to represent the University of Dublin.

The agreement impresses us as an extremely ingenious and, all things considered, satisfactory solution of a problem not exceeded in difficulty by any other political problem in history.

Is it reasonable to doubt ratification by the Dail Eireann?



Alas, it is. All depends, it seems, on the influence of de Valera. He has issued a message to the Irish people. "The terms of this agreement," he says, "are in violent conflict with the wishes of the majority of this nation as expressed freely in successive elections during the past three years. I feel it my duty to inform you immediately that I can not recommend the acceptance of this treaty either to the Dail Eireann or to the country. In this attitude I am supported by the Ministers for Home Affairs and Defense."

What is to be said of this Eamon de Valera? Is he crazy or a fantastic combination of firebrand and fanatic, or eaten up with ambition to be the first man in an independent Ireland? All depends, as we observed, on the influence of this strange personality on the imaginative Irish people. Are the sweet hopes of yesterday to be quenched in blood? Until next Wednesday we shall wait breathless for suspense; and meantime German reparations, the Russian famine, even the Washington Conference, will seem dull matters of little moment.

### A Republic of India

The All-India Congress, the Central Khalifat Committee, the National Volunteers, and other Nationalist organizations in India have been "outlawed" by the Indian Government. According to Mr. Ghose, director of the American Commission to Promote Self-Government in India (a Nationalist propaganda organization), the Indian Nationalists regard the decree of outlawry as a "declaration of war." He says that the Nationalists will soon declare a Republic of India. His following remarks are not without interest:

British opposition will have the inevitable result of transferring the Nationalist movement from the leadership of the peacefully inclined non-coöperationists to the young militant patriots, who have ready to take the field a well trained, thoroughly armed force of more than 1,100,000 men, representing the pick of the fighting races of India.

### Russian Notes

THE Russian ruble continues to descend. One dollar is now worth 200,000 rubles.

\* \* \*

The American Relief Administration is now feeding 750,000 Russian children, some three months after signing of the agreement with the Moscow Government. It is expected that by January 1, 1,200,000 children will be regularly fed. There will still remain in the region of worst famine some 500,000 children whom the Administration's agents cannot reach. It does not appear that food is being furnished by the Administration to adults.

\* \* \*

General Petlura, the Ukrainian Nationalist leader, who not long ago started another movement for Ukrainian independence, has once more quit.

### Several Things

SAYS Dr. Rathenau in his very interesting book "The New Society":

Technical leadership is gone, and the deterioration in quality has reacted on output. We can now turn out nothing except what is cheap and easy, and what can be produced without traditional skill of hand, without serious calculation and research. For all innovations, all work of superior quality, Germany is dependent on the foreigner. The atmosphere of technique has vanished, and the stamp of cheap, hireling labor is on the whole output of the country.

Because of this deterioration in quality of output, the alarm about the flooding of the markets with German goods has subsided.

The same plaint, though in a lower key and apparently less justified, is heard from England: England of old proverbial for honesty of output.

On the other hand, 'tis said that with us there has been no falling off, but rather an improvement in quality of out-

put. Therefore the markets, when they recover, should be ours. We do not over-rejoice in the prospect of victory won from competitors so weakened and corrupted. In the end our quality must deteriorate from the lack of a robust competition; besides other reasons which suggest themselves to a Citizen of the World.

\* \* \*

It is said that the Czechoslovak mobilization upon the occasion of Charles's second *coup* was effected with extraordinary rapidity and smoothness; proof of the efficiency of French instruction. The French say they have made a model Czechoslovak army of 350,000 men. Their organization and equipment reflect the lessons of the Great War; and for courage and *élan*, these should not be wanting to the countrymen of Zizka.

\* \* \*

All of the Burgenland (except Oedenburg and a small surrounding district, in which town and district a plébiscite is to be held to determine possession whether by Austria or by Hungary) is now rid of the Hungarian chauvinist bandit bands which of late infested it. What has become of these bands we do not know, but we suspect they have gone into the plébiscite area to vote. It would seem that the Hungarians have driven from that area enough Austrians to insure a Hungarian victory in the plébiscite. Oedenburg is the chief city of the Burgenland.

\* \* \*

A great many persons think that one should always pull a long face when dealing with serious subjects. But do you not remember, reader, those pleasant words which Lucian puts in the mouth of Philosophy herself concerning the value of a jest? Philosophy is twitting the great philosophers with the temper they are showing because of some jokes Lucian has made at their expense:

Do you forget how Comedy handled me at the Dionysia, and how I yet counted her a friend? Did I ever sue her, or go and remonstrate? or did I let her enjoy her holidays in the harmless old-fashioned way? I knew very well that a jest spoils no real beauty, but rather improves it; so gold is polished by hard rubs, and shines all the brighter for it.

HENRY W. BUNN



Morrie

The Modern God of War



# From Our Readers

## President Thomas and Freedom of Teaching

To the Editors:

In view of certain interpretations which have been put on your editorial entitled "Liberalism in the Colleges," you may, perhaps, be good enough to print a note of explanation. In the course of pointing out the "inverted orthodoxy" of "up-to-the-minute educational reformers" and of President Thomas of Bryn Mawr in particular, the writer remarks: "Miss Thomas, for example, honestly thinks that all she is concerned about is that the professors should teach the truth as they see it; but what she really desires is that they should teach the truth as *she* sees it—and they [the reformers mentioned above] are just as anxious to make it uncomfortable for any professor who does not act upon *their* creed as is the most narrow-minded college trustee with *his* creed." The creed which gives rise to these strictures is, according to the editorial, in some measure embodied in Wells's "Outline of History." To this President Thomas has referred as "history of a wholly new kind" making "a world-wide appeal to the younger generation."

From the phrases quoted it might be inferred, not justifiably perhaps, yet not altogether unnaturally, that a college president's desire could be parent to a hint and that the hint might be dropped before the same president's own department of history. Some presidents might even be "anxious to make it uncomfortable for any professor who does not act upon their creed —." Be it therefore said at once that President Thomas is guiltless of this form of partisanship. Toward the department of history in Bryn Mawr College she scrupulously observes the principle of academic freedom advocated in her speech at Mount Holyoke College. Throughout the six years (not free from historical controversy) during which I have been associated with Bryn Mawr, she has never made the slightest suggestion as to what sort of history should be taught or not taught, what read or not read. In this, her record, and, of course, the record of the Board of Trustees, is clean.

Regarding the "great pamphlet" of Mr. Wells there is a variety of opinion at Bryn Mawr, as doubtless there is elsewhere. At the moment, the first-year students in European history are asked to read the chapter on Islam, perhaps one-eightieth of their year's reading. Students of Ancient History are reading the first few chapters. No careful instructor of even the "new and strange" young people of the day would, I suppose, place the later chapters of Wells in the hands of the uncritically minded, or at least do so without placing a well-worn volume or two within reach. It may not, however, be

beside the point to remark that the class which reads Wells's chapter on Islam is also to read the greater part of Strachey's "Queen Victoria"; for the instructors in history at the college are heartily of the opinion that newly and vividly written history, if its quality warrants, should go straightaway into the hands of students.

H. L. GRAY

*Bryn Mawr*

[The inference which our correspondent points out was not intended, though we can see that some might not unreasonably have made it. The hearty praise which, in the first part of the editorial, we accorded to Miss Thomas's position on freedom of teaching should suffice to show that we had no idea of such an inference being drawn.—Editors]

## Dante and Wilson

To the Editors:

Subsequent to the celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante Alighieri, I have been reading the "Divina Commedia." From the great poet, exiled by an ungrateful people, my thoughts have gone out to the great leader, to whom a people has proved as deeply ungrateful.

The lines below, from the "Paradiso," Canto XVII, seem as applicable to the world's leader as to the world's poet:

His deeds munificent shall yet be known  
So that concerning them his very foes  
Shall not be able to keep silent tongues.

Look to him and to his benefits:  
By him shall many be changed,  
Altering state, the wealthy and the  
beggars.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Yet would I not have thee envious of  
thy neighbors,  
Since their life shall be prolonged far  
beyond  
Falling of the penalty upon their per-  
fidies.

This cry of thine shall do as doth the  
wind,  
Which smiteth most upon the loftiest  
summits:  
And this shall be no little argument of  
honor.

Therefore have been displayed to thee,  
In these wheels, upon the mount, and  
in the dolorous vale,  
Only souls known to fame:

For the soul of him who heareth rest-  
eth not  
Nor fixeth faith by an example  
Which hath its root unknown and  
hidden.

Six centuries now have paid tribute to Dante (Durante, the enduring one). Thrice six centuries will praise him, the Enduring, who gave the world a plan for the Brotherhood of Peoples.

L. L. CAMPBELL

*Cambridge, Mass.*

## The Barbarities of War

To the Editors:

Your article on "War Criminals" was not what one might expect from a journal of the standing of *The Independent*, at least not three years after the end of the late war.

No one, as far as my knowledge goes, ever attempted to maintain that no outrages were committed by the German armies. It is, however, absurd to pretend that all outrages were confined to one side. Even if evidence of outrages by the Allies were not available, the history of all previous wars would furnish presumptive proof. There never has been a prolonged war without the commission of acts of barbarity by both belligerents. Northern prisoners were cruelly treated in Libby during the Civil War; the closing of Southern ports, even to hospital supplies, by the North was the cause of infinite sufferings to combatants and non-combatants alike. The burning of the town of Niagara in the War of 1812-15, in the dead of winter, by American troops, was not a gentle action; the ravaging of the Hudson Valley by Indian allies of the British in the Revolutionary War that preceded 1812 was less gentle. "Hell Roaring" Jake's order to spare no male over 10 in a Province of the Philippines has its counterpart in the recent action of a British general in India in pouring volley after volley into an unarmed herd of natives and leaving hundreds of dead and wounded in a narrow enclosure from which quick escape had been impossible.

The simple truth is that all war is organized barbarism in its most brutal form. Such a thing as "civilized warfare" is an impossibility and, if civilization itself is not to disappear, another war on anything like the scale of that recently concluded must be made impossible. The first step towards ensuring enduring world peace will be found, not in continually pointing to the faults of others, but in seeing that our own conduct, as individuals and as nations, squares with the Golden Rule.

The most hopeful movement at present under way is that initiated by President Harding in his call for an international conference on disarmament. That movement should have the whole-hearted support of men of good intent the world over.

W. L. SMITH

*Barrie, Canada.*

[That "all outrages were confined to one side" was not said or implied in the editorial paragraph referred to. That some of the German outrages went far beyond the ordinary barbarities of warfare has been proved in the Leipzig trials, and this was the whole point of what we said. As for the Washington Conference, our readers need not be told how ardently we hope for its success.—Editors.]



# Opera in Chicago

By Charles Henry Meltzer

IN Maurice Grau's day, and in Conried's later, it was with doubt that, year by year, an opera season of two weeks or so was given Chicago by the New York management. The outcome of each season was uncertain. For the Chicago public cared less at that time than now for lyric drama in its finer forms. It proves the gradual growth of taste in the great Western city that it should now be willing to accept ten weeks of opera.

The third week of the season has begun here. And it compares in many ways well with the corresponding opera week on Broadway. Last night I heard a wonderful performance of "Le Jongleur" at the Auditorium. Tonight three famous artists—two at least of them in the first rank of opera—are singing Février's "Monna Vanna." For tomorrow we may count on "Tannhäuser" in German. "La Bohème," with Claire Dux in the rôle of Mimi, will be given the next night. Then we shall have "L'Amore dei Tre Re," with Muratore, for the first time, as the tenor of the Montemezzi opera; and, to wind up what will have been a varied list, we may look forward to a performance of "Otello," with the American tenor, Marshall.

Such things as these would once have been impossible. Nor could they be attempted even now but for the generous support assured to the Chicago company by certain well-known and devoted friends of opera. It takes more people—twelve or fifteen hundred more—to fill the huge Auditorium here than to pack every seat and standing place in the big Metropolitan. So even something like the failure of a season (in the business sense of failure) might be regarded as a distinct artistic triumph.

The leading singers in the Auditorium company can hold their own. Among them there are some—I may name Muratore, Raisa, Cotreuil, Dufranne, Mary Garden, Johnson, and—perhaps Baklanoff and Marshall and Claire Dux (though as to one of these expert opinions differ)—who would do credit to the greatest lyric theatres. It would be hard to match the chivalrous allure, the style and voice of Muratore in the rôle of Prinzevalle, the exquisite tenderness and charm of Mary Garden as Jean the Tumbler (not the "Juggler") and Monna Vanna, the homely humor and the eloquence of Dufranne as the Cook in Massenet's miracle play. Miss Garden was in splendid voice last night. But to preserve her voice she should beware of singing two nights running, as she has sung this week. One can have too much zeal. Caruso taught us that. So far, the presentation of "Monna Vanna" has marked the highest and most beautiful achievement of the Chicago season. It is worth noting, by the by, for several reasons, that, after all, Chicago is to have "Lohengrin" again this year in English. If "Lohengrin" in English, why not "Tannhäuser"? Perhaps to test the values of two systems.

The director of the stage, Mr. Coini, is doing well—and less well—much as usual. The chorus—well, it might be much improved. The Chicago orchestra, however, has this season taken on new power and richness. In other years it was the weakest spot in the Mid-Western opera house. But it has now been vastly strengthened and reformed by the omission, as Maestro Polacco tells me, of over thirty musicians and by the addition of as many to his forces. The strings, the brass, and some of the wood-winds make up a fine organization. The clarinets, bassoons, and a few more wood instruments still seem imperfect. They lack a little—a great deal, indeed—in suavity and charm and sweetness. They play the notes, but often cheat one of expression, shadings, tenderness of tone, and other beauties. When these musicians reach New York, though, in due course they may

surprise you by their general efficiency. There will, I venture to predict, be no such scrambling and ridiculous performances as those you heard last year in "Otello" and in "Pelléas."

And for this notable improvement in the orchestra you will have largely to thank Maestro Polacco. He has done wonders in a short time with his followers. The Chicago orchestra can now be treated seriously. In some climaxes last night, indeed, it could not very well have been excelled by our own New York orchestra, and that is, surely, praise of a high kind.

Rehearsals of Prokofieff's postponed opera, "The Love of the Three Oranges," are now in progress. This effort of the ultra-modern Russian will be watched with interest. Prokofieff, though unusual, has to some of us not yet meant very much. The libretto of his opera, as we know from the announcements published here, is based on a satiric play by Gozzi. It tells the tale of a poor, melancholy prince who paid his addresses to three giant oranges. Each of them hid a fair princess. Two died of thirst. The third and last survived, thanks to the intervention of a group of onlookers, who, from the wings, observe the action, on the plan of "Le Coq d'Or." Fantastic? Yes. And some might think it futile. But till we hear it, we should bottle up our judgments.

Of deeper value should, I think, be the all-Russian presentation of the beguiling fairy opera by Rimsky-Korsakoff, that "Snegourochka" which has for years proved so attractive at the Opéra-Comique. In French, as I recall it, "Snegourochka" was a pure delight. But the French understood the story of "The Snow Maiden." For it was sung to them in French, in their own tongue, and not, as it will be here before long, in an unmeaning idiom.

These two works—oddly, both of them by Russians—are the sole novelties expected here this season. On their success or failure much, of course, depends. One Russian work might have seemed quite enough to gratify Chicago in one year. And yet—well, till they are produced, why carp and criticise? Much that we owe to Russia has been good, if some things have been only strange and crude.

*Chicago, November 28*

## They Shall Build Cities

HIGH above your smoke and fire  
Vega burns, beside the lyre;  
Circling round your fire and smoke  
Cedars grow, and pine, and oak.

Violets, in hidden places,  
Quietly lift their friendly faces;  
Brooks and creeks push endlessly  
Toward an unforgotten sea.

Older than your first unrest  
Is this cedar on the crest;  
Younger than your latest spite  
Are the buds that spring tonight.

When your last smoke thins and dies  
Still these pines will brush the skies;  
When your fire's last song is sung,  
These old stars will still be young.

CLEMENT WOOD



# Drama

## Plays Domestic and Imported

"The Verge." By Susan Glaspell. Provincetown Players: Garrick Theatre.

"The Dream Maker." By William Gillette: based on a story by Howard E. Morton. Empire Theatre.

"The Grand Duke." By Sacha Guitry: adapted by Achmed Abdullah. Lyceum.

"The Wife with a Smile." By Denys Amiel and André Obey. Boubouroche. By Georges Courteline. The Theatre Guild: Garrick Theatre.

MISS GLASPELL'S newest play possesses the power of arousing interest and stimulating discussion. Coming at a moment when most plays cannot lift their audiences more than momentarily out of a deep mental lethargy, a play that arouses so much talk must possess a certain merit. One cannot be absolutely indifferent to "The Verge." It puzzles; it irritates; it piques—even as it disappoints. When we seek to discover the source of this power, we finally find it, I believe, in Miss Glaspell's choice of theme. There is, of course, no particular novelty in the type of "mysticism" represented by her central figure, Claire Archer, and not even a lucid mastery of the problem. Such spiritual adventures as are suggested in "The Verge" are familiar enough to students of philosophy and theology, and have been amply described and interpreted from Plotinus to Dean Inge. Likewise the drama of modern science as embodied in the supreme comedy of Mendel's life or the tragedy of a mathematician like Abel is no novelty to any intelligent layman who follows the scientific news of the day. Miss Glaspell combines, in her Claire Archer, science, symbolism, mysticism, and melodrama. Knowing her audience of *intelligentsia*, she recognizes how little the average audience knows of the true drama of spiritual and scientific adventure, and has therefore dressed up her theme, which was certainly worthy of more austere and cool-headed treatment, in all the trappings of romanticism and melodrama. Claire Archer is a most self-conscious "superwoman," a "genius" in biology and botany who places herself above—or below—the ordinary laws of decency and dignity. But her search for "otherness" gives her none of that inner spiritual grace of the authentic mystic: instead, her irritability and acerbity intensify to the point that she finally strangles one of her casual lovers and crosses the verge into insanity. If it was Miss Glaspell's intention to satirize the type of erotic, neurotic, ill-tempered, and platitudinous hussy who dramatizes herself into a "superwoman" and even "puts it over" on her gentlemen friends until they too accept her at her own valuation, she has admirably succeeded. If, however, like the feminine majority of her audiences, she, too, accepts this fraudulent female as an authentic "superwoman" we can only express our opinion that Claire is not convincing. The authentic scientist today does not indulge in botanical hocus-pocus and melodramatic mutations; while the true mystic attains a spiritual calm that renders him impervious to the philistinism and normality that drove Claire crazy. Perhaps the play was ripped untimely from the author's brain. Our dilemma and our discussion of it, at any rate, seem to stem from a conflict in Miss Glaspell's conception—a conception that lacks unity of aim and intention.

Of William Gillette's new play, "The Dream Maker," little need be said except that it affords us an opportunity to witness again the finished acting of this great American actor. Mr. Gillette was especially fine in his opening scene, revealing to us of a younger generation the truth of the claim that acting has degenerated in these days. Here, we thought as Mr. Gillette appeared, is great acting, worthy of a great play and a great character. Alas! "The Dream Maker" was conventional crook stuff, which kept getting

worse and worse and with it, it seems, that fine initial impression of the actor fading into nothing. Such a waste of talent seems to emphasize anew that in this country, to save our theatre, what we need is great plays for great actors. Great plays would develop great acting—witness Pauline Lord in "Anna Christie." Great actors, unaided, cannot evoke great drama, as "The Dream Maker" indicates.

The new Theatre Guild production, consisting of two two-act plays from the French, suggests questions concerning this problem of importing plays from Paris. The Guild has heretofore been most successful in its importations. "Liliom" and "Heartbreak House" are brilliant instances. But "The Wife with a Smile" ("La souriante Madame Beudet") is scarcely more than a Grand Guignol shocker elaborated into two tiresome acts. Beudet, the boorish spouse of the lady with the bitter smile, has the habit of toying with an unloaded pistol, and of occasionally (to dramatize his marital infelicity) pointing it at his own head. Madame Beudet surreptitiously loads it. Overcome by remorse, she starts to unload it again. Her husband enters. Excitement and thrills and painful suspense should here follow. Instead of the expected thrill, this action had upon me, at least, an effect almost soporific. But I have a bitter prejudice against these gun plays. Evidently there is no Sullivan law for the contemporary drama. Even in that drama of "otherness" "The Verge," Miss Glaspell must bring in a pistol. Even in "Anna Christie" Eugene O'Neill resorts to this threadbare device. What benefits might not accrue to the drama if our playwrights were, for the period of a decade at least, estopped from introducing revolvers of any sort into their plays! Nowadays, pistols are the second industry in current dramaturgy—the telephone coming first, doing double duty, replacing our old friend the soliloquy and helping out the exposition.

Again, why did the Guild select that evanescent, purely local and passing skit of Courteline's "Boubouroche," as worthy of revival after these twenty years? Courteline is the most untranslatable of Frenchmen; but if he were to be presented in America, why not something like "La Conversion d'Alceste," that brilliant postscript to "The Misanthrope." There are French plays aplenty worthy of the Guild's attention: There are the dramas of H. R. Lenormand, as well as those of three younger and gayer men named Molière, Marivaux, and Beaumarchais. What opportunities they offer to the scenery boys!—and what is drama today without scenery?

However, the problem of importing plays from Paris for Broadway consumption is a difficult one to understand. Usually they are translated by one man, "adapted" by another, produced by a third, acted by people who know nothing of the original intention of the author, soaked in the sauce piquante of Broadway "Frenchiness," and accepted by audiences as the distilled quintessence of Paris.

Commercially this exploitation of adulterated drama may be immensely profitable. Artistically and ethically it is difficult to defend. Sacha Guitry's plays are certainly worthy of importation. But why do our most distinguished producers give us only his most trivial and unimportant works and neglect to present his highest and most characteristic achievements? "The Grand Duke" represents Sacha in his most overworked and banal mood. Today he is too popular, too successful, too hurried, to sustain the level reached in "Pasteur," "*Mon Père avait raison*," or "*La prise de Berg-op-Zoom*." He writes, he paints, he publishes, he produces, he acts. He does too many things to do one well. Until we have had him at his best, why, except for commercial reasons, should we be given Sacha at his worst? But even at his worst, let it be a faithful version of Guitry, rather than an over-emphasized indecency wearing the mask of "Frenchiness," or a ponderous leer-ing lubricity.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER



## New Books and Old

AS examples of book-making, the volumes of the Modern Library (Boni & Liveright) have some qualities which would distress a bibliophile. But considering the wide variety of titles, the important modern authors represented, and the price, criticism ought on the whole to be favorable. They are actually pocket-size—an interesting consideration when you wish a book to carry on a journey in your overcoat pocket. Two especially good additions to the list are "Tales of Mean Streets" by Arthur Morrison, and "Passages from the Diary of Samuel Pepys," edited with an introduction by Richard Le Gallienne. Mr. Morrison's book (with introductory preface by H. L. Mencken) could not be published at a better time. It is to be commended not only to those who have never read these superb stories of genuine modern realism, but to all the feeble practitioners of the art of realism, the insufferable folk who think that they can attain their object by hovering about the kitchen sink and describing bad smells. "Tales of Mean Streets" records life under sordid and tragic conditions, but it is real life, into whose texture come many elements, pitiful, mean, cheerful or ridiculous—life as it may also come to be seen by the Evelyn Scotts and John Dos Passoses, when they are frank enough to abandon their pose and admit it.

Mr. Le Gallienne's version of Pepys's "Diary" can give, as he admits, only about one-eighth of the whole. I should have fancied it was even less. But he gives a taste of the whole work and furnishes examples of Samuel's public services and private enterprises, creditable and otherwise. We get a notion of his family life and of London life of the time. Now that Wheatley's edition has almost stopped the Bowdlerizing from which the "Diary" has suffered, it is possible for the present editor to make this interesting epitome. Mr. Gallienne says that the name Pepys "has always been pronounced by the family 'Peeps'." Maybe, but—

There are people, I'm told, some say there are heaps  
Who speak of the talkative Samuel as Peeps;  
And some so precise and pedantic their step is,  
Who call the delightful old diarist Peppis.  
But those I think right, and I follow their steps  
Ever mention the garrulous gossip as Peps.

Everyone delights in the quaint and charming humor of Don Marquis. We love Hermione and we feel for the Old Soak. The following contribution to our enjoyment is from his "Noah an' Jonah an' Cap'n John Smith" (Appleton)

### AN ENCYCLOPEDIA AFFAIR

The gay BOK-CAN was a gentleman  
In a coat of gold and green, O!  
And he loved SIB-SZO from head to toe,  
Though the alphabet stretched between, O!

"SIB-SZO," he would say, "you keep away  
From MOT-ORM and his doings,  
Distrust the lip of the glib GOU-HIP,  
And hearken to my wooings!"

"Bokhara goats, dear ma'am, eat oats.  
And Burgundy grows good wine, ma'am!  
Camphor comes from vegetal gums,  
O say that you'll be mine, ma'am!"

But SIB-SZO sighed as she replied,  
"The Simoon sweeps the sea, sir,  
Spinoza fought for the freedom of thought,  
I cannot wed with thee, sir!"

\* \* \* \* \*  
"The Sugar-Bird is rather absurd,  
And Steam will raise a blister,  
My sweetheart is the bold FAL-FYZ,  
But I will be your sister!"

BOK-CAN did choke, and sadness broke  
The heart in his noble bust, sir,  
URA-ZYM found an urn for him  
And DUG-EF claimed his dust, sir!

A book for the discriminating is William Rothenstein's "Twenty-four Portraits" (Harcourt, Brace). Here are portrait sketches of Granville Barker, Max Beerbohm, Robert Bridges, Conrad, Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy, John Masefield, Bernard Shaw, Sir James Frazer, Lord Haldane, Edmund Gosse, and others to make up the two dozen—mostly writers. A page of print—a "critical appreciation"—by an author equally eminent accompanies each portrait.

Two pleasing books by W. H. Hudson are "A Traveler in Little Things," and "A Shepherd's Life," both published by E. P. Dutton & Co. The first is made up of brief papers—roadside encounters, talks with children and vagabonds, stories about birds, fish, and dogs, and two or three sensible protests against the needless killing of harmless animals. The other, "A Shepherd's Life," concerns one of the most fascinating spots on the earth's surface—so far as I know—and that is Salisbury Plain. Here are gypsies and poachers and Old Sarum and Stonehenge and barrows with the bones of neolithic man and Amesbury Abbey—to which Queen Guinevere fled all night long by glimmering waste and weald and heard the spirits of the waste and weald moan as she fled. And rising above it all, and visible for so many miles, the tall, graceful spire of Salisbury cathedral.

"Look at that meadow," said John Burroughs, according to a recent book, "it's just as full of woodchucks now as it was seventy years ago." That was the hopeful, cheerful spirit of the man—a pleasant contrast to cheap, current, pessimism. The grand old race of woodchucks was being maintained—all was well with the world. In his last book of essays, "Under the Maples" (Houghton Mifflin), the chap-

ter on "Bird Intimacies" is as fresh and amusing, as tender and as free from sentimentality, as any in "Wake Robin," which was published in the 1870's.

Bernard Shaw warned Max Eastman to proceed at his peril with his book, "The Sense of Humor" (Scribner). Mr. Shaw said: "There is no more dangerous literary symptom than a temptation to write about wit and humor. It indicates the total loss of both." Generally speaking, that is true. But Mr. Eastman pretends to nothing more than the ability to analyze humor, and in this book he establishes his ability to do it. The author's familiarity with literature and his unassuming style make the treatise notable.

A day or two ago I read a volume of reminiscences announced by its publishers—with some flourish—as by "a man of thirty." Strange, said they, that a man so young should write his recollections! Inside, the book was sober enough for a man of sixty. Youth—now so much acclaimed in literature—is often enveloped in the inky cloak of a ridiculous melancholy. I find fully as much of the spirit of youth in the writings of Henry Holt and Lyman Abbott as in some of these grotesque old fogies of twenty-five years who are wallowing in the valley of the shadow. Dr. Abbott's "Silhouettes of My Contemporaries" (Doubleday) illustrates the point. He writes of P. T. Barnum and Edwin Booth with as much gusto as he does of Whittier, General Booth, and Phillips Brooks.

I found a Stephen Leacock essay I'd never read before in Christopher Morley's "Modern Essays" (Harcourt, Brace). That alone was worth the price of admission. There are over thirty essays in the book; there is an essay by Strunsky, and one by Beerbohm, and essays by Belloc, and O. W. Firkins, and William Osler, and Conrad, and Milne, and John Macy, and Robert Palfrey Utter (who wrote "The Strange and Surprising Table Manners of the Crowned Heads of Europe"—a song which cheered marching men in the great war), and Stuart P. Sherman, and a dozen others. These are witty writers—and so are A. P. Herbert, and Harry Morgan Ayres, and Robert C. Holliday—it is a fine book, with a lot of good reading in it, and Mr. Morley's notes about the writers are amusing, with no vicious element of instructiveness.

An enlarged second edition has been printed of P. B. M. Allan's "The Book-Hunter at Home" (Putnam), a tall volume of adventures with books, the care of books, the collector's whims, and the formation of a private library.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## An English Raconteur

HERE, THERE, AND EVERYWHERE. By Lord Frederic Hamilton. New York: George H. Doran Company.

THE first Duke of Abercorn, who died more than thirty years ago, had thirteen children. The daughters, according to the custom for ladies of their station, all married peers. One of them became the Duchess of Buccleuch; one the Marchioness of Lansdowne—wife of the famous Viceroy and Cabinet Minister. The younger sons, not having the dukedom to expect, followed also the regular course for gentlemen who were trained at public schools and universities: they entered the service of the state as officers of the army, members of the diplomatic corps, or of Parliament. So far this indicated only the sense of responsibility and duty which is usual in the peerage of Great Britain. But the Hamiltons had that which carried them beyond such military commissions or Parliamentary seats as they might naturally expect as sons of their father; they did not stop at these, but became, one of them, at least, a Cabinet Minister, one the chairman of a great railway, more than one a writer. All of them, it appears, were lively, humorous, human folk, vigorous, curious about the world, happy, and useful.

Lord Frederic Spencer Hamilton, one of these younger sons, and now a man of sixty years, who has served in English embassies in four or five foreign capitals, as well as in Parliament, has written in "The Vanished Poms of Yesterday," "The Days Before Yesterday," and now in "Here, There and Everywhere," three of the most fascinating volumes of reminiscences which it is possible to imagine. Always a great traveler, a linguist (as most Englishmen are said not to be), and, above all, a good observer, with a quick eye for the ridiculous, his pages flow along so easily that one chapter melts into the next, and the reader who took up the book for half an hour finds himself still entertained and eager at the end of two or three hours. The present book, briefer, less pretentious and even more informal than the others, says little of public life, but contents itself with a series of observations on foreign lands, and a great number of amusing anecdotes and stories. These are fresh and unhackneyed, since they are not familiar yarns repeated, but are nearly all from personal experience.

The book opens with a tiger hunt in India, moves to China, thence to the West Indies, to Jamaica and Bermuda, to the Argentine, to South Africa, to France and to London. For the tiger hunt he was provided with an elderly and "highly respectable female elephant named Chota Begum." Had she been a lady instead of an elephant, he thinks, she would have worn silver-rimmed spectacles and a large cap

with cherries in it, would have knitted stockings all day long, and taken a deep interest in the Church Missionary Society. She was that kind of elephant; sober, yet affectionate.

I soon got on very friendly terms with Chota Begum. She was inordinately fond of oranges, which, of course, were difficult to procure in the jungle, so I daily brought her a present of half a dozen of these delicacies, supplementing the gift at luncheon time with a few bananas. Chota Begum was deeply touched by these attentions, and one morning my mahout informed me that she wished, out of gratitude, to lift me into the howdah with her trunk. I cannot conceive how he found this out, but I naturally was averse to wounding the elephant's feelings by refusing the proffered courtesy, though I should infinitely have preferred getting into the howdah in the ordinary manner. The mahout, after the mysterious manner of his kind, was giving his charge minute directions to be very careful with me, when I suddenly felt myself seized by Chota Begum's trunk, lifted into the air, and held upside down at the extreme length of that member, for, it seemed to me, at least five minutes. Rupees and small change rained from my pockets to the ground, cigar case, cigarette case, matches and cartridge extractor streamed down to earth in clattering showers from their abiding places; the blood rushed to my head till I was on the verge of apoplexy, and still Chota Begum, remembering her instructions to be careful, held me up aloft until slowly, very slowly indeed, she lowered me into the howdah, dizzy and stupid with rush of blood to the head. The attention was well-meant, but it was distinctly not one to be repeated indefinitely. In my youth there was a popular song recounting the misfortunes of one Mr. Brown:

"Old man Brown, upside down.

With his legs sticking up in the air;" but I never imagined that I should share his unpleasant experiences.

Another story of Chota Begum may be quoted, before the Indian chapters are closed:

One evening on our way back to camp, we thought that we would ride our elephants ourselves, and told the mahouts to get down. They had no fancy for walking two miles back to camp, and accordingly, in some mysterious manner of which they have the secret, gave their charges private but definite orders. I seated myself on Chota Begum's neck, put my feet in the string stirrups, and took the big *ankus* in my hand. The others did the same. I then ordered Chota Begum to go on, using the exact words the mahout did. Chota Begum commenced walking round and round in a small circle, and the eight other elephants all did the same. I tried cajoling her as the mahout did, and assured her that she was a "Pearl" and my "Heart's Delight." Chota Begum continued walking round and round in a small circle, as did all the other elephants. I changed my tactics, and made the most unmerited insinuations as to her mother's personal character, at the same time giving her a slight hint with the blunt end of the *ankus*. Chota Begum continued stolidly walking round and round. Meanwhile language most unsuited to a Sunday school arose from other members of the party, who were also careering round and round in small circles. Finally an Irish A. D. C. summed up the situation by crying, "These mahouts have us beat," whereupon we capitulated, and a simultaneous shout went up. "Ohé, Mahout-log!" It is but seldom that one sees a native of India laughing, but those mahouts, when they emerged

from the cover of some bamboos, were simply bent double with laughter. How they had conveyed their wishes to the elephants beats me still.

There is a curious story of an Indian juggler—one of the extraordinary tales of these magicians, authenticated, but at second hand. The uncovering of the sacred Tooth of Buddha at Kandy is a colorful description. The Chinese chapter is frank in its statements about the filth and evil smells of a Chinese city, but none the less appreciative of the sights which fascinate the eye even while the nose is being offended. The boys who call home the ducks at night—from feeding in the paddy fields—summoning each flock by a horn to its proper boat, and threatening the last ten ducks of each flock with a thrashing from a long bamboo pole, moved the author to laughter, and he defies anyone to watch the comical haste of the ducks without becoming helpless with mirth. The ducks, having been summoned and threatened in this way for a thousand years, seem to know by an inherited sense exactly how important it is to beat their neighbors to the boat.

The chapters on Jamaica, the Barbadoes, and Bermuda are fairly extensive, and dip into a few historical recollections with references to Marryat, Michael Scott, and the diaries of former residents. The title of the book is the author's license for wandering, both as to time and place, and, as usual, the absence of restrictions results in making the book the more charming. So it is perfectly appropriate for him to reflect that he was rather surprised to find himself, in 1914, patrolling the streets of London at night in the uniform of a special constable.

I had occasion one night, whilst on my beat, to enter the house of a professional man in Harley Street, whose house, in defiance of the "Lighting Orders," was blazing like the Eddystone Lighthouse. I gave the doctor a severe lecture, and pointed out that he was rendering himself liable to a heavy fine. He took my reprobation in very good part, for I trust that as a policeman I blended severity with sympathy, and promised to amend his ways, and then added hospitably, "As perhaps you have been out some time, constable, you might be glad of some sandwiches and a glass of beer. If you will go down to the kitchen, I will tell the cook to get you some." So down I went to the kitchen, and presently found myself being entertained by an enormously fat cook. John Leech's *Pictures from Punch* have been familiar to me since my earliest days. Some of his most stereotyped jokes revolved round the unauthorized presence of policemen in kitchens, but in my very wildest dreams it had never occurred to me that I, myself, when well past my sixtieth year, would find myself in a policeman's uniform seated in a London kitchen, being regaled on beer and sandwiches by a corpulent cook, and making polite conversation to her. I hasten to disclaim the idea that any favorable impression I may have created on the cook was in any way due to my natural charm of manner; it was wholly to be ascribed to the irresistible attraction the policeman's uniform which I was wearing traditionally exercises over ladies of her profession.



One of the intimate family stories (readers of "The Days Before Yesterday" will remember others) concerns an early performance of an elder sister, who later became Duchess of Buccleuch. At the age of four she was taken to the Chapel Royal, for christening at the hands of the Primate of All England. She had been given some sugared almonds to keep her quiet, and one of them had been removed from her mouth just before entering the chapel. She succeeded in getting another into her mouth, however, and kept it there for a little while, undetected. Shortly after the ceremony began, and while she was held in the arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury, she concluded that generosity compelled her to share her pleasures with others, so she extracted the almond and popped it into the mouth of the Archbishop. Nobody, except the afflicted Archbishop, noticed this, but the spectators were astonished to observe that he suddenly began to mumble the words of the service, instead of speaking them clearly. It was, however, as they all agreed afterwards, the best that he could do: both arms were occupied in holding the child, he could not eject the almond in an undignified manner, and there was nothing for it but mumbling. Why he did not swallow it we are not told. Perhaps he didn't like almonds.

### Pathos of Egoism

**VERA.** By the author of "Elizabeth and Her German Garden." New York: Doubleday, Page and Company.

**LOVERS AND FRIENDS?** By E. F. Benson. New York: George H. Doran Company.

"**VERA**" goes deeper than the vein of domestic comedy to which its author has accustomed us. Domestic tragedy would more nearly express its quality, if a satirical twist did not keep it within the bounds of tragi-comedy. But there is no uncertainty about its effect, whatever category a critical habit may find to fit it. The author has had a definite objective and has attained that objective without hesitation or by-excursion. This is a study in male egoism, the male egoism of Philistine and bounder. We have had plenty of such studies in recent fiction, especially as concerning the British bounder-egoist of the middle class. They have indeed grown somewhat tedious, dealing, as they do, almost exclusively and monotonously with the pompous and more or less hypocritical father, whose main happiness is to impose his will on his dependent family. This person, who has become almost a formula, is commonly flouted and routed at the end of the tale by his spouse or his offspring, and thus made more or less conscious of the error of his ways, and moved to reform them. "Vera" is a study of the incorrigible tyrant, incorrigible because of his immovable complacency and conviction of merit, because his egoism is based upon the habitual identification of his own comfort and the happiness of others.

## Suggestions for Christmas

### Illustrated Books

#### *The Friendly Arctic*

By VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON

"This book becomes immediately a milestone in the advance movement of knowledge and science . . . By the use of the word 'friendly,' Stefansson means that the north polar region is itself friendly and hospitable to man . . . That was the theory on which he based the whole of his plans for his epoch-making enterprise, and it was the soundness of his thinking that ended in triumph."—Austin Hay, in the *New York Times*. Ill. \$6.00

#### *Plays of Edmond Rostand*

Translated by HENDERSON DAINGERFIELD NORMAN  
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"Rostand's verse is packed with beauty, and as for pointing a half-epigram there is nothing quite like a rhyme. All these effects the translator reproduces admirably, and what is more, she preserves the sweep of the thing. The preface, brief and restrained as it is, shows an ardor that explains why Mrs. Norman has been so successful."—*The Chicago Evening Post*. 2 Vols. \$10.50

### Among the New Novels

#### *Maria Chapdelaine: A Tale of the Lake St. John Country*

By LOUIS HÉMON Translated by W. H. BLAKE

A tale of the simple manners and the pure faith of the French-Canadian farmers and of a girl whose lover is lost in the forest; a novel of pathos and tragedy that is at once an idyll and a poem. \$2.00

#### *A Daughter of the Middle Border*

By HAMLIN GARLAND

"Here lies Hamlin Garland's best province and here appears his best art. It is difficult to over-praise the sincerity and tenderness and beauty with which the chronicle is set down."—Carl van Doren, in *The Nation*. Ill. \$2.00

#### *Mr. Waddington of Wyck.*

By MAY SINCLAIR

"Clever in insight, adroit in handling, interestingly local in coloring, the book is an admirable bit of satire on a certain critical period in the life of every man."—*Washington Star*. \$2.00

#### *Beggars' Gold.*

By ERNEST POOLE

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#### *The Tower of Oblivion.*

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He does not see, is incapable of seeing, that anybody else ought to be happy apart from his heavy caprice. Vera seeks the only possible escape, for a chosen and dedicated victim of his sublime complacency.

She has sought and found it before this narrative begins. For Vera is present in these pages only as a memory of whom they are to be taken as a vindication or apology. She seems at most to preside over them as a free ironical presence, not without sympathy for such fellow-victims as have still to make their escape from, or basely reconcile themselves to, his bondage. After many years of unwilling subjection, Vera, some two weeks before this narrative begins, has flung herself from a window, with the careful appearance of accident, and found her quietus on the flagging below. We are to see, by acquaintance with the Everard Wemyss of subsequent days, how naturally and almost inevitably an intelligent and sensitive woman bound to him might have come to that act. We must accept as a premise the impossibility of her escape by running away or by legal separation: Wemyss, we see, would have prevented or nullified either step, even if her sensitiveness had permitted it. Accepting this, we go along with the story-teller without effort to the end. From the Wemyss point of view, it is a happy ending, since his second victim is plainly incapable of slipping out of his hands. He is like a boy with a rabbit. Lucy is entirely and permanently at his mercy; and this for him is the perfect joy of possession.

Interpretations of this general type usually fall through because they cannot get beyond caricature—instance May Sinclair's Mr. Waddington, or Mr. Benson's Philip Courthope. "Lovers and Friends" is to me one of the very best of the Bensonian stories—a comedy of three egoists, father, mother, and daughter. The mother is a sort of heartless "Dodo," whom one cannot quite despise because her heartlessness is, like her irrepressible love of pleasure, like that of a child. She is an egoist whom hosts of people are mildly fond of, if only because she wants them to be a part of her pleasure. She has let herself be married young by the impossible bounder Philip, and, luckily holding the purse-strings, has promptly exiled him the moment he became an utter bore to her. With him into exile (a properly subsidized exile) has gone their girl-child. Our story begins at the moment when, many years later, the paths of these three touch for a moment. Philip Courthope is a sort of Beau Nash, the self-appointed master of ceremonies at a small English watering-place. He is a bounder, a parasite, a conceited and pompous ass. He is full of pailor tricks, and never happy unless he is showing them off. He is happy only when he thinks all eyes are focused in admiration on his person and his accomplishments. The girl-child has grown to a charming young woman. She has few illusions

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about anything, and none at all about her father. Her uncanny trait is that she unaffectedly enjoys her father's absurdities and vulgarities, instead of feeling implicated in them. She lives in a world of self-centred and slightly mocking detachment. When love comes, and she finds herself the object of a pure and romantic passion, she is incapable of generous surrender. The child of two such egoists cannot escape her inheritance. We are at least given to suppose, in the end, that the noble devotion and comprehension of her husband may rescue her in spite of herself. Philip is a fatuous and vulgar egoist; Florence is an amusing dilettante in egoism; and Celia is the purely hapless egoist bred of such a pair. At least she aspires, "she wants"; how can we ask more of her, and how dismiss her with contempt?

Now Everard Wemyss in "Vera" does not "want" anything higher than his own comfort and convenience. He is a bounder, a braggart, a person of absolute and minute selfishness in thought and deed. He is a bully, and the type of bully who, being obliged to conform to other people more or less in general society and in business, finds heaven at home in the unquestioned or at least irresistible dominance he can there exercise at leisure and without stint. His creator's remarkable feat is in making him, in spite of all this, an object of sympathy as well as of acute dislike. For he does not know what he is, he is literally incapable of perceiving that his first wife has flung herself to death to escape him, or that his second wife can only endure him because she has no mind or will of her own. He is that piteous figure, the human dullard who sincerely worships his own godhead, and finds it amply confirmed by the worship or submission of a single fellow-being. You can weather a Waddington or a Courthope comfortably enough. You cannot dismiss Wemyss as caricature. Alack, he is the perfect flower of the male weed!

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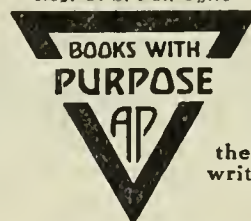
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The Board of Directors of Utah Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of 50 cents per share, payable December 31, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business December 16, 1921. C. V. JENKINS, Treasurer.

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foot forward in this first volume. Mr. Henri is a sympathetic, and, if you will, great figure among the younger realists by reason of his teaching and personal influence, but by no stretch of generosity is he among the ten or twelve best figure painters of America. Moreover, the essay on Mr. Henri is in no sense a criticism or analysis of his work, but a sustained eulogy, of which, through liberal quotations from his own writings, he largely controls the terms. Now, the value of such a series is, it seems to us, that it should be critical and not merely amiable.

Naturally the reviewer can not supply the critique that the editors have not vouchsafed. What appears clearly, however, even in paging over the forty plates, is the restlessness and brittleness of Mr. Henri's gift. To mere seeing he brings an exasperated and impatient gusto which he fears to compromise by thoughtful and prolonged technical processes. At his best, in such a head as the Pat Roberts, he combines extraordinary vividness with sure sympathy. More often we have just vividness, and vividness that loses on second seeing. Moreover, he has done, for a painter of his repute, an enormous amount of merely hasty, flimsy, and quite ugly painting. The sense of quality in color has pretty nearly been denied him. Compare him in this technical respect with men who have used approximately his scale and subjects, Luks, Sloan, Glackens, and the difference between casual or showy and really expressive use of the brush will be apparent. All the same, Henri is in twenty-eight museums—there by reason of his snapshot gift of catching character on the wing. His emphatic and explosive human sympathy is a perfectly good reason for a vogue that measured in other values may seem excessive. The present monograph seems to us a cruelly premature exposure of the limitations of Mr. Henri's talent. A more careful selection of pictures, including one of the marines, something from the Indian series, and the admirable "Little Dancer" would have presented Mr. Henri's energetic gift with more distinction. Distinction is precisely what this art generally misses. It lacks patience and thoughtfulness; it is racy, but its raciness is often thin.

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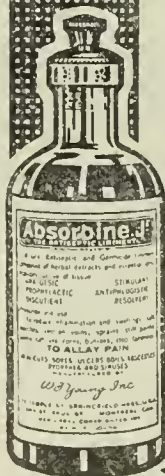
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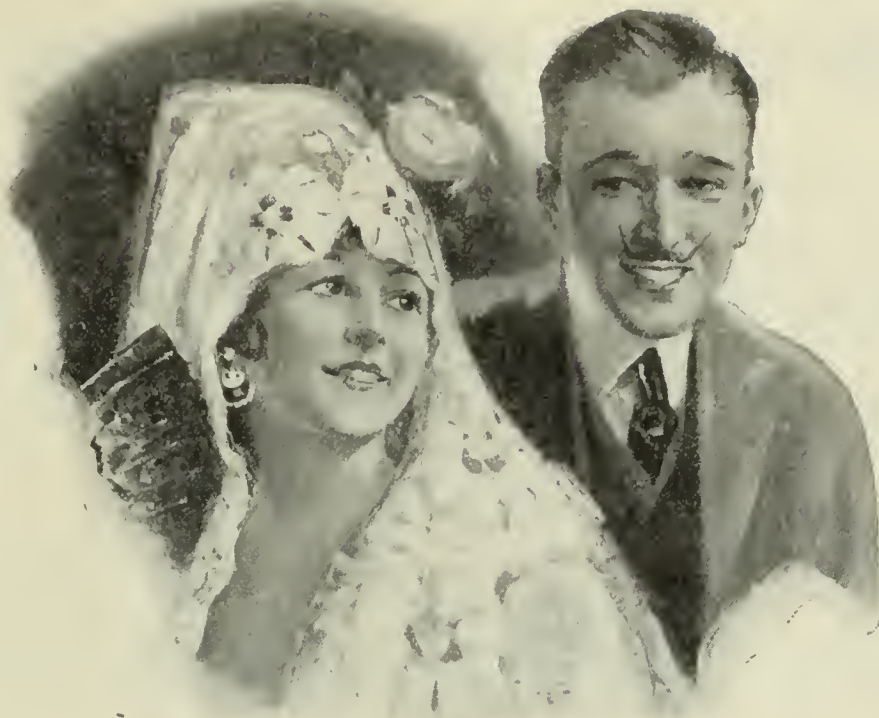
## The Industrial Trend

THE Labor Board's recent revision downward of the special privileges secured by the shop crafts and some other groups of railroad employees under the National Agreements, appears to have curtailed these special privileges less than the Board's announcement of the new rules indicates. These Agreements were negotiated with the U. S. Railroad Administration, mainly in the autumn of 1919, though one was signed only a few days before the railroads were returned to private operation in 1920. Due to pressure from the Railway Employees Department of the Federation of Labor, these agreements set up uniform wages and working rules for the whole country.

Aside from their abolition of piece-work, their excessively burdensome effect upon railroad finance has been largely due to the "interpretations" put upon the agreements by the two National Adjustment Boards (sitting in Washington) which were concerned with the shop and other non-transportation employees. It would seem that these "interpretations" must have been inspired by a deliberate purpose to "milk" the railroads of the last cent that could be extracted under the cover of Government authority, for many of them were grotesquely unfair and grasping. The excessive money gains thus secured to the shop crafts solidified the organization during the period of success; but they carried a penalty with them. For the shop crafts men could not refrain from flaunting their gains in the faces of the train service men, and taunting the latter with their failure to get equally great advantages. This made bad blood between the train Brotherhoods and the other unions, and the latter reaped their rewards when they found at the time of the recent threatened strike that the train men would give them no help.

The Board has now taken up the less complicated rules of the other non-transportation employees. As the Board will not deal with further wage reductions until revision of the rules has been completed, this good progress promises a hopefully early consideration of the main issue. Action on the rules so far taken has done away with many of the most flagrant abuses set up by the "interpretations." An order of the Board (issued in October) permitting the railroads to negotiate for a return to piece-work in their shops was taken at the time as a more or less futile gesture; but it now appears that some shops long closed will reopen on this basis through the persuasion of the higher earnings that can be guaranteed for piece-work.

The remarkable possibilities in employee representation are shown in the recent reductions of wages in the plants of four of the "Big Five" meat packers after conferences (and an inspection of the company's books in the case of Armour & Co.), had convinced



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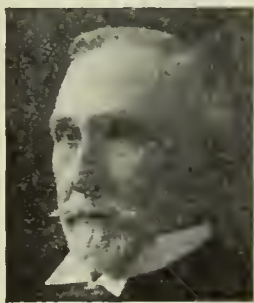
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a committee of employees that a reduction of wages was not only proper, but a necessity from the point of view of the business itself. Four of the "Big Five"—Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy—last spring established a rather mild form of employee representation in their plants, which have always been on an open shop basis. The joint conference for the nine plants of the Armour Company was followed by similar conferences for the other companies, with generally similar results. The wage reductions, ultimately affecting about 125,000 men and women, are unique on that scale and method.

The point comes to mind, however, that in attempting to pass on the situation shown on the Armour books, the employees' committee undertook a task for which presumably only high accounting skill could properly qualify them. The strongest supporter of the general principle of employee representation may well feel inclined to urge that in such cases as these of the packers' cost accounts, the employees are entitled to the advice and interpretations of an expert accountant retained in their interest. The costs of a single small plant may not be beyond the comprehension of an employees' committee: but those of a company with plants in several cities, especially in a business so complicated as that of the meat packers, seems a bigger matter than workers should be asked to consider without expert assistance.

Dissension in the United Mine Workers over the Kansas coal strikes has reached an acute pitch. Howatt, president of the Kansas district, his officers, and some three thousand Kansas miners have been expelled by President Lewis of the central organization for their refusal to obey the order of the recent convention to end the strikes. Now the Illinois miners, who, under the lead of Frank Farrington (a rival of President Lewis), were one of the rebellious elements in the recent convention, have promised money aid to the Kansas rebels. The split is not unlikely to have serious consequences in the matter of negotiating new wage contracts this winter, and may well enough play an important part in determining whether there is a general coal strike next spring.

It is seldom that inflated reports of the number of workers involved in a strike are so readily puncturable as in the case of the cloak makers' strike in New York, where newspaper headlines based on union statements variously report 55,000 and 60,000 out on strike. The total number at work during October and November as reported by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, from its annual examination and census of the New York industry, is 26,390—less than half the lower total cited. This total, compared with the strike vote of some hundreds over 39,000, also shows that one-third of those who voted for the strike themselves had no jobs to leave.

B. B.



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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

#### I. Ourselves.

1. Write a single complex sentence that will give the thought of the entire poem.
2. Write, for every one of the seven sections of the poem, a sentence that will give the thought of that section.
3. What does the poem say concerning the development of American ideals?
4. In what respects is the America of today still the America of the pioneers?
5. Prove that the poem produces the effect of climax.
6. Point out words that are especially poetic. Point out words that are drawn from everyday speech. What advantages does the poet gain by the use of each class of words?
7. Make a list of ten unusual nouns, and a second list of ten unusual adjectives. Explain the meaning of every word.
8. Select, from different parts of the poem, stanzas that you think especially noteworthy. Explain the significance of every stanza.
9. Point out references to mythology and legend. Explain the various references.
10. Point out references to history. Explain every reference.
11. Point out and explain the various references to literature.
12. In what ways is the poem intensely American?

#### II. Dante and Wilson.

1. What parallels does the writer find in the lives of Dante and of ex-President Wilson? Consult an encyclopedia for information concerning Dante.
2. Explain in full the significance of the quotation from Dante.

#### III. New Books and Old.

1. What two kinds of realism does the writer mention? What are his reasons for believing one type is superior?
2. Make a list of five famous authors who are named in the article. Consult an encyclopedia for detailed information concerning any two.
3. Explain in full the reference to Queen Guinevere.

#### IV. Book Reviews.

1. What are the reviewer's reasons for believing the three books by Lord Frederick Hamilton "most fascinating volumes"?
2. By what means did Lord Frederick Hamilton make his books unusually interesting?
3. Tell one of the anecdotes from Lord Hamilton's book.
4. Explain the following expressions: "domestic comedy"; "a satirical twist"; "tragic-comedy"; "a literary caricature."

#### V. Drama.

1. What sort of plays most please the reviewer?
2. What does the reviewer say concerning the relation between plays and play-acting? Consult an encyclopedia for information concerning the actors who first presented Shakespeare's plays.

#### VI. The Limitation of Armament.

1. Draw from this issue at least five notably constructive sentences concerning the limitation of armament.
2. Write, in the form of a proposition suitable for debate, the principal suggestion made by Mr. Maynard in the "Harding Doctrine."
3. Write, in the form of propositions suitable for debate, the principal suggestions made by President Harding in his recent message. Explain in full any one of these suggestions. Prepare a brief that will show why you support, or oppose, one of the suggestions.

#### VII. The Story of the Week.

1. Give a news talk based upon the important events of the week.
2. Write a description that will bring out in full the emotional values of any picture in this issue.

#### VIII. Alliance, Understanding, League and Co.

1. Show how the concept of International Law has been a developing one.
2. Summarize the advance in international concepts discussed by the editor.
3. Beginning with the articles in this issue look up the career of Elihu Root and make an estimate of the importance of his work.

### History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,  
Head of the Department of Social  
Science, Julia Richman High School

#### I. Ulster and British Politics, The British Empire.

1. Reviewing in detail the constitutional status of the dominions "in the community of nations known as the British Empire," explain what the pro posed position of Ireland will be.
2. Explain the exact meaning of "an Executive responsible to Parliament."
3. Summarize the proposals for the position of Ulster.
4. Do you think Mr. Gwynn's belief "that if the states start working separately natural causes will bring them to a union, as happened in Australia, Canada, and South Africa," will hold if Ulster elects to stay out of the Irish Free State?
5. Explain the safeguards for minorities. Why are they of especial importance?
6. If the agreement is made effective by ratification what problems of the Irish Free State are apparent in these articles?
7. What imperial worries does John Bull still have on his mind?

#### II. The President's Message, The Week at Home.

1. What are the "specific recommendations" of the President?
2. What criticisms of these recommendations are suggested?
3. In what ways does the President depart from "the old high-tariff tune"? Describe the variations of that tune in the past.
4. Give the arguments for "government by party." Explain the normal relations of the American President to his party and explain the reasons for that position.
5. Do you agree with President Harding that "the Executive's powers" and "the responsibilities of the office . . . are already too large"?

#### III. The "Harding Doctrine."

1. State the Harding doctrine urged by Mr. Maynard.
2. Why does he think the statement of such a doctrine is needed?
3. What are his grounds for believing that it would be effective? Do you think that it would?

#### IV. The League of Nations at Work.

1. Look up the duties of the Secretariat in the constitution of the League of Nations. What is shown here about those duties in action? Give all the illustrations you can where practice has begun to influence the constitution of the League.
2. In what way is the League of Nations concerned with the administration of the city of Dantzig and of the Sarre Basin?
3. Make a brief summary of the "many influences and tendencies" of the League of which Professor Brown became conscious.
4. What are the facts which make it "seem that the United States is in a fortunate situation in refraining from active participation in the League"?
5. In what ways may the United States find the League a help?

#### V. The Future of Picketing, The Industrial Trend, Several Things.

1. Explain the meaning of picketing, as applied in labor disputes.
2. Why have strikers felt that they must have the right to picket?
3. Describe the kinds of acts that have aroused the most criticism of picketing.
4. In determining the legality of picketing what line is drawn by the United States Supreme Court?
5. Why was a case involving picketing tried in the Federal Supreme Court?
6. What is the ground for speaking of labor leaders as in "need of reorganizing their work on the basis of service to all workers in a trade instead of service merely to members of a union"?
7. Describe the action of the Railroad Labor Board in relation to non-transportation employees.
8. Why are the packing companies mentioned here said to have "established a rather mild form of employee representation"? In view of the packing strike in Chicago how far were these organizations able to voice the sentiment of the workers of the industry?
9. Explain the relation to production of the matters discussed in these articles.

#### VI. Alliance, Understanding, League and Co.

(See English Questions, VIII.)



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

December 24, 1921



### Japan's Position in the New Order

The Logic of the Facts, as the Japanese Might See It

THE twain *have* met—yet East is still East—and West is West. Let us hope that they will continue to be.

For bringing together the East and the West the credit belongs almost entirely to Japan. To outwit the *impasse* she has made enormous concessions. In the superficial matter of clothes alone she deserves much of our patience. For any people that will voluntarily lay aside their bright robes and don stiff shirt and topper and that worst of all levelers—the frock coat—in order the better to understand and be understood, might be supposed to have made concessions enough: Let the Western world do the rest of the yielding! And the Japanese were the first of the Orientals to do this. It is bad enough that they felt obliged to mask themselves thus while abroad; think of the self-effacement of the Mayor of Tokyo so arrayed in his own land. And while on the subject of outward symbols, it may be added that the Japanese are now considering plans for a new Parliament building, which they themselves describe as a cheap imitation of Western architecture.

#### The Price of Western Culture

Japan's serious effort—whatever her original motive may have been—to assimilate our Western culture deserves especial consideration at this time when common understanding among the peoples of the world is so necessary to the establishment of permanent peace. Japan naturally was lured into Western faults first—Yankee shrewdness, German efficiency and imperialism, British masterfulness. These were qualities which would make for material strength and riches. In her hands, they sometimes degenerated into a wiliness which we mistakenly regarded as essentially Oriental. Her one great error was her failure to conciliate China. But, as we have pointed out before in these columns, Japan was merely adapting to her own spheres of influence methods which she had seen to be highly successful in the West. There should be no attempt on the part of anyone to whitewash the manner which, in many instances, Japan has employed to build up her great power in the East; yet it would be entirely unfair to Japan to ascribe to her any peculiar wickedness. The wonder is that this sudden adaptation of Occidental methods did not bring about the spiritual ruin of a country so recently emerged from feudalism. It would have been

natural if she had acquired a brutal cynicism while thus studying the sharp practice of nations which liked to call themselves democratic. She might have reasoned: If Western democracy, which is committed to the principle of fullest opportunities for the individual, can so overstep the mark in practice, why should we, who have still fresh in our memories the solidity, as well as the charm, of the older order, take too seriously this new democratic call of the age?

Some cynicism she must have experienced, in view of the situation. But her study of the West was much too thorough to yield merely that. No one who has watched Japanese living in this country for any length of time could have failed to observe their sincere desire to understand our civilization in the light of its best traditions. Our faults they learned to know in the proper settings—as excesses often of qualities denoting strength: self-reliance and initiative; and, in the hurly-burly of mixed motives and strange-appearing action, they were not blind to the fact that persons could do thus and so, yet at the same time have as the abiding influence in their hearts the magnificent set of principles which went into the founding of this nation. Your Japanese in the United States gets a real sense of our intellectual and moral background—Puritanism. How many Americans resident for a few years in the East have learned to feel the tremendous significance of the similar background of the Orient—Buddhism? The question is not trivial; it illustrates the amount of accommodation which Japan has made to Western life.

#### Stooping to Conquer

All of this was, of course, not prompted by pure friendliness and intellectual curiosity. Japan was unquestionably practising her own jiu-jitsu manner of stooping to conquer—to learn Western methods of thinking and acting in order to make herself one of the great Powers. Into the question of her entire wisdom in so doing it is not necessary to enter here. The point is that she has done what no Western nation could do: Japanese have lived among us like Americans, wearing our clothes and our new-fangled horn-rimmed spectacles, smoking our brands of cigarettes, practically thinking our thoughts, and yet have kept their individualities from being utterly submerged in the process.



They could still return home and find interest in Japanese life. What can be said of Americans who have completely yielded to the spell of the Orient? Lafcadio Hearn was one. He stayed on and became so much a part of Japanese thought that no one could ever imagine him again at ease among our own people. The Japanese themselves chose to honor him especially as the one American of his time who fully understood their culture. That their tribute took the form of lowering his salary as professor to the amount granted to native professors is a quaint detail in a singular career. There have, it is true, been Americans who could be in direct contact for years with Japanese art, acquire a delicate appreciation of its subtle beauty, and still retain their American instincts and standards. But the usual American who has plunged into the life of the East—the person who corresponds most nearly to the generality of Japanese coming to this country—has gained little and has lost his own personality into the bargain. The Orient is strewn with such derelicts. The American who traveled through on business, until recently at least, was pretty accurately represented by the slap-dash drummer type as seen in such musical comedies as "The Wizard of Oz."

#### The West's Meagre Borrowing from the East

It is indeed extraordinary how little the West has borrowed from the East. In reviewing the elements of our American life today, it is hard to single out any, save that just referred to, some genuine understanding of Japan's art, which has been contributed by that country's ancient, high-bred civilization. The poise, the finer courtesy, the attention to the art of living have left us untouched. Perhaps in our present stage of pep and dash, they could not be grafted on; perhaps they would undermine our strength, whose mellowing time must first accomplish. Yet that is no reason why we should underrate Japan's distinct talents or infer that she cannot enter into the great coöperation so much needed by the world today without a total revision of her institutions. It would be a great loss to the world if in any association or league of nations ample room were not left for her to develop her individuality in accordance with her special genius.

Let us not judge Japan entirely by her faults, especially those adopted from the West—she herself has been more charitable. Very naturally the bag of villainy which many

supposed she would bring to the Washington Conference contains not a little human kindness. Whatever may be thought of his theories, Mr. H. G. Wells can be a keen observer, and he has just recently had something to say about the Japanese which deserves attention:

In the days of imperialist competition they stiffened to a conscientious selfishness and a splendid fighting energy. Now that a new spirit of discussion, compromise and the desire for brotherhood spreads about the world, they catch the new note and they sound it with obvious sincerity and good will. No people has been under such keen and suspicious observation here as the Japanese. The idea of them as of a people insanely patriotic, patriotically subtle and treacherous, mysterious and mentally inaccessible, has been largely dispelled. . . . Our Western world, I am convinced, can work with the Japanese and understand and trust them.

#### Japan's Great Opportunity

One would hardly be overstating the case to say that without Japan's long, arduous study of Western institutions and her amazing adaptability, no solid results might be expected of such a conference as that now sitting at Washington. The blending of practical and idealistic; compromise, with honor and self-respect; justice tempered with commonsense—these are bound up with the spirit of the Conference. They are Western in origin and application, and could hardly be fully appreciated in the Orient without some apprenticeship to the West. Japan, too, in the nature of the case, can estimate at its true value the change of heart, in respect to treaties and international adjustments, which is in evidence at Washington. Japan has within her reach an extraordinary opportunity. Because of her real understanding of both Eastern and Western civilizations, she, preëminently, is in a position to act as the great mediator. More and more, as Western civilization, and especially American civilization, ages, the need will be felt of harvesting some of the rich culture which the East possesses, and Japan has it peculiarly in her power to help in the selecting of what will most contribute to the great fraternity of interests to which the world now looks forward.

If, in the foregoing, Japan's serious mistakes have been glossed over and her commendable enterprise and talents given prominence, the reason is evident. There is but one purpose in this article—to outline the strategic position in the new order which might be Japan's if she would but grasp it.

## In Japan Beyond

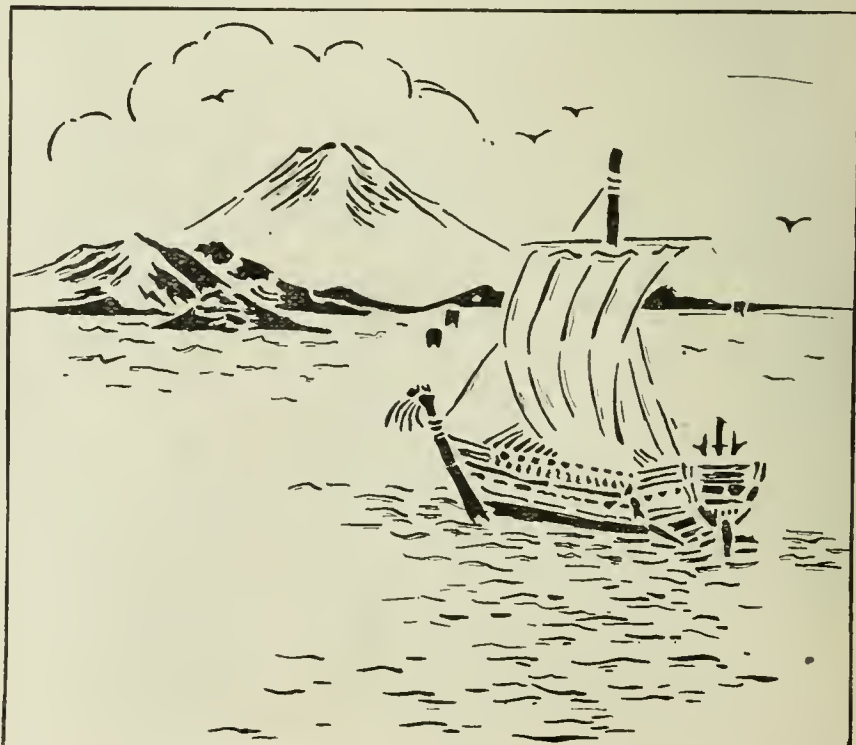
DO you not hear the sighing of a willow in Japan,  
(In Japan beyond, in Japan beyond),  
In the voice of a wind searching for the sun lost,  
For the old faces with memory in eyes?

Do you not hear the sighing of a bamboo in Japan,  
(In Japan beyond, in Japan beyond),  
In the voice of a sea urging with the night,  
For the old dreams of a twilight tale?

Do you not hear the sighing of a pine in Japan,  
(In Japan beyond, in Japan beyond),  
In the voice of a river in quest of the Unknown,  
For the old ages with gold in heart?

Do you not hear the sighing of a reed in Japan,  
(In Japan beyond, in Japan beyond),  
In the voice of a bird who long ago flew away,  
For the old peace with velvet-sandaled feet?

—From "Selected Poems" of Yone Noguchi





# My Impressions of America

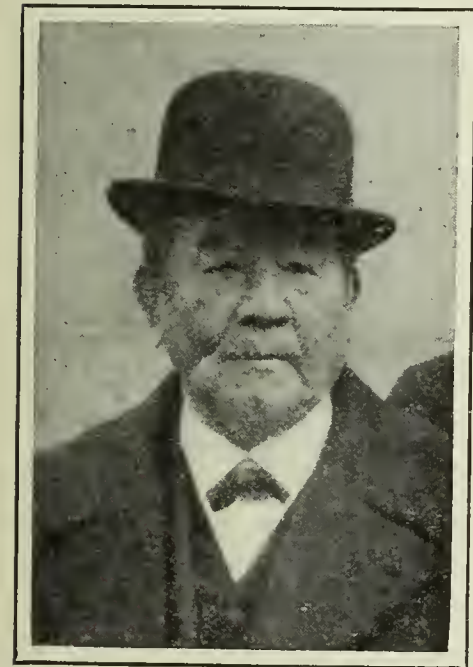
By Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa

*Viscount Shibusawa is the leading "unofficial" of Japan. After many years' absorption in big business, he retired to devote his time to public service, being especially interested in the problems of capital and labor, in philanthropy, and in the promotion of solid international relations, especially with the United States. Practically nothing of great moment is accomplished in Japan without his active coöperation.*

MY conviction for years has been that the future peace of the extreme East rests on one thing—a deep-planted and thoroughgoing understanding between the United States and Japan. Not only mere intellectual understanding between the two peoples, but also an intimate coöperation in finance, industrial enterprises, and commercial activities, more especially in the continental

Asian states, is the real answer for the myriad problems which are now surging to the fore and which will ever continue to press upon the banner bearers of world-wide statesmanship for solution.

This has been the behind-the-scene reason for at least three of my four trips to the United States within the past twenty years. The first one was made in 1902. It was largely a pleasure trip. I came as a representative of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce—as a mere banker. I left the country with no mere



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idle impressions, however. America impressed me as a country of superlatives—as so many of my friends had led me to believe it was. And in saying this I am not thinking of Niagara Falls alone, nor yet the Grand Cañon of skyscrapers in lower Manhattan. The fields, freighted with the countless wealth of agricultural products reaching from horizon to horizon, impressed me. In crossing the continent the plains, still innocent of the hoe and the plow, over which our train sped for nearly three days and nights, at a pace never yet dreamed of by the steam transportation of Japan, impressed me. What I heard of the mineral wealth of the country did not lessen my wonder at the almost miraculous partiality of Heaven for the favored race which homed in the wonderland.

Then, when I came in touch with the people of the great cities of the Middle West and of the Atlantic seaboard, I saw that the people were quite in tune with the land on which they lived. Confidence in the future shone out of almost every pair of eyes. An almost embarrassing wealth of opportunities of every kind seemed to characterize the political, commercial, industrial, and every other type of activity. People talked and acted as though they had no time to sulk, complain, or breed black thoughts and blacker crimes—in fact, no time to get ill and be idle in bed, as one of my American friends told me. I was quite aware, of course, that there were plenty of poor people in the United States, in the extreme condition of degradation of poverty, even more severe than one could find in the poorer section of Tokyo. Neither was I entirely blind to the omnipresent soot in Chicago. But there was something—there were indeed so many other things which made me forget all about the shadier side of the American land and American life. And this I consider is one of the highest tributes that a stranger can well pay to any people. The public

roads impressed me as nothing less than an indictment of the narrow, overcrowded, overgrown footpaths to which we were accustomed in Japan. The sanitary arrangement of hotels and their outward splendor, the scientifically coördinated business machinery and financial organizations, the magnitude of industrial enterprises and the refinement of their details in the management and smooth workings of them—one and all were a veritable Arabian tale in terms of the present-day genius of America.

I made my second trip to America as the head of the Business Men's Party of Japan which came here in 1909. The first sensational explosion of anti-Japanese sentiments in California had taken place. Those were the days which gave birth to the historic "Gentlemen's Agreement." I wished to observe with my own eyes the conditions and actions of our emigrants in California, and if possible to work out a plan which might help to solve the problem which threatened the traditional good and friendly relations between the two countries. Our party spent some three months in America and visited more than fifty places. I came in touch with many types of Americans and learned many things about the inner workings of the political and business life of this great Republic. And this deeper knowledge of America increased my already deep admiration for the people and their achievements.

It was on this trip that the realization of the necessity of what is popularly called "People's Diplomacy" came to me. I felt that the work of bringing about a thorough understanding between the two peoples, so essential to the peace of the Western Pacific basin, must not be left entirely in the hands of the Governments of the two Powers; that unless the people of Japan came to command the confidence of the people of the United States, all the treaties and all the solemn diplomatic notes exchanged between the Foreign Office of Tokyo and the State Department at Washington would avail but little. In short, before we could fight down the anti-Japanese agitations in the United States, we must bring American friends to see that the people of Japan are quite as human as they themselves are, facing and struggling with all sorts of human problems from day to day and doing their best to work out their financial, political, and economic salvations, even as the people of the United States—and with this striking difference: That in the case of Japan people have little of the tremendous wealth of America in natural resources, and are handicapped moreover with the political tangle in the continental Asia of which our American friends have but a vague idea.

It was on this second trip also that I came to learn more of the ability of the people of America. Robust in body, agile in wit, and quick and decisive in action and thought, they seemed to add to "the teeth of the lion, the talons and wings of an eagle," to indulge in an Oriental figure of speech. It is small wonder that the story of their progress through the world of actual performance reads like that of a triumphal march.

My third trip was on the occasion of the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco. I undertook the trip at the urgent request of the business bodies in Japan and as their representative. It was in the autumn of 1915. At the time I was pleased to note that the anti-Japanese sentiment of the Pacific Slope of the United States had lost much of its former bitterness, and I found the Japanese farmers work-



ing in the fields as contented and happy as the day, to all outward seeming. It was a radical contrast to what I had seen on my second trip.

On this third trip I felt the need of the "People's Diplomacy" even more poignantly than ever before. I found also a ready and kindly response to my idea along these lines on the part of my American friends. All this resulted in a visit of the California business men's party in March, 1920, to Japan, headed by Mr. Wallace M. Alexander. The party numbered among its members such men as President Emeritus Wheeler, of the University of California; Mr. Walter N. Moore, Mr. W. T. Sesnon, and others well known on both sides of the Pacific. And the following month we received a party of American financiers, educators, and authors from the Eastern section, headed by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, of New York. We talked over various phases of the Far Eastern problems with a freedom quite impossible at an official gathering of accredited diplomats. I have every reason to believe that our conversations did a great deal to clear the tortuous situations Japan was facing in the Far East, in the minds of our American guests. On their return they gave us abundant proofs of their deepened interests in Oriental affairs and of their clearer visions of the subject.

The chief reasons for this, the fourth trip of mine to America, are more or less connected with the present Washington Conference, of course. I wished to be in touch with it as far as possible, and, if occasion arose, to contribute my feeble best to the general cause of peace if possible. At the same time, I wished to renew my study of the Californian situation on its home ground and to bring my knowledge of the subject up to date. I also wished to come in personal touch with the gentlemen of the American-Japanese Relations Committee, of New York. In Tokyo we had established a permanent committee bearing the same name before the New York organization came into being. It is my ardent hope that these two committees will be in touch constantly and intimately, and that they will work for the attainment of the final consummation of a thorough understanding between the two countries.

On the present visit I have been received most kindly at New York, at Philadelphia by my old friend Mr. Wana-

maker and others, and at Pittsburgh. My admiration for America grows apace the more I see of its country and its progress. In fact, it fairly takes my breath away—the tremendous onrush of men and things in this country. The other day, passing through a congested section of the city of New York, I even paused to wonder if this country was not going a bit too fast. For I saw the people on foot walking past the rows and rows of automobiles puffing, churning, and thundering in their feverish rush, all jammed up in an overcrowded thoroughfare.

My interest in the Armament Conference is naturally very keen. When our people heard of it for the first time in July of this year, there were two distinct views among them about it. Those who were pessimistically inclined thought that Japan was about to be called to Washington and to be placed in a position of a prisoner at the bar—before the eyes of the world—with America in the rôle of prosecuting attorney cross-examining Japan for all her past misdeeds in China and Siberia. This type of critics thought that the Conference was called by America for the special purpose of forcing Japan into a corner and making her obey whatever America was pleased to dictate to her—on the limitation of naval armament, on the various policies and activities in China. On the other hand, there were quite a number of us who thought otherwise. We thought that America meant what she said—that she had called an international conference for the sole purpose of settling, if possible, the most trying problem before this burden-weary world of ours. I am free to confess that I could not see a new heaven and a new earth as the result of the Conference, as some of the extreme optimists seemed to think. At the same time, I was one of those who prayed and hoped for the best. And, taking everything by and large, the Conference seems to promise a quite handsome result.

If the present Conference should result in advancing the international morality toward the level where individual ethics stand today, I do not hesitate to say that it will have accomplished much, even if it fail to attain every result intended by its well-wishers and demanded by its critics. For, as I take it, that is a great forward step toward the era of peace that is to come.





# Keeping Up With the "Pacific"

By K. Shidehara

*Japanese Ambassador to the United States*

IT is always pleasing to recall the happy ties which have traditionally bound Japan to the United States. The increasingly close contact between the two nations has inevitably brought with it a number of questions calling for adjustment in their mutual relations. There have been occasional shadows on the surface of the Pacific Ocean, but the depths of the great sea are as calm and quiet as ever.



Wide World

Thinking men on both sides of the ocean have long been conscious of forces which were at work to bring about a new era in the Pacific regions. The Conference now in session at Washington has accelerated these developments and clarified their outlines. The frank directness of the American Government in proposing limitation of naval armament has dissipated much of popular misgiving in Japan, and

the native genius of the Japanese people for genuine and cordial friendship is signally reasserting itself.

Again, it is daily becoming more apparent that there is no real conflict of interests between our countries, and

when this fact is generally known it is certain that we shall again see in one another the qualities of good, likable people, ready and eager to coöperate for our own welfare and for the general good of mankind.

We have just emerged from a dark episode, and the Japanese people, like your own Americans, are clamoring for a return to calm and for the untroubled opportunity to live in a world that is friendly and helpful.

If only we temper our point of view with generosity—a willingness to see that difference in character does not constitute either superiority or inferiority, but merely a difference—our friendship will include a broad tolerance, and a sincere desire to see the best in one another. Every nation may commit blunders: lack of charity may magnify them into matters of deplorable importance. But if we believe in progress and in evolution toward something better for the world, we shall all be ready to admit that there is something in us that needs mending, and we shall see others' shortcomings with friendly eyes, with patience and with hope.

I venture, then, to bespeak and even to predict a generous temper among nations, and in particular an especial cordiality between those Powers bordering the ocean so significantly named "the Pacific." And if our combined efforts may create the first ripple of that great wave of good feeling that can wash out misunderstandings and differences in the Pacific regions, we shall have done well. Japan asks nothing better than to stand shoulder to shoulder with America in friendship, for justice and for peace.



## Nations the Real Diplomats Today

By Prince Tokugawa

*Prince Tokugawa, an appointee of the Emperor, is President of the House of Peers. He is the son of the last of the acting Shoguns of Japan, and would himself be Shogun today if Japan had not emerged from feudalism at the restoration of the Emperor in 1869. He has always taken a great interest in America and goes out of his way to entertain Americans visiting his country. He is by inheritance and ability one of the foremost figures in Japan.*

IN a democratic age such as ours diplomacy is no longer the monopoly of professional diplomats. For better or for worse, the practice of diplomacy has ceased to be a mysterious function performed by a few exalted personages. It has become a representative function answering to the opinions and the will of the multitude of citizens who are really responsible for the creation of international problems and who ultimately determine the issues of friendship and animosity, of peace and war, among nations.

In such a world system international peace can no longer be maintained by the solitary efforts of ambassadors and ministers—it must be maintained by the united endeavor of the citizens themselves.

In 1907, when the diplomatic horizon of the Pacific Ocean was somewhat darkened by the various complicated issues which had arisen between Japan and America, Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, made the following pertinent observation:

It is hard for democracy to learn the responsibilities of its power; but the people now, not Governments, make friendship or dislike, sympathy or discord, peace or war, between nations. In this modern day, through the columns of the myriad press and messages flashing over countless wires, multitude calls to multitude across boundaries and oceans in courtesy or insult, in amity or in defiance. Foreign offices and ambassadors no longer keep or break the peace, but the conduct of each people toward every other.



Wide World



It is indeed the conduct of each people toward every other that promotes or disturbs the peace of the world. The responsibility for the promotion of friendship between Japan and America should not be thrown upon their respective Governments alone—it should be shared by every American and every Japanese.

If the peoples on both sides of the Pacific coöperate with each other for the advancement of peace and good will, the

time will soon come when we can look back with satisfaction and justifiable pride at the first American-Japanese treaty concluded in 1854, the first article of which declares:

There shall be a perfect, permanent and universal peace and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their peoples, respectively, without exception of persons or places.

## Specimens of Japanese Opinion

*The following expressions of opinion by Japanese leaders are extracts from a series of notable articles, collected in the book entitled "What Japan Thinks," edited by K. K. Kawakawi, and published a few weeks ago by the Macmillan Company*

### Liberalism vs. Militarism

*By Sakuzo Yushino, Professor of Political Science at the Imperial University of Tokio*

THERE are several things that ought to be mentioned here. One is that the General Staff has an abundance of money. Another is that it has a perfect machine for propaganda which is working overtime. Another matter we must recognize is that while the Japanese among themselves are careful not to torment each other, some think there is no harm in tormenting a foreign nation. Especially is this true of the old type. Another thing is that the people at large are satisfied at the progress Japan has made. They look back and see what Japan has accomplished and that makes them indifferent.

And yet there is a growing number of young men, mostly students, who are influenced by the world tendency. They are influenced by the world spirit. They are more and more taking these things to heart. This is apparent in national questions. Take, for instance, the labor movement. Students are going out and living with the laboring people in order that they may study the question at first-hand and get information. This shows the new spirit which the young men of Japan are manifesting today. There are a number of students who are coming to know that they must take a different attitude toward the Korean and Chinese students in Japan. They are trying to understand their thought life and to become one with them. These students, with wider sympathies and world vision, are the students that the militarists and the conservatives in the government look upon as men with dangerous thoughts. . . .

If the question were put to the students as to whether or not we should withdraw from Siberia, ninety out of a hundred would stand for withdrawal. If the question of giving Korea independence or complete autonomy were submitted to the students, ninety in a hundred would say, "Give her independence or autonomy!" If the question were put to the students, "Shall we withdraw from Shan-tung and give it back to China?" ninety in a hundred would say, "Yes."

A certain university professor says that because of these two contending forces we may in the future look for a revolution; but I cannot agree with the professor's view for the following reason: The young men, the forward-looking men, will go on to victory on the road which they have chosen. There will be no retreat. They will go right on advancing. That is not true of the conservatives. The young men have an inner confidence that they are right. But it is different with the conservatives. They are not sure of their ground, and the whole history of Japan shows that, when it came to the critical time, the conservatives gave way. That is what is going to take place in the future. Take, for instance, the matter of universal suffrage. The conservatives will fight until the

thing is inevitable and then they will give in. The evolution of Japan toward democracy will be like that of England. There will be no violent overturn as in Russia. Our conservatives will gradually yield to the new impulses. But as to the outcome, there is no doubt. It will take time, but the men who know that they are right and are sure of their ground are going to win. Japan's future is bright with hope.

### East and West

*By the late Premier, Takashi Hara*

HITHERTO, the standard of world civilization has been set by the white race, and the ideals of mankind and the preservation of peace have been in its keeping. We do not hesitate to recognize that the white race is a little ahead of us in its civilization, especially in scientific culture.

But when we consider that the great war found its origin in the defects of that very civilization, we cannot but be convinced that the future maintenance of peace is the common charge of all nations and the responsibility equally of the two civilizations, Oriental and Occidental. All nations and all peoples owe the duty and have the right to contribute their ideals of civilization toward preserving peace.

The fundamental principle of the League of Nations is justice and humanity, and universal fraternity; it exemplifies the law of causality. Such ideas, however, are nothing new; they were taught in Oriental civilization thousands of years ago. Though we do not intend to claim credit for the origin of the League of Nations, we can easily point to the fact that the fundamental moral laws of the league, which has now been invented through the agency of the civilization of the white race, impelled by the tragedy of the greatest of all wars, are nothing other than the humanism fostered in the Orient for ages past.

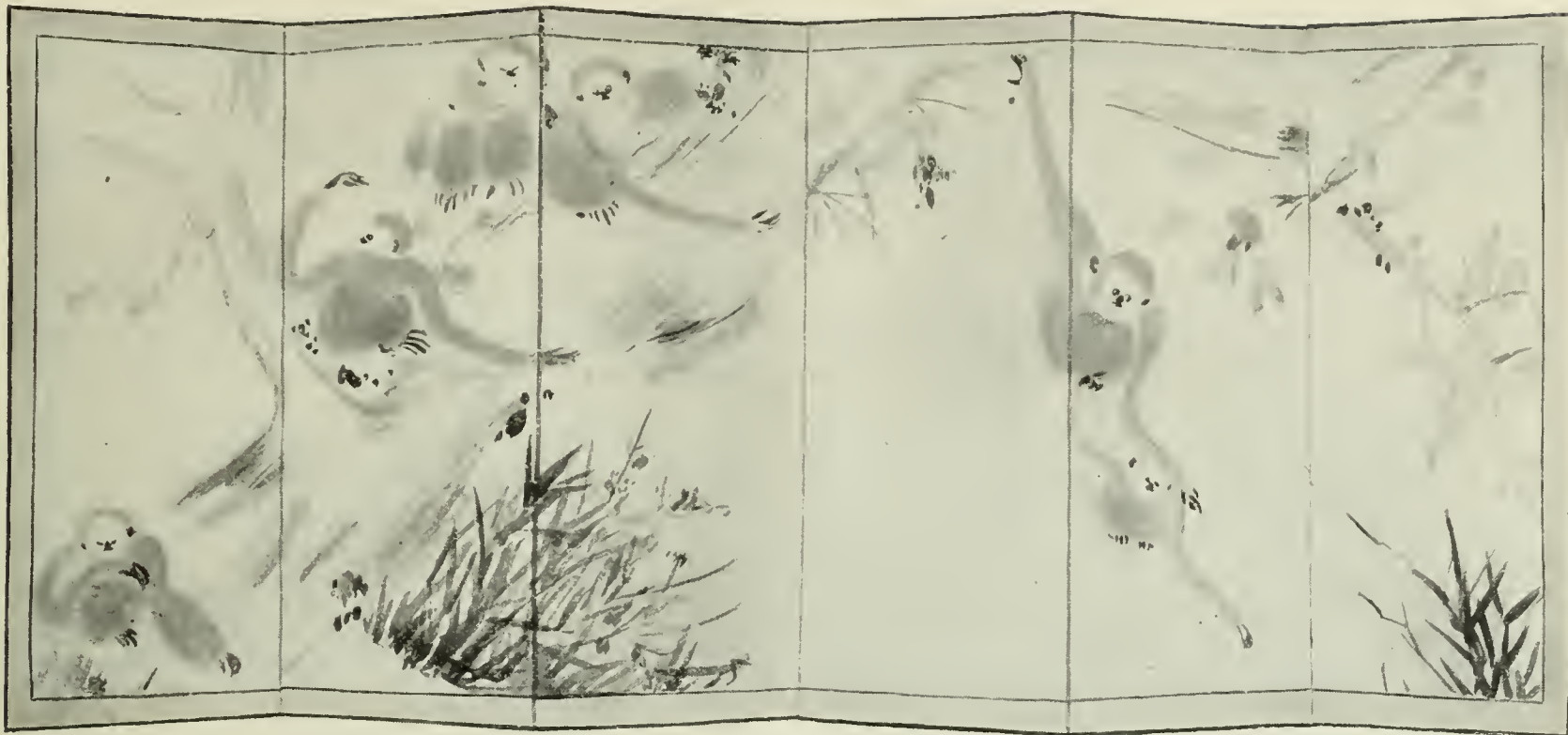
So we think it will not be so difficult to discover the new ideal and the new basis of peace, longed for by the nations, by gathering the essence of Oriental civilization, and harmonizing it with Occidental civilization. Western Europe's civilization has been refined by the fiery ordeal through which it has passed. We believe it to be the duty of the present generation to combine with that culture the characteristics of Oriental culture, to harmonize the two in spirit, to weld a new civilization as one compact whole, thereby establishing the sure foundation of permanent peace.

### Opening a New Era

*By Mosaharu Anesaki, Professor of Comparative Religion at the Imperial University of Tokyo*

A S history teaches us, many a great war has rung the knell of a reign of confusion and conflict and has opened a new era of human civilization. Suffice it to recall





*A Japanese screen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

the Thirty Years' War, out of which a new Europe emerged, the Europe of rationalism; and the American Civil War, which has consolidated the Union more firmly than before on a national and moral basis. In the present war, every belligerent is fighting for its interests, and is claiming a moral justification and advocating some ideal principles. Let us not be skeptical toward those claims, but hope that each and every nation engaged in the war will hold to its ideals, closely examine its own conscience, purge itself from its former sins, and step toward a higher reconstruction of humanity with clean conscience and lofty aspirations. If this shall not occur, the world will have no alternative to the reign of devils. Yet I shall never lose confidence in the rule of humanity, but trust that the calamitous war will prove a step toward the purification and elevation of human life, in all its aspects, the individual, the family, the nation, and will perfect international relations and human solidarity. Let the United States and Japan, together with all the allied nations, consolidate their joint efforts for the reconstruction of the world.

### "A Superstition Exploded"

*By Marquis Okuma*

THE example set by Japan has convinced the other Asiatic races of the possibility on their part to be on an equal footing with the white races, if only they reform their political system and adopt the needed portion of European civilization. In other words, the rise of Japan and the consequent abolition of extraterritoriality have exploded the superstition that the world is to be ruled by the whites.

### The "Gentlemen's Agreement"

*By Baron Goto, Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1918*

I CANNOT refrain from reminding the reader of the sanity of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." As a practical policy, the California problem is essentially a diplomatic one and can be dealt with satisfactorily in no other spirit than that of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." With a proper precaution, it can safely be left to natural solution. "Unassimilable" elements, after they have performed their useful function, will eventually return home, and the native-born minors, given legitimate opportunities,

will take care of themselves. I recall the impression I had a few years ago in the course of a conversation with a certain prominent Japanese in California. He spoke encouragingly about the prospect of these boys coming to the Far East or going to South America as vanguards of the American business in these directions. It will be a graceful irony of fate if America educates them, uses them, and sends them back in that capacity. After all, God is great and His resourceful work cannot be limited by the short-spanned vision of men.

### Imperial Songs

*Poems by T. M. the Emperor and Empress of Japan, and other Imperial and distinguished personages. Translated by A. Lloyd*

#### MY GARDEN\*

MY garden's full of weeds: I pluck up one,  
To find another in its place, and thus  
The summer's ended ere my work's half done.

#### THE CHRYSANTHEMUM

I AM not anxious for a long, long life,  
Therefore I plant the tall chrysanthemum  
Not as a symbol of longevity,

But as the sweetest  
flower upon  
God's earth.


#### TEA

TAKE that  
good tea; it  
tastes a little  
rough  
When first you  
drink it; but a  
longer use  
Will show you  
that in bitter  
things there lies  
A hidden sweet-  
ness.


\*Here the garden is  
the soul of man  
which needs constant  
attention.







# EDITORIAL



## Will America Fail?

OUR country stands at this moment on the brink of one of those great decisions which leave their impress on the whole course of history. According as the decision is right or wrong, America will reap honor or dishonor, for she will have either done the world an imperishable service or have failed the world in its hour of greatest need and her own hour of greatest opportunity.

We have little doubt as to which choice she will make. The case is so clear, and public opinion on the issue is so unmistakable, that failure seems almost wholly out of the question. Yet the fact must be faced that determined hostility to the approval of the Four-Power Treaty has already found voice in the Senate, and that there are reports of sinister possibilities in the way of organized opposition. Though the danger be not great—and we believe it is not—the stake is so tremendous that every possible means should be employed at once to reduce that danger to zero. The sentiment of the nation should be so impressively manifested that any attempt which may be afoot to stimulate partisan or other hostility to the treaty shall be brought to naught before it has gathered head.

It is not necessary to impute unworthy motives to any Senator who is opposing the treaty. The sincerity of some of them, and in particular Senator Borah, is beyond all question. The trouble with him, and with at least some of those who are aligned with him, lies not in any want either of rectitude or of earnestness, but in their absorption with a single idea, an idea which assumes in their mind the character of downright infatuation.

There has been worked out a simple plan for assuring peace in the Pacific. That plan assumes, on the part of the four great nations involved, ordinary good faith, common sense, and desire to avoid the calamity of war. It assumes nothing else; it rests on nothing else; it constructs no mechanism even distantly suggesting compulsion. It does, however, embody a promise of conference for joint consideration of any difficulty that may arise, either among the signatory Powers themselves or through aggression threatened from outside that group. And in this simple promise of conference Senator Borah sees, or fancies that he sees, a binding pledge of war.

So strained is this interpretation, so remote from anything contained in the articles of the agreement, that one is almost compelled to the conclusion that much thinking hath made the Senator mad. We do not wish to re-awaken the controversy over Article X of the League Covenant; for it must be the hope, as it is the reasonable expectation, of all who wish the success of the great Conference, that right-minded supporters and right-minded opponents of the League will alike support the proposed treaty. Yet for the purpose of meeting Mr. Borah's opposition it is essential to point out the difference between its provisions and those of

Article X. Article X pledged the signatory Powers not only to respect, but to *preserve* as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all the nations covered by the Versailles treaty; under this proposed treaty the high contracting parties merely "agree as between themselves to *respect* their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean." Article X referred the question of how the obligation to *preserve* was to be fulfilled to a standing body, the Council of the League of Nations; the proposed treaty, besides not embodying the obligation to *preserve*, refers the question of what is to be done in time of trouble to a conference expressly called "to meet the exigencies of the particular situation." If this arrangement is a binding of the hands of the nation, if it is a foregone pledge of war, then the only way to keep from being bound, the only way to keep from being pledged to war, is to hold no serious intercourse of any kind with any other nation with which we may be on terms of friendship. For evidently, if we ever went into a conference with such nation or nations in a time of trouble, we should be morally bound—just as much so without the treaty as with it—to do what we could to avert that trouble. If we came to the conclusion that it was our duty to go to war for that purpose we should be morally bound to do that, and there is no more compulsion upon us, moral or other, with the treaty than without it. The one obligation that we *do* incur is to take the situation into serious advisement, in the spirit of coöperation and good will which animates the treaty; if to do that be treason, Mr. Borah is welcome to make the most of it.

Indeed, the treaty is little more than an embodiment of that spirit—a crystallization of the purpose of coöperation and good will which has been the very soul of the Conference. It may, indeed, be said in all soberness that the treaty accomplishes much because it undertakes little; it is a signal illustration of the doctrine that while the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life. We could wish that every American citizen—above all every Senator—might have before his eyes the full text of the speeches that were made by the representatives not only of the signatory Powers but also of the other nations participating in the Conference, at the plenary session at which the treaty had been presented. With a spontaneity that could not be questioned, speaker after speaker dwelt with almost touching simplicity on the spirit which underlies the treaty, and upon whose continuance alone its efficacy depends. Whoever opposes it, unless blinded by such strange misconception as besets Mr. Borah, must either wholly disbelieve in the efficacy of moral forces, or be opposed to their sway in the affairs of nations.

In the momentous twelvemonth which followed the close of the Great War, there was recorded against our country a tragic failure. On the apportionment of blame for that failure it would be profitless to insist at



this moment, when the nation stands confronted with another crucial test of its fitness to meet a great occasion. Wilson men and anti-Wilson men, League men and anti-League men, must alike confess that, in the most trying time the world has ever known, and when the eyes of the world were fixed upon us as never before, we failed to play the part which the world had a right to expect of us. It must not be, it cannot be, that we shall fail again. No captious criticism, no far-fetched fear, no resentment or jealousy, no party or personal bias, can be allowed to stand between the country and its achievement of the high purpose now so near realization, its fulfillment of the world's desire, its satisfaction of the world's dire need. Let us hope that not many days will pass before the Senate, with little distinction of party, and with a very close approach to unanimity, will set the seal of its approval to an act destined to redound forever to the country's glory and to the world's welfare.

## What's Wrong About Tax-Exempt Incomes

THE primary ground of objection to the issuing of tax-exempt securities is that the exemption does not in practice attach to the securities but to the person holding them. In former days, when graduated income taxes were unknown—or hardly known—among us, no important intention of public policy was affected by the exemption. The situation created was simply that of a particular form of property carrying with it a particular privilege. Whether that property belonged to a workingman or to a millionaire, the exemption was the same.

The case is very different now. The Federal income-tax laws—and some State laws likewise—are expressly designed to levy upon the incomes of the rich at a rate far higher than that which applies to persons of moderate means. The purpose of the tax is to discriminate between *persons*, not *things*. A tax-exempt bond is on its face a thwarting of that purpose. The rich man, to be sure, has to pay much more for the bond than he would if it were not tax-exempt, and this excess of cost impairs, and may possibly wipe out, the advantage of possessing it; but, however this may be, the Government is thereby rendered unable to obtain from him the contribution which, under the principles of the graduated tax, it regards as his just share. This, quite apart from any incidental evils to which it may give rise in the way of diverting capital from productive uses, is an anomaly which it is most desirable to get rid of. It is to those incidental evils that attention has been chiefly directed, and it is to them that President Harding referred in his message; but it is most desirable that the public should realize that there is a more essential reason for objecting to the continued issue of tax-exempt securities.

Whether the President meant to include Federal as well as State securities in the suggested prohibition of tax-exempt bond issues is not entirely clear from the words of the message. But we are decidedly of the opinion that they ought to be included, and this for two reasons. In the first place, the objection to the issues—both on the fundamental ground above set forth and on

the ground of effect upon investments—is the same for Federal as for State issues. And in the second place, any chance there may be—and it will certainly be extremely uphill work—to get the States to assent to a Constitutional amendment of the kind will be very greatly augmented if the Federal Government is placed upon a footing of equality with the State Governments in the matter.

## Conference Currents

THE cynics and pessimists are discomfited. The Conference is proceeding steadily, diligently, thoroughly, making rapid but orderly progress in its appointed task. As each step is completed and each point or principle settled the public is duly informed, soberly and without flourish of trumpets, likewise without promises as to problems not yet solved. But the atmosphere is one of confidence and hope, both within and without, and those who were wont to scoff are for the most part now joining whole-heartedly in the chorus of approval and satisfaction. The only notes of dissent are from a few uneasy spirits who would have the delegates meet daily in the market place and carry on their delicate negotiations speaking into an amplifier, and those who fear that if our dainty people ever so lightly touch the pitch of international agreement we shall be defiled with foreign entanglements.

We were not mistaken in laying emphasis upon the moral and spiritual tone of the Conference, for this is what differentiates it from bargaining congresses in the past. It is this that is responsible for its present success and future hope. Mutual confidence and justice as the basis for decisions were the prerequisites we felt to be essential when the Conference was summoned, and these conditions have been met. In one respect we are gratified beyond measure. We recognized frankly at the outset the difficulty of inducing other nations to see eye to eye with us in this; indeed we felt that the history and traditions of Japan, her struggle to avert Western aggression, and her material success achieved by following the bad example set by certain European nations, might stand in the way. But our apprehensions prove to have been unfounded. Admiral Baron Kato and his fellow delegates from Japan responded to the noble appeal and entered into the spirit of the gathering whole-heartedly. It is this that gives the greatest assurance of success not only of the present Conference but of our future dealings with the Island Empire. After this we shall be ashamed to doubt the good faith of our neighbors across the Pacific. They can play as shrewdly and as sharply as any, if that be the game; they can also match any in fair play and generous sportsmanship, once that standard is set.

Before them, however, lies a difficult task. They themselves have felt the spirit of the Conference through personal contact; they know it is real. But to convince their people at home is a different matter. They are far away; there are Hearsts in Japan; and we have ourselves given them abundant reason to feel suspicious of the sentiments expressed. We shall fail in our duty, both to the Japanese delegates and to ourselves, if we spare any effort to back them up in the task of reassuring the Japanese people and securing their complete confidence.



We have regarded the Anglo-American entente as the backbone of the Conference, not because the combined power of the two great branches of the English-speaking peoples could enforce its will, but because our common traditions of democracy and ordered liberty set a standard which no other nations could afford to disregard, provided we were in agreement. It is as if two leading universities, high in standing and old in culture, adopted a certain standard of conduct in playing intercollegiate football. That standard of courtesy and sportsmanship necessarily becomes the standard for other universities. But before this can take place there must be a common understanding as to the fundamentals of conduct. And one matter remains to be cleared up in order that there may be no obstacle to our getting together on a common basis of moral principle. That matter is one of policy toward Russia.

Where America stands is clear. She proposes that the patrimony of the Russian people shall not be dismembered. She holds that advantage shall not be taken of their present plight to infringe their rights, to seize their property, or to exploit their helplessness. She believes that eventually a democratic Russia will emerge, throwing off the present tyranny of fanaticism and crime, and she will make no truce with the Devil. On the other hand she will do all in her power to aid the starving and the tortured without lending assistance to their executioners. The moral trusteeship declared by Mr. Hughes is no idle phrase—we shall stand firm for the protection of the rights of the Russians of Siberia against aggression and exploitation. It is rumored that the English delegates would be glad to have the Conference adjourn without dealing with the question of Siberia. It may be that they feel that enough has been accomplished and that the British Empire is now safe and has taken on a new lease of life. We know that England made a trade agreement with the Soviet Government—a fact that must bring the blush of shame to many an English cheek—and it is said that powerful financial interests are even now pressing for recognition of the Bolsheviks. But if England would cement the friendship and mutual esteem so finely advanced already in the Conference, if she would join us in setting a standard of international morality which other nations will accept, she must brush away this cloud of misunderstanding and show that she likewise is ready to do justice to Russia, and not let any considerations of immediate financial gain or selfish political advantage outweigh moral principle. The issue of Siberia must be discussed fully and fairly and the rights of the Russian people safeguarded the same as though Russia were directly represented in the Conference.

## Two Good Votes

**A**MONG the Constitutional amendments submitted to the people of New York at the recent election were two which involved important principles, both of them of national interest. One was a veterans' preference amendment, the adoption of which would have been a disastrous blow to the merit system in the civil service. The other was designed to give greater powers to the Children's Courts, so that they could more effectively keep juvenile delinquency from being handled like adult criminality, and also more effectively protect children from cruelty and neglect. The bad amendment

was defeated by more than 400,000 majority, and the good amendment was approved by more than 900,000 majority. The presiding judge of the Children's Court of New York City justly calls attention to this remarkable contrast as evidence of public intelligence. It is interesting to note that while civil service reform used to be denounced as an un-American importation, the juvenile court is distinctly an American contribution to progress; the New York vote indicates that both alike are now firmly established in public favor.

## Beatitude

**S**TAMPED in big black letters over the fair face of the front page of the *Freeman*, as displayed at the news-stands, is this inviting legend:

Its weekly comment on the Conference is like turning X-rays on a vacuum.

How delightful it must feel to be quite sure that everybody but oneself is an ass! To watch the statesmen of five nations sweating and groaning to achieve some good thing for the world, and know all the while that they will come out with nothing but their labor for their pains! To be everlastingly admiring the brilliancy of one's own mind, with never a doubt as to what an X-ray examination might say about that!

## Super-Power Control

**T**HE great engineering project for linking the industrial and transportation fortunes of eleven North Atlantic States in a single power-zone supplied by high-tension electric currents has so occupied the public attention with wholly material wonders that little or nothing has been said about the new political mechanism that will be needed to control the super-power zone. The carrying out of the engineers' plans certainly involves, however, a new form of interstate relations, for regulating and controlling which there is at present not only no adequate agency in existence, but not even any definite and comprehensive law.

With industries in each of eleven States buying electric current produced in another State, and "shipped," if the term may be used, through still other States, it is obvious that many issues relating to prices for current and terms for service will arise, incapable of proper settlement by the authority of any one of the eleven States. A Rhode Island manufacturer might assert that the current he received from a power plant on the headwaters of the Delaware was charged at excessive prices, owing to inflated investment figures for that plant, or because the plant was earning excessively high profits. Or he might charge that Connecticut manufacturers were favored against himself by receiving improperly lower charges. In such cases, and in scores of others that could readily be imagined, it is clear that there would be need of some Federal tribunal specially equipped with the legal powers necessary to secure fair play to all concerned. In a general way, the problems certain to arise within the circuit of the super-power zone are like those connected with the interstate and intrastate services of the railroads. On the railroads we have had all sorts of tangles involved in charges of discriminating rates, inflated investment, preferential service, inadequate service, inefficient management, and what not. Yet the Interstate Commerce Commission



cannot take over the task of regulating the super-power zone. Despite an apparent analogy, the proposed super-power electric circuit would not be a common carrier, and as such bound to receive and transport current from any producer who chose to offer it. Such a status would isolate the circuit from the power producers whom it will serve merely as a delivery system; and would make the profits from power production so problematical as to check the whole enterprise in advance. The theory of the Commerce Commission's present work is therefore inapplicable to the new job, and this fact should exclude the Commission from consideration.

The only agency in existence that approaches the requirements for a super-power zone regulating board is the Federal Power Commission created by the act of June 20, 1920. This Commission, composed of the Secretaries of War, Agriculture, and the Interior, has control of power plants that may be established on navigable waters or on the public lands of the United States. It is required to license all such power projects, supervise investment, profits, and charges, see that bookkeeping conforms to the practices of the Commerce Commission, and deal with interstate electric currents as constituting interstate commerce. Power companies aggrieved by its decisions have the same appeal to the courts as railroads have against decisions of the Commerce Commission.

The Power Commission may be usable as a starting-point for a super-power zone control agency, but both the Commission and its powers would require great changes before capital would invest under its regulation the nearly \$700,000,000 proposed by the engineers. The composition of the Power Commission, made up as it is of three political officials already burdened with other duties, is basically unsuitable. The duties of the new board would require engineering and financial expertness of a high order, and these qualities are not to be counted on in Department heads. The super-power board would be a failure unless it were made up—at least as to a majority—of permanent members selected for special fitness for an extremely difficult task.

In addition, the super-power board will need an entirely new foundation of law to make it safe for capital to adventure under its control. Such scanty law as now exists is little better than weak analogies drawn from an interstate railroad commerce that is fundamentally dissimilar. Taking the railroad business as a warning, it should be clear, for example, that capital put into super-power must be assured by statute, free from large "discretionary" leaks, of an interest return that will tempt it to go in and make it worth while to stay in. The glowing technical prospectus of the engineers will be little more than waste paper unless this security for profits is assured, and it would seem that nothing short of a Federal law could provide it. Equally, such a statute must assure the public of the eleven States against inflated capitalization, against discriminatory charges or treatment—not only as individuals as against individuals, but as States as against States.

To make safe provision for dealing justly and effectively with all the interests that will be involved in the super-power plan is a large and intricate task. Clearly, the matter cannot be left merely to analogies and general principles. It will be necessary to work out all the cases that could arise, and then to formulate

a definite set of principles and procedures for dealing with them. Many of us would regret to see another vast Federal control agency set up to deal with business; but the inadequacy of existing agencies to deal with the probable issues of super-power seem to make such a body inevitable.

## Cause and Effect

Washington, Dec. 12.—Since the Republican Administration, headed by President Harding, took office last March the Government war bonds held by almost 20,000,000 men and women throughout the country have increased approximately \$2,000,000,000 in value.—*Press Dispatch*.


**Y**ES, and since the Republican Administration took office last March, we have had a hot summer, a mild autumn, a wet winter, an extraordinary increase in automobile accidents, and a remarkably small number of deaths from influenza—all of which events are, of course, likewise due to the Administration at Washington being Republican instead of Democratic.

## "None So Blind as—"


What do the people smoke? Cigars, cigars everywhere. Your taximan, the clerk at the hotel, the man about town, the farmer, the street-corner loafer, the senator, the bookseller, the business man, almost all the men, in fact are smoking cigars in the States; whereas with us—I state it merely as an anthropological fact implying blame or praise to no party—nobody except a Jew smokes a cigar—save occasionally at one's host's expense after a very good dinner. But the sight of an ordinary unassuming young Gentile walking along the street, in the daytime, with a large cigar in his mouth must take an Englishman years to see without surprise. In my six weeks' trip I doubt if I saw six pipes being smoked, and cigarettes were almost exclusively "used" by Englishmen and by a very few women—highbrows and chorus girls for the most part, since smoking is taboo to nearly all American women.—*Americana: Being Disconnected Thoughts of a Tourist.—Cornhill Magazine*.

**T**HIS somewhat stupefying statement of an anonymous British traveler who admits that he knows nothing of America "save the cut of its hair, the angle of its hat, and the pimple on its nose" is the kind of thing that keeps on appearing in British magazines of established reputation to such a degree that one wonders whether the editors sleep or whether the returning travelers suffered from brain fag or some other cerebral disturbance while passing through America. It is not only that the more recent revenue returns would have shown the observer that we spent in one year \$800,000,000 in cigarettes to \$510,000,000 in cigars, but one would suppose that the merest glance at our street scenes, the life and business in a cigar store, the very loud and blatant appeal of the cigarette advertisement on all walls, in all vehicles, in all publications, and in the very air as well, to say nothing of the loud outcries of the Anti-Cigarette League, would have told him a little different story. The gentleman who was looking for the hair-cut, the hat angle, and the pimple found just the kind of things he wanted to find to realize that caricature of America that still serves as a sort of boobyland bogie to divert British readers. The rest of the *Cornhill* article is all of a piece with its ludicrous cigar-cigarette paragraph. A coarse corn-cure incident in Salt Lake City does duty for a continuing indictment of our ways, and the whole thing is illustrative of the curious way in which so many writers on the other side seem to be willing to undermine what their big men are doing to promote a true understanding of—and understanding with—America.





# The Story of the Week



## The Week at Home

FROM a superficial inspection of the newspapers one might infer that outside the Washington Conference there is little doing in the United States today. The inference would be incorrect. The newspaper editors have the strange delusion that their readers never tire of infinite drivel about the Conference, and so the other news is presented briefly, inconspicuously, without garniture, in the back pages. But it is there. One finds no falling off, rather an increase, in the number of our murders and suicides, lynchings, and raids (*i. e.*, violations of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution by thugs acting under the orders of Federal officers and the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League).

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The reader will have observed that the conventional outcome of an American marriage is no longer divorce; it is murder. The honors are usually with Jill, who murders Jack.

\* \* \*

We note with satisfaction certain novel assertions of the new-found superiority of woman. In Kansas organized bands of Amazons hustle and terrorize the miners and keep them from work, so that at last the National Guard must be called out. In Chicago similar bands, in the armor of impunity and using red pepper and suchlike agencies of warfare, "feature" the strike of packing-house employees. The strikers' first line for attack and defense is composed of women and children. Reflecting on this elegant tactic, we quite honestly concede the superiority of the women.

\* \* \*

The reader will recall that the President in his recent address to Congress recommended an appropriation for the purchase of 10,000,000 bushels of corn to feed the starving Russians and 1,000,000 bushels of seed grains for the spring planting in the famine area. It is estimated that \$10,000,000 would be required for such purchases. It is pleasant to learn that, in consequence of testimony by Mr. James P. Goodrich and Dr. Vernon Kellogg, just back from the Volga, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House will present a bill appropriating \$20,000,000 instead of \$10,000,000. According to Mr. Hoover's estimate, not more than 22,000,000 bushels of grain could be moved by the wretched transportation system of Russia in time to avail the famished wretches; this amount, he says, would just about suffice to feed them adequately up to the next harvest. So a \$20,000,000 appropriation would leave no margin. Why not make it \$25,000,000?

Mr. Hoover makes some interesting observations in this connection:

It is necessary to come to the American Government to get the money. Public charity will respond when it can, but it has been shown that this is not an auspicious time to depend upon public charity. I don't think the total collections of diligent organizations working for this cause have been \$500,000 since August.

It has been questioned whether our own economic condition warrants this expenditure. Briefly, can we afford it? Well, the American public spends a billion dollars annually on tobacco, cosmetics and the like, and I do not think \$20,000,000 too much when that expenditure is considered. The supplies are already here, and we are now feeding milk to hogs and burning corn under boilers.

There will be no economic loss to the United States in exporting these grains. It is true we transfer the burden

from the farmer to the taxpayer, but there will be no net economic loss. If we get into the market now and buy, we will afford some relief to the American farmer also.

We understand that a bill directing the War Department to turn over surplus medical supplies (of a total cost value not exceeding \$4,000,000) to the American Relief Administration, has passed Congress or is certain to pass in the near future. That too is good. We shall never tire of repeating: "The quality of mercy is not strained."

\* \* \*

The present temporary immigration law expires toward the middle of next year. It had been hoped that a permanent measure would be ready by that time. That seems very unlikely now. Debate on such an important piece of legislation (none more important) would and should be long. It is probable that the life of the present act will be extended. Mr. Johnson, father of the present act, has offered a bill which would restrict immigration during the next three years to husbands, wives and minor children of naturalized citizens and persons who have taken out their first papers.

\* \* \*

It is understood that the Finance Committee of the Senate was about to submit to the Senate the Foreign Debt Refunding Bill received from the House with alterations proposed by the committee, when Secretary Mellon appeared before the committee and vigorously protested against the proposal of an inflexible interest rate of 5 per cent. We heartily concur in Mr. Mellon's protest. Does the committee really believe that this country would play Shylock to certain Allied debtors (and benefactors) who certainly can not without utmost distress pay anything like 5 per cent. interest at present?

## Ireland

ON Wednesday, the 14th, with more than the usual pomp and circumstance, as became the glorious occasion, the King opened Parliament, summoned in special session to vote upon the Irish agreement. On the same day the Dail Eireann met in Dublin for the same purpose. Ratification by Parliament is of course a certainty, though some of the "Die-Hards," notably Lord Carson, are making themselves exceedingly nasty. Ratification by the Dail Eireann is by no means a certainty. It seems probable that, unless the Dail Eireann vote should be overwhelmingly for ratification, the agreement will be referred to the people, who, by all accounts, are sure to vote "Yea." It is a foolish sort of pseudo-logic which claims that the Dail Eireann are bound in honor to ratify. They are bound in common sense, in humanity, but not, technically, in honor. De Valera opened the proceedings of the Dail Eireann by bluntly declaring that the Irish plenipotentiaries had not carried out their instructions. The point is a nice one. It would seem that the *plenipotentiaries, themselves a majority of the Cabinet*, took with them two sets of instructions, both, apparently, issued by the full Cabinet. One set of instructions requires reference of the complete text of any treaty about to be signed to Dublin and the awaiting of a reply from Dublin before signing; the other set does not so require. Either the plenipotentiaries felt themselves justified in making a choice between the two sets and chose the unrestrictive one, or (which we should like to believe) they deliberately elected to put it out of the power of that mar-



plot de Valera to defeat the chances of so excellent a settlement.

Having made his charge, de Valera sensibly proposed that the treaty be discussed on its merits. But he had aroused the wrath of that fine fellow, "Mick" Collins. Soldier-like, Collins brushed aside all quirks and quiddities and shouted: "I have been called a traitor. If any one calls me a traitor, I am prepared to meet him at any time, anywhere." Quite right. De Valera had in fact provoked some firebrands to declare that the plenipotentiaries had acted unpatriotically, had betrayed the Sinn Fein. Collins challenged to mortal combat any one who should come out in the open with that charge. We see no braggadocio in that; we heartily applaud this champion of common sense and reasonable compromise against blind and insolent fanaticism. It was right that common practice of the *duello* should be discountenanced; but for certain occasions it remains the ticket.

It was decided to discuss the merits of the agreement in public session, and to thrash out in private session the question of whether or no the plenipotentiaries had complied with instructions. Hibernically enough, the latter discussion was given precedence. Probably, as we write this, the public discussion is being resumed.

Mr. Garvin, in *The Observer*, points out the splendid economic opportunities opened to the proposed Irish Free State:

Less burdened by debts and liabilities than any other country whatever, thanks to the unparalleled liberality of the British offer, on the financial side the credit of the Irish Free State would be excellent. Certain to stand high in any case, Irish credit might be quite the best in Europe. For purposes of an initial flotation, no country could appeal to the American money market with better assurance of success.

It is to be noted that the Free State would have equal voice with Great Britain herself in the Imperial Conference, would have her own League of Nations representative, and might send her own diplomatic and consular agents to the Vatican, to Washington, whithersoever she might please.

The Ulster Cabinet has definitely rejected the offer to join the Irish Free State. Ulster is not to be blamed; but 'tis great pity the union is delayed.

We urge all who have not done so to read Lloyd George's "apology" to the Commons for the agreement. We can not forbear quoting the peroration:

By this agreement we win a deep, abiding and passionate loyalty. Under such conditions it would not be taking too hopeful a view of the future to imagine that the last peril of the British Empire is passed. There are still dangers. Whence shall they come? From what quarter? Who knows? When they do come I feel glad to know that Ireland will be there by our side. That old motto of Ireland, "England's danger is Ireland's opportunity," will have a new reading—the reading of the Dominion States of that opportunity in 1914. Our peril will be her danger, our fears will be her anxiety, our victory will be her joy.

"Amen" to that.

It was touchingly appropriate that the address to the Throne from the Lords should be moved (in almost inaudible tones, for "Honest John" is very old and feeble) by Lord Morley, that ancient doughty champion of the rights of Ireland.

## It Pays to Have Temperament

MARSHAL FOCH takes back with him to France a charming companion: to wit, Theodora, a young wildcat presented by the Montana Legionaries. Theodora has been an honored guest in the Bronx Zoo while her master has been collecting LL.D.'s. The Curator of Mammals and Reptiles of the New York Zoölogical Society turned Theodora over to Dr. Foch with the following note:

Our messenger is delivering to you the wildcat which it has been our pleasure to care for during your visit to the United States.

Regarding the care of this little cat, please note that the best method of feeding will be this: A saucer of milk in the morning, slightly tepid, and in the afternoon a moderate quantity of milk in which has been placed a handful of raw chopped beef. It is always best to feed these very young animals twice a day. Their temperaments vary and they sometimes tire of one type of food.

If this is the case, it would be well to tempt the little animal with a little raw chicken, or, as a greater delicacy, a mouse. We are sending herewith a box of twelve white mice. In the change to shipboard and the excitement of transfer, the cat may require tempting with such foods. A pan of water should be placed in the cage twice a day.

The obvious moral is that it pays to have temperament. Call us soft, if you please, but we do feel sorry for the little white mice.

## Germany

DR. RATHENAU returned to Berlin the other day, empty-handed. A day or two before his departure from London, M. Loucheur arrived there, and the conversations on reparations finance became three-cornered (Rathenau, Loucheur, and some British interlocutor; as Lloyd George, or Sir Robert Horne, or one of the Rothschilds). Yet though Rathenau took back with him no loan agreement nor promise of a moratorium, nor anything of that sort, his visit was, we think, of very great profit to



International

*Japanese girls are always jolly when at work.*

Germany. The conversations, we are sure, drove home to his mind the conviction that neither the French *nor the British* would do anything for the easement of Germany until convinced that the German Government had exhausted the possibilities of self-help. Himself convinced, Rathenau convinced Chancellor Wirth (who needed little



convincing), and the National Economic Council, made up of great German financial and industrial magnates (who needed a good deal of convincing). The result is already seen in the announcement by Wirth of an administrative and legislative programme, which contemplates: balancing the budget by extraordinary raising of railroad, telephone, telegraph and postal rates, etc.; the placing of all financial and industrial assets at the disposal of the Government for use in guaranteeing foreign loans; more in the same drastic sort. It seems fairly certain that, should Wirth put through his program (to which, it is asserted, the National Economic Council have pledged their backing), an international loan will be forthcoming sufficient to enable the German Government to pay the gold reparation installments of the next few years; these installments being very greatly reduced through the Wiesbaden agreement between Germany and France, and similar agreements contemplated between Germany on the one part, and Britain, Italy, and Belgium on the other.

It is now alleged (and it seems probable enough) that Briand (whose truly generous mind has been ventilated, so to speak, by the trip across the Atlantic and doubtless

also by his Washington experiences) and Lloyd George, who has, since the Irish agreement was signed, given his mind a loose into other fields, are about agreed on summoning a great European conference on the economic situation, to which Germany and Russia should be invited. That's a stiff one about Russia; but nothing is too stiff after Mr. Hughes's Conference-opening speech. At this economic conference German reparations should be considered in their proper subordinate relation to the general economic situation. A conference on such lines within the near future does indeed seem inevitable. Think it over, reader, and with us your astonishment will be not at the little but at the much that has been accomplished since the armistice, the long distance that has been traveled toward reconstruction on broader lines. It is without surprise that one reads such a proposition as the following: Britain to forgive France the latter's huge debt to Britain, and France to consent to reduction by the same amount of the German reparation debt to herself. Similarly as to Italy, heavily in debt to Britain. The German reparation total would thus be reduced to an amount which could be covered by a great international loan. Thus France would receive a large sum immediately, when it would do most good. This or some other plan of equal magnificence and common-sense is on the cards. Perhaps out of such arrangements we shall see evolve a United State of Europe in the economic sense, fit to cope on economic terms not so unequal with the United States of America. It is an amazing thing; of a sudden German reparations finance has ceased to present a problem of overwhelming difficulty. It's the Russian problem one balks at. In order to hasten reconstruction, will even the French make shift to use the bloody instruments installed in Moscow? That is truly a poser.

[The above was written before publication of a letter from Chancellor Wirth to the Chairman of the Reparation Commission, declaring that the German Government can not find more than 200,000,000 of the 1,000,000,000 reparation gold marks required for the January and February installments. This letter does not affect the value of the above discussion. It is likely to hasten action by Briand and Lloyd George. We are of opinion that Wirth will find the remaining 800,000,000 marks, if he can procure easement as to the subsequent installments. After announcing a drastic policy, he seems to be having a case of nerves. Possibly Lloyd George and Briand will soften the situation for him a little. He certainly could pay the January installment by laying hold on the Reichsbank reserve.]

## The Conference

SATURDAY, December 10, was an important Conference day, only less important than the opening day, when Secretary Hughes hurled the bomb heard round the world. A plenary session was held. Secretary Hughes reviewed the work accomplished on Chinese problems by the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, and presented for ratification by the full Conference the resolutions adopted by that committee. The resolutions were duly ratified as presented. They are:

1. The four Root principles, quoted in our issue of December 3.

II. The resolution proposing a commission (to which each government represented in the Conference should appoint one member) to visit China, to study the administration of justice there, and to make recommendations as to improvements which might ultimately warrant abolition of the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China.

III. A resolution to the effect that China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party. [In requesting this resolution the Chinese delegation were thinking of the war between Japan and Russia in Manchuria and of that between Japan and Ger-



International

A scaling ladder contest of a Japanese fire-brigade. They are coming down by their hands alone—some feat.



many in Shantung; in neither of which conflicts was Chinese sovereignty anywise considered.]

IV. A declaration that it is the intention of the Powers attending the Conference (exclusive of China) not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another, or individually or collectively with any power or powers, which would infringe or impair the four Root principles. [This resolution seems to us quite unnecessary, for it is implied in the Root principles.]

Mr. Hughes ended with a statement forecasting an agreement "dealing generally with the questions relating to the Far East and to policies in reference to China and also with respect to the territorial status of the countries concerned." [Most probably a nine-power treaty.]

On December 10, then, very little of definite had been accomplished toward the relief of China from her sundry disabilities. Since that date Japan has at last announced her adhesion to a general agreement for withdrawal of foreign post offices from Chinese territory (except leaseholds), and an agreement, partially satisfactory to China, as to wireless installations has been announced. But the most important matters (the tariff, the leased territories, foreign troops and police) are still in committee. The most important matter of all is that of Manchuria. Japan shows no disposition to yield one jot in Manchuria; and, if rumor is correct, the Powers, though sympathetic toward China, have no intention to make the slightest move toward weakening Japan's hold on Manchuria. The Chinese say that agreement to renewal of the Manchurian lease (the Liao-tung Peninsula, the South Manchuria Railway, and the railway zone) was forced from China under circumstances peculiarly discreditable to Japan; and that is quite true. But the Powers are helpless in the matter. If they should attempt to back Japan out of Manchuria, the jig would be up, Japan would withdraw from the Conference, all that's been done would be undone. It may be plausibly urged that, should strengthening of Japan's position in Manchuria result from the Conference, Japan's gains from the Conference would very far offset her losses. She had to get out of Shantung anyway; the boycott insured that. She maintained her Shantung claim only to swap it for compensation in Manchuria. The argument is probably correct. But the Powers are not fooled regarding Manchuria. If they recognize the *status quo* there (and such recognition would be equivalent to recognizing Japanese sovereignty there), they will do so reluctantly upon a careful balance of many large considerations (the need of Japan for expansion, etc., etc.) They will do so, well knowing that China will be kittle dealing with after such recognition. Weighing all the considerations, and despite the extraordinary affection we have for China, we believe it not only expedient but on the whole right that Japan should be left in possession of Manchuria. We are awaiting with a good deal of excitement that agreement forecast by Mr. Hughes.

The dual negotiation between China and Japan over Shantung promises to result shortly in an agreement satisfactory to China; Japan even relinquishing her persistent claim to joint operation of the railroad. [But see above.]

But we must go back to Continental Hall on that memorable 10th. The feature of the occasion was the reading to the Conference by Senator Lodge of the four-power treaty agreed on by the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France, in regard to the Pacific islands. That treaty, which seems to us quite simple and benevolent, has set our Senators by the ears, and diverted them from important business into a fantastic logomachy. We quote the more important provisions. The treaty is itself important and an earnest of more important treaties to come.

I. The high contracting parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other high contracting parties to a joint conference,



International

#### A Japanese lad fishing and tending the baby.

to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

II. If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

III. This treaty shall remain in force for ten years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force subject to the right of any of the high contracting parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.

IV. This treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties, and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Great Britain and Japan, which was concluded in London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate.

We have space for only a brief mention of other important matters. Japan has assented to the 5-5-3 ratio, and the Powers have agreed to the *status quo* with respect to fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific region, including Hong Kong (the restriction, however, not applying to the Hawaiian Islands, Australia, New Zealand, the islands composing Japan proper, or the coasts of the United States and Canada). A decision is still to be reached respecting the naval allowances of France and Italy. Presumably all the naval decisions will be given effect. An extra-conference agreement on Yap has been consummated.

We wonder that no word has been said concerning Mongolia. And always in the background looms the Siberian Question, menacing.

HENRY W. BUNN



# 'Abd-Ul Baha - Abbas Effendi

A Personal Reminiscence

By Frederic Dean

**A**BD-UL BAHA, whose death was chronicled in the press the other day, was more than a personality—he was an inspiration; an idealist, whose self-devotion breathed new life into dying creeds. His gospel appealed with equal force to Christians, Moslems, and Jews; to Buddhists and Hindus, Shintoists and Parsis. His idealism was to many a manifestation of the very source of life, light, and love. He came at a time when the soul's craving for hope and faith was—seemingly—unappeased by any one of the many organized and acknowledged religions.

I first met the teacher in an up-town church. I had been sent by my paper to report the sermon. The speaker's likeness to my own father was so startling that, immediately after the service, I entered the ante-room and told him of the remarkable resemblance. Very quietly he answered: "I *am* your father and you are my son. Come and dine with me." Another engagement prevented, but I asked if I might take breakfast with him the following morning. "Come," he said. I went. And after that first meeting followed others. We walked in his garden, and, as we walked, we talked. I told him of his peculiar attraction to me on account of my own outlook on life; that I came from Southern Asia and that I was a Buddhist—a Buddhist-Christian. "So am I," replied the teacher. "I am also a Confucian-Christian and a Brahmin-Christian; a Jewish and a Mohammedan-Christian. I am a brother to all who love truth—truth in whatsoever garb they choose to clothe it."

We talked of many things—of the beginnings of religion—of animism and ancestor worship, of the mysticism of Indian philosophy, of Hellenic culture, and of the coming of the Buddha, of the Christ and of Mohammed. He instructed me in the religion of his own home country—went back to the time when Persia attained her unequalled prosperity under the Sassanide dynasty, in the second century after the coming of the Christ. Persia's religion was—nominally—that of Zoroaster, but it had been so debased that it could not withstand the fierce onslaught of Mohammedanism. In Persia there was an order, or sect, of holy men and doctrinal teachers, called Sufis. All the great poets of Iran were Sufis. Omar Khayyam belonged to the brotherhood. It was in 815 that a famous Sufi, named Abu Sayyid ibn Abi-el-Chair, gathered about him a little band of followers to purge the country of the crudities and the restrictions of the Islamic dogmas. He and his disciples believed in the declaration of modern science that life is a condition of growing or "becoming." He, in turn, was followed—in 1499—by another reformer, called Ismael, who succeeded in ejecting the Turkomans who had conquered Iran. Ismael founded a national creed. It is most natural that every so often there shall appear a new dispenser of truth; a leader of a revolution; a preacher of a new cult.

In 1844 there emerged from Shiraz a merchant, named Mirza 'Ali Mohammed and known as the "Bab," or "Gate" (of heaven). This Bab was a novelty for a Sufi, for he proclaimed the great immortal truths to all men without distinction, truths that hitherto had been the sole possession of an esoteric sect. Naturally he was fought by the clergy, who had him cast into prison at Tabriz and—in July, 1850—publicly shot.

Among the followers of the Bab was Mirza Hussein 'Ali Baha 'Ullah, the father of 'Abd-Ul Baha. An intellectual giant, he chose to devote his entire strength to propagating the teachings of the martyred leader. Of course he was imprisoned, of course his property was confiscated by

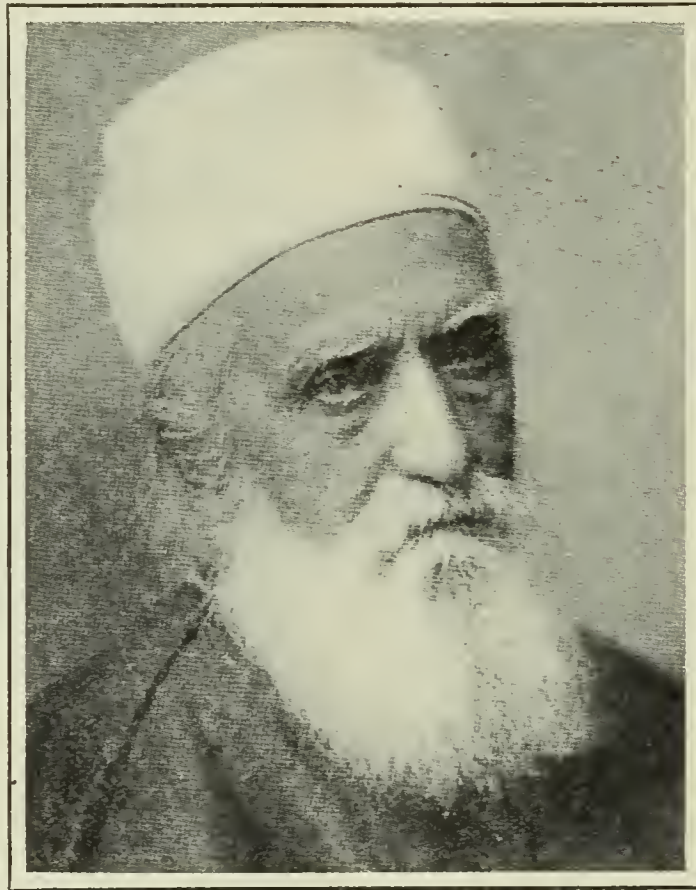
the state, and he was finally banished to Bagdad. Turkey has ever been more tolerant of religious heresies than Persia. The Sultan was content to summon Baha 'Ullah to his capital. From Constantinople the prophet went to Adrianople, where his disciples grew in such numbers that he was again banished, this time—in 1857—to Acre, a seaport on the Syrian coast, where the tenets of his belief were put into written form and given to his followers. Upon the foundations of Sufism Baha 'Ullah built a structure of universal "working out"—a working out that has much of Buddhism in it.

It was in the year that he announced his decision to follow the footsteps of the Bab that his son, 'Abd-Ul Baha was born—June 23, 1844. He died in 1892. Upon his death-bed he appointed "this, my eldest son," to represent him. No sooner had the spies of the ex-Sultan carried the news to the

Vildex palace than "He who was to be the Light" was cast into prison and there he remained until 1908—from his forty-eighth to his sixty-fourth year. Once freed, from his first temporary resting place, Haifa—"nestling under the shadow of Mount Carmel"—came the latest word of cheer to the world. From that moment to his last breath, last November, the dominant thought in his mind and the governing rule of his life was the universal propagation of the brotherhood of man.

No leader of men could be more simple in his tastes or more naive in his expression of them. On the last day that I saw him he gave me his rose—he always had a freshly picked rose on his table—and kissed me on both cheeks (as was his wont). As he left me at the door he said, "You may be waylaid on your way out. The people who are good enough to come to see me think of me and speak of me as something especially holy and set apart. But do not mind them. Think of me as your loving father and not as some divine thing to be adored." In the reception room I was immediately surrounded by the patient watchers, who scrambled for the rose as for some sacred relic.

Those who met him carried away a nameless something that made life's pleasures brighter.

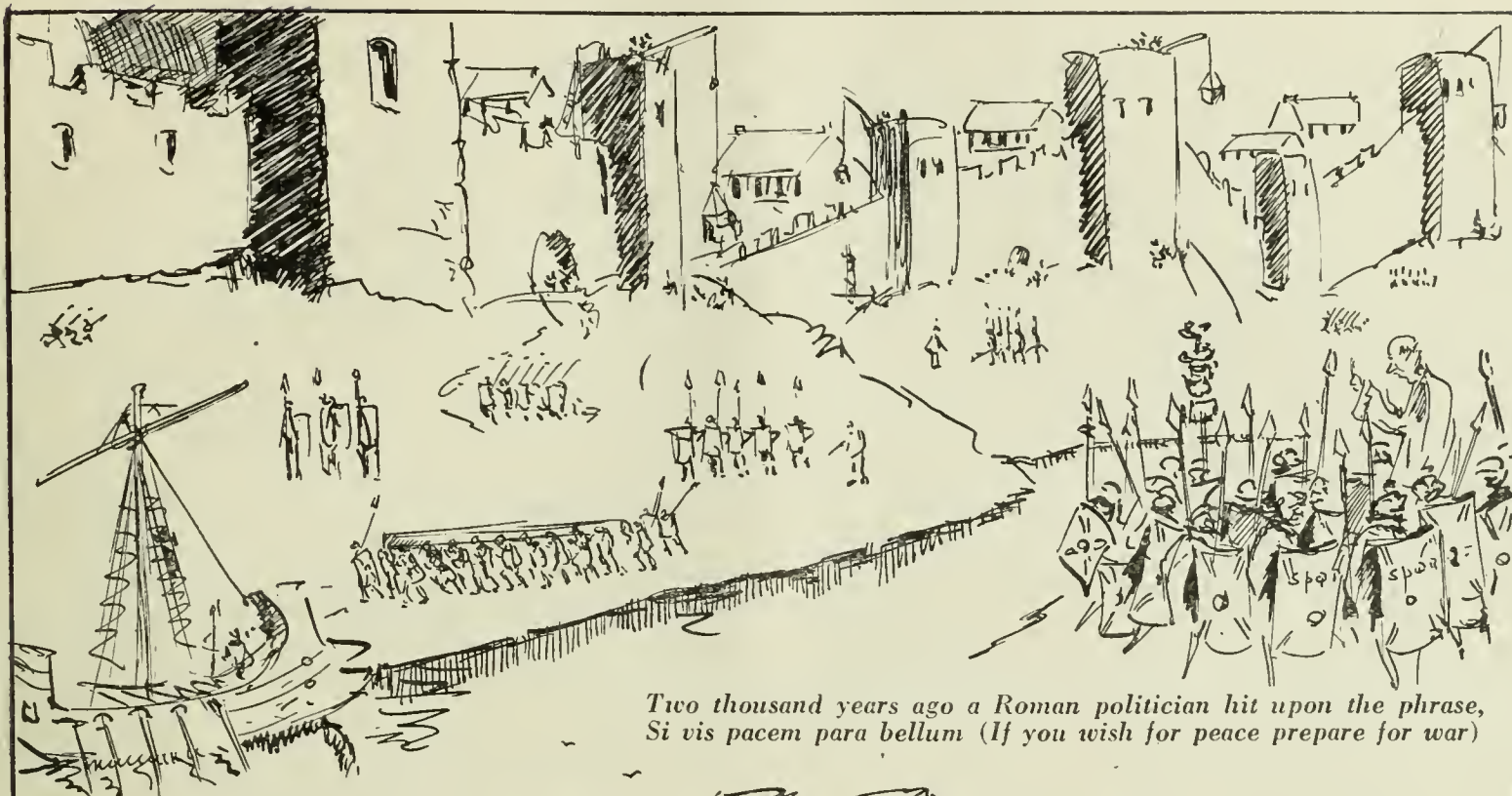


'Abd-Ul Baha.

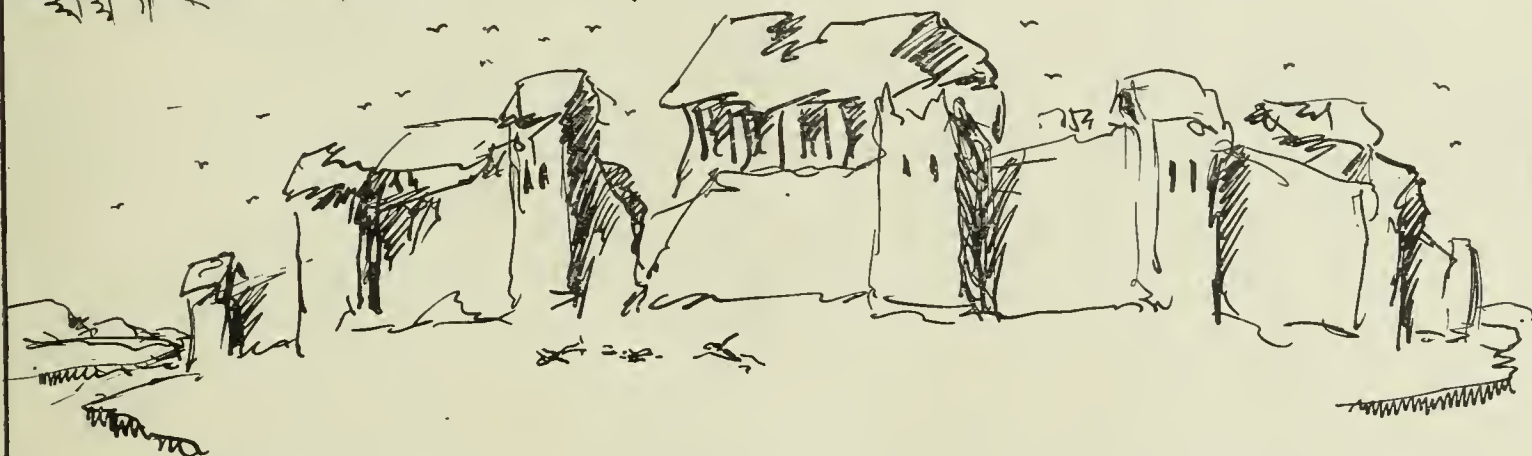


# History Teaches . . .

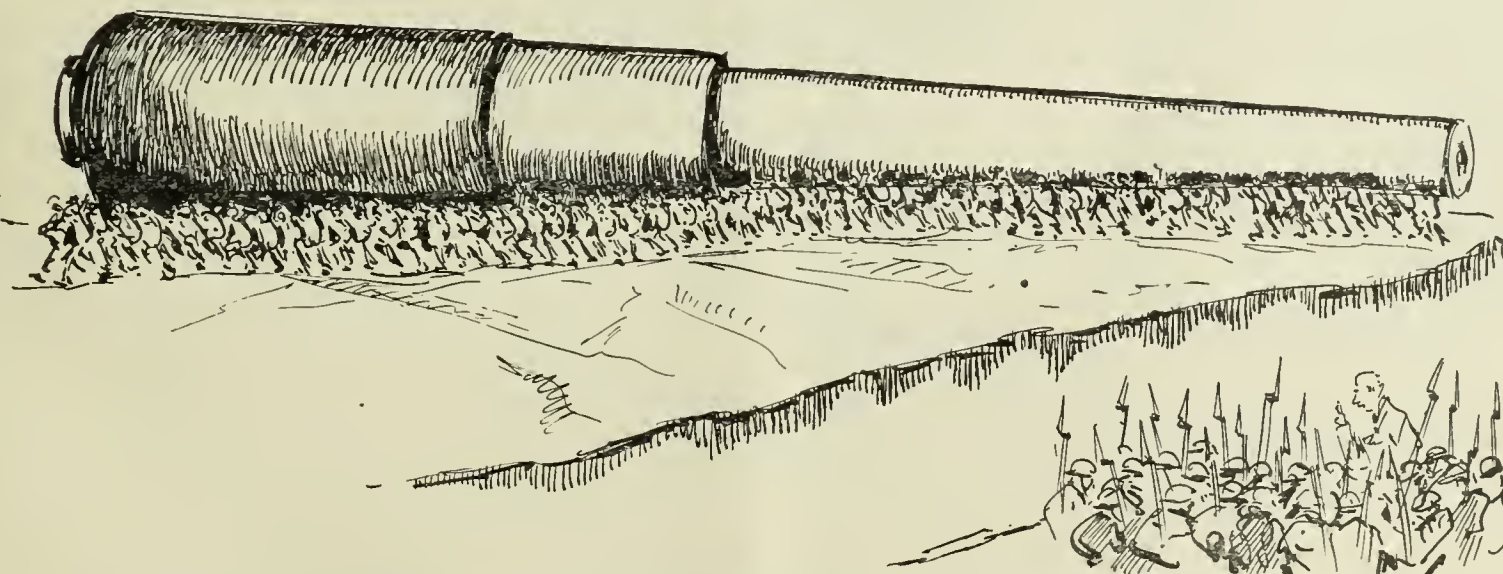
By Hendrik van Loon



Two thousand years ago a Roman politician hit upon the phrase,  
*Si vis pacem para bellum* (If you wish for peace prepare for war)



The slogan did not prove a success. Rome with all her preparations was a ruin for almost fifteen centuries. But the unfortunate catch-word survived and endlessly the rulers of men repeated the words  
"if you wish for peace prepare for war."



On account of it millions of people have been driven into premature death. Suppose that we, who carry the intolerable burdens of this advice, change just one little word and make it *SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM* (If you wish for peace prepare for peace)

Hendrik van Loon xxi



# Music

"Die todte Stadt," at the Metropolitan—Marie Jeritza

By Charles Henry Meltzer

THE management of the Metropolitan has presented its first novelty of the season, a new opera by the youthful Erich Wolfgang Korngold, of Vienna, named "Die todte Stadt." The libretto, by Paul Schott, has been made out of a dramatization by G. Rodenbach of his own novel, "Bruges la Morte." It was sung at the Metropolitan, and before that in Vienna, in the original German, and, by an audience largely German or of German stock, was welcomed with no little favor.

The libretto of "Die todte Stadt" to me seems to belong to that kind of art work which might be classified as "good matter out of place." There are themes which may be bearable in book form, but which on the boards seem crude and even vulgar. In "Bruges la Morte" we had a curious novel, attractive although morbid and unpleasant. Its author could go deep into psychology, and by the charm of style could lend his story interest. But in the shortened form of drama and in opera one has to minimize such things as pure psychology. And, shorn of this, and style and other finer attributes, "Die todte Stadt" takes on the lurid air of a mere motion-picture story—the tale of a strange "vamp" and her male victim.

The opera is divided into three long acts, the first of which deals with realities. Before it ends, it has given place to dreams. And then it changes, in a sort of epilogue, to more realities. The hero, if he can be called a hero, is Paul, a widower, whose charming wife has died some weeks or months before the story opens. He is devoted, wedded to her well-loved memory; and has converted one of his rooms into a kind of chapel, in which he has hung her portrait and preserved some of her lovely tresses. There, as he mourns, he is visited by a dancer, named Marietta, who has a startling likeness to the dear, dead woman. In his abnormal state, he soon persuades himself that his adored Marie has come to life again. Marietta smiles on him and tries to win his love. She is amazed by her resemblance to the portrait, and, to please Paul, puts on a shawl of his Marie and sings a song the wife had once sung to him. When she departs, she leaves some flowers behind, which at the end of the last act she comes to fetch.

Between these episodes the hero dreams. The picture of his wife grows real and living. The dead Marie forewarns him of the peril to which he is exposed by his delusion. She tells him of the shame that must result if he should love Marietta.

What follows is the working out in visions of all that Marie, or her picture, has foretold might be. Paul courts Marietta, who is vain and heartless. He sees how vile she is, but, being helpless, consents to bring her back to his dead Marie's home. Marietta plays with him, and to insult his wife takes from a crystal box the long, fair locks he treasures. With these she improvises a mad, evil dance. That is too much. And with the golden tresses Paul strangles her. Then he awakes—quite cured.

The background of this sad though lurid tale is the dead city, Bruges, a place of haunting hymns, of nuns and convents. The contrasts in the plot are far too violent. The closing episodes seem more than merely shocking. They have a flavor of satanic, hateful sin, which suits the picture house, but not the opera boards. At one point they arouse disgust and horror. The audience, none the less, did not protest. The arch-vamps of the motion-picture screen would—and some day will—love to play Marietta. To decent persons in the opera house she surely should be a revolting heroine. The story violates the human sancti-

ties. For though what shocks one may be called a dream, the figures on the stage are warm and real. They throb with love. They are not merely shades.

Some might, however, pardon the libretto if the composer had produced a faultless score. Well, he has not done this by any means. His work is clever, vivid, hot, and eloquent. It often has expressive force and color. It also gives one some melodic passages which, though too cloying, please the casual ear. It goes from heavy styles, recalling Strauss and Wagner, to lighter modes which hint at operetta. The orchestration is not very new. It is inspired, like certain scenes and themes, now by the well-worn "Tosca" of Puccini, now by the artful pages of "Der Rosenkavalier." Charpentier, too, has influenced young Korngold. Once, for some minutes, in the introduction to the second act, the music gives a promise of originality.

Twice, in a song with a guitar accompaniment and in a lovely little Pierrot serenade, the composer lets his gentler lyricism have its way. The result is, in the serenade, most pleasing, while in the other song it is more trivial. He has used bells in combination with orchestral choirs with taste and skill. The work is neither great nor bold, indeed. Effective—yes, in scores of passages, and quite worth hearing, at least once or twice.

"Die todte Stadt," like other novelties, is handicapped by being sung to us in a strange tongue. But it is helped—and this may help it much—by the great beauty and the talent of its chief interpreter. Marie Jeritza, a Viennese soprano, has something in her composition of Frieda Hempel, added to the vivacity of the long-popular Fritz Scheff, but with a vastly finer and less garish quality. She is young and fair, "blonde comme les blés" of the woman in "La Chanson de Fortunio." She has also passion and dramatic power, and coquetry, expressed a bit too obviously. Her voice is, in the medium, pure and free, but pinched and wiry in the upper register. Her singing method is distinctly German. Her graces are of the Viennese variety. She is not suggestive (in the proper sense) like an accomplished Frenchwoman. She underlines and does not leave enough, at times, to the intelligence of those who watch her acting. She will be welcome, for she has charm and "personality."

Korngold has written rather cruel things for singers in his opening. Orville Harrold, who appeared as Paul, fought valiantly and often with success to conquer the difficulties of his strenuous task. He sang with spirit, and his German was quite clear. Much clearer than that hurled at us by some Teutons in the cast. The delicate artistry, the taste, and nice discretion of Mario Laurenti in the character of the dream Pierrot, as he murmured his serenade, seemed on the whole—to me, at all events—the finest achievement in the performance—apart from the playing of the score by the orchestra, under the able and musicianly conductorship of Mr. Bodanzky.

I regret that want of space has compelled the omission of my brief review of the Fifth Symphony of the Finn composer, Sibelius, by the Philharmonic orchestra. I was much impressed both by the character and, at moments, by the strange northern beauty of that work. The determined effort of Mr. Henry Hadley, at a more recent concert of the Philharmonic, to translate the emotions of his soul stirred up by the "Ocean" in its calm and savage moods, in tone-poem form, demonstrated his ability to use his orchestra to very good effect, but did not add much to our native music.



# New Books and Old

## Books of the Week

WOODROW WILSON AS I KNOW HIM,  
by Joseph P. Tumulty. Double-  
day, Page.

HERMAN MELVILLE, MARINER AND  
MYSTIC, by Raymond M. Weaver.  
Doran.

Biography of the author of  
"Moby Dick," "Typee," and "Omoo."

THE CROW'S NEST, by Clarence Day,  
Jr. Knopf.

The brief essays of a curious wit  
and sage. With his own eerie illus-  
trations.

SPLINTERS, by Keith Preston. Doran.

Verses originally printed in Chi-  
cago newspapers.

THE GEORGE SAND-GUSTAVE FLAU-  
BERT LETTERS, translated by  
Aimee L. McKenzie. Boni &  
Liveright.

IT has become a best-seller, and is de-  
lighting thousands of readers. I  
mean Mr A. S. M. Hutchinson's "If  
Winter Comes" (Little, Brown). Yet  
perhaps its best service will be to make  
many readers, who are still ignorant of  
it, read that earlier novel by the same  
writer, that novel with the finest of all  
titles—"Once Aboard the Lugger—" I  
suspect that that is why I am going  
to be grateful for "If Winter Comes."  
The latter has many of the qualities of  
a fine novel. Once it gets going, once  
the war is reached, it becomes inter-  
esting, even thrilling. After that  
things begin to happen, the harpies be-  
gin to swoop about the head of the  
hero, Mark Sabre.

They gather and swoop in such  
clouds, and he proves so defenseless—  
although innocent of wrong-doing—  
that the book at this point reminds me  
of the heroine and the snowstorm in  
Jerome K. Jerome's "Stage Land." Mr.  
Jerome speaks of the way in which  
a stage snowstorm likes to go for a  
stage heroine; how maliciously it per-  
secutes her. He writes: "I have known  
a more than usually malignant snow-  
storm to follow a heroine three times  
around the stage, and finally to go off  
R. with her." So do misfortunes dog  
the footsteps of the hero in "If Winter  
Comes." He puts his head into a  
noose, into two or three nooses, in  
the chuckle-headed manner of heroes  
created by less able writers than Mr.  
Hutchinson. The long arm of coinci-  
dence begins to swing its club, not in  
his favor, but invariably against him.  
And finally he loses all ability to say  
a word in his own defense—although  
only recently he has been voluble  
enough. And like Mr. Jerome's stage-  
heroine, he sits on one side of the  
street in a blinding snowstorm, when  
the other side is as dry as a bone. It  
never occurs to him to cross the street.

The book which I took up after "If  
Winter Comes" was the late H. B.

Irving's "Last Studies in Criminology"  
(London: Collins), which is, I hope, to  
be published here. In these four es-  
says, about as many miscarriages of  
justice, perhaps some justification  
might be found for the fearful run of  
bad luck which afflicted Mark Sabre in  
the fictitious story of Mr. Hutchinson.  
Here is an account of the actual case  
of the harmless Norwegian named  
Adolf Beck, who through the mis-  
chance of coming down to his door in  
London one evening to post a letter  
found himself accused of a series of  
mean crimes of which he had not the  
slightest knowledge. There followed a  
number of legal blunders with the re-  
sult that Beck served a term of years  
in prison (protesting vigorously, how-  
ever) and after his release had actually  
been arrested and convicted again, and  
only escaped a second term of impris-  
onment by a fortunate chance at the  
last moment.

Mr. Irving also relates the story of  
Lesurques (the stage counterpart of  
whom his father and he often enacted  
in "The Lyons Mail"), whose almost  
certainly undeserved misfortunes, end-  
ing at the guillotine, began when he  
casually and innocently accompanied a  
friend into a magistrate's office where  
an inquiry was proceeding about the  
robbery of the Lyons mail-coach.

Why does the light verse written by  
Englishmen last a while, and that  
penned by Americans vanish like dew  
before the rising sun? My guess is  
that the Americans try to be too fright-  
fully up-to-date. You have to read  
most of the magazines, all of the news-  
paper columnists, and look at all the  
comic-strips to appreciate, for instance,  
Keith Preston's "Splinters" (Doran).  
But his comments upon books and  
writers are neat, very neat. Witness:

### EFFERVESCENCE AND EVANESCENCE

We've found this Scott Fitzgerald chap  
A chipper, charming child;  
He's taught us how the flappers flap.  
And why the whipper-snappers snap.  
What makes the women wild.  
But now he should make haste to trap  
The ducats in his dipper;  
The birds that put him on the map  
Will shortly all begin to rap  
And flop to something flipper.

### REFLECTIONS

(Upon reading recent criticisms of Mark  
Twain)  
They say the Ouija and the Freudian flit  
About the Courts where Wisdom dwelt  
and Wit;  
Mark Twain, our Laughter Lord!—the  
Solemn Ass  
Brays o'er his Head nor fears the Lash  
and Bit.

Nowhere so thickly twine and densely  
spread  
The Twaddle Vines as where some Genius  
bled;  
Each Popycock that Letters bring to  
Light  
Wraps groping Roots around some Hero  
dead.

Once, when the Hindenburg line was  
cracking, and I was sitting all day long  
gazing at great bunches of documents

in which people had started inquiries,  
about, say, the address of Private Jack  
Nevinsky, Army Serial Number 355,607  
—an inquiry beginning in Texas,  
mounting up and up to the Secretary  
of War, thence to General Pershing  
across the seas, and then (the General  
giving it up, apparently) after its  
forty-sixth indorsement, to my exalted  
presence—once, I say, when these  
things were going on, a fat wad of  
papers lay before me with one of the  
first of them in a handwriting strangely  
familiar. It seemed to lack the curious  
pictures which had always, before, ac-  
companied that style of penmanship.  
The signature was "Clarence Day, Jr."  
And I saw it and smiled and wished I  
could do something about it. So I  
gave it its forty-seventh endorsement,  
and added, "Tell the President to  
see Tumulty about this and get some  
action" (or words to that effect).  
Then I affixed the signature which is  
at the bottom of this page, and for  
greater effect added something like  
"Second Acting Assistant Deputy Ad-  
jutant"—not by way of ostentation, I  
beg to say—and sent it along. I hope  
Mr. Day got what he wanted; it was,  
I think, to help his cook to get her hus-  
band's army pay properly assigned, or  
a matter of that kind. For Mr. Day  
draws rollicking pictures and writes  
queer books. He sees the world with-  
out traditions; he looks at mankind and  
the animals as if he were an unusually  
perspicacious baby. Take, for example,  
his remarks on cows, in "The Crow's  
Nest" (Knopf). He begins: "I was  
thinking the other evening of cows.  
You say, why? I can't tell you. But  
it came to me, all of a sudden, that  
cows lead hard lives." But you had  
best read it for yourself. I have used  
all my space just to say how much it  
pleased me then to see Mr. Day's hand-  
writing in such a sober place.

D. H. Lawrence, novelist and psycho-  
analyst, compares Walt Whitman with  
Dostoevsky.

"Dostoevsky has burrowed under-  
ground into the decomposing psyche.  
But Whitman has gone forward in life-  
knowledge. It is he who surmounts the  
grand climacteric of our civilization.  
He really arrives at that stage of in-  
finity which seers sought. By subject-  
ing the deepest centers of the lower  
self, he attains the maximum con-  
sciousness in the higher self: a de-  
gree of extensive consciousness greater  
than any man in the modern world."

I wondered for some time what this  
recalled. At last I remembered: it is  
George Ade's fable of "The Preacher  
Who Flew His Kite." In the course of  
his sermon the preacher remarked  
that it was Quarolius who disputed the  
contention of the great Persian theo-  
logian Ramtazuk, that the soul in its  
reaching out after the unknowable was  
guided by the spiritual genesis of  
motive rather than by mere impulse  
of mentality. And nobody dared ask  
the preacher if he understood what he  
was talking about.

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Balfour the Seeker After Truth

A DEFENCE OF PHILOSOPHIC DOUBT. Being an Essay on the Foundations of Belief. By Arthur James Balfour. New York: George H. Doran Company.

THIS is a reprint of that first contribution which its author made to philosophic literature forty-two years ago. The "Defence of Philosophic Doubt" has long been unobtainable, except by those who took the trouble to advertise for it, and persuaded some one who chanced to have a copy to sell it at a high price. Mr. Balfour desires to quote from that early book in the second set of Gifford Lectures which he has still to deliver, and tells us in the preface that he has authorized this re-issue because "it seems rather absurd to refer readers to a work which they will probably be unable to procure and certainly unwilling to pay for."

The book has thus a threefold interest, historical, critical, literary. It carries us back to that hurricane of debate that raged during the seventies of last century, when men like Huxley and Lord Morley, on the one side, were pamphleteering against men like Gladstone on the other, and when Mr. Balfour plunged into the fray with a treatise that had both the challenge and the charm of paradox. In the so-called "conflict between Religion and Science" he undertook to show that Science has no claim to be set up as the standard of belief, that conformity with scientific teaching is by no means to be accepted as an essential condition of all truth, nor is non-conformity with such teaching an unanswerable proof of error, but that the religious and the scientific ways of regarding the world have their ultimate and sufficient vindication in a practical need. Thus the book was an early manifesto against what is now generally spoken of as "Intellectualism," and as such it annoyed two very different schools of thought. Those who, calling themselves by the new name "agnostics," were proving that the Christian creed could no longer be held by enlightened men, and those who as champions of the old faith were showing—after Bacon—that a theistic view of the world is implicit in all the deeper reasonings of the human mind, were alike startled by the appearance of a dialectician who separated himself from each in turn. Out of that state of Doubt known as "philosophic" and shown to be justifiable Mr. Balfour undertook to construct a Foundation for the most important traditional beliefs of the Christian world. With considerable daring he likened the scientists of his own time, with their overweening confidence in the adequacy of scientific method for solving all human problems, to the medieval Schoolmen with their theological formulæ under which the freedom of the human mind was so long kept in bondage. Arguing

against both alike, on the ground that each affected a completeness and a certainty of results which far outran any evidence they had to offer, Mr. Balfour pled for a vigorous scepticism towards all such affectation of intellectual finality, and defended the right of the "plain man," in a case where theoretic proof was at least as weak in one interest as in another, to hold fast by those postulates about the ultimate nature of things which had been found essential for preserving the higher values of life.

The argument was presented with that rare gift of lucidity which has made the author's writings and speeches so attractive to the general reader, though it has sometimes drawn down upon him from critics both in parliament and in the press the reproach of "thin dialectic." Subtlety of statement, power to convict his opponents of inconsistency and to impale them upon the horns of a dilemma, rare skill in the invention of piercing phrases to which the reader returns again and again before he has exhausted their meaning, are the marks of style by which this literary artist has long been known. It would be hard indeed to find anything more ingenious of its kind than those pages in which Mr. Balfour has satirized the attack upon religious creeds by a parody in which a like attack is pressed home against science. And even those who can least share his convictions must agree that here and there in expounding them he has—in the words of an eminent Scottish philosopher—added "a passage of rare and moving eloquence to English literature." One can, however, appreciate the point intended by another old critic who called the "Defence of Philosophic Doubt" "that book in which Mr. Balfour has so conclusively shown that science is as baseless as theology."

We are told in the preface to this reprint that no attempt has been made to revise the original text, "or in any way to bring it up to date." This may well dispense the present reviewer from the task of either explaining or criticising the argument in detail. For Mr. Balfour's line of reasoning has long been familiar, and in his two other books, "Foundations of Belief" and "Theism and Humanism," he has recently presented it in a form more fully abreast of the present time. Some parts of the original work are of permanent value, but there is much that is now of historical more than of critical or constructive interest. The treatment of John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Sir William Hamilton, Leslie Stephen, belongs to a stage of philosophy which we have for some considerable time left behind, and of which the importance is now in the main that of an introduction to the subject for young students or a record of its past for the more mature. Mr. Balfour's controversial fencing is, indeed, extraordinarily adroit, and it would reflect much credit upon his work if one were to single out points in which his argument of nearly half

a century ago—very new as it then was—anticipated what are now the commonplaces of criticism. It would have to be emphasized at the same time that he is often more clever than learned, that his incomparable felicity of expression at times surpasses the strength of his thinking, that there are places, for example, in his argument against Kant and Edward Caird, where his wit and repartee are made to compensate for missing the point. Why, too, one may well ask, has he not taken the trouble to refer to those new schools—pragmatist, personal idealist, Bergsonian, New-Realist—in which his own early case against Mill and Spencer has been so vigorously driven home in language more suited to the present day?

Yet one must be thankful to see this book once more in circulation. The present critic is in general in cordial sympathy with it, but even those who are its fiercest antagonists should welcome opposition by a foeman worthy of their steel. There is a great charm, too, about the philosophic statesman, who suspends from time to time the framing of platforms and the conciliating of rival interests and the devising of astute electoral combinations that he may think out in quietness those great ultimate issues for mankind to which mere "policy" is irrelevant. Mr. Balfour—"practical man" though he has been in a high degree—has never had the practical man's contempt for abstract thought. Throughout a long public life he has not seldom withdrawn from affairs, to indulge his passion for probing into theory. He has never failed to realize that the most concrete problems of government and social order involve in the end an analysis that goes deep, and today in his old age at the conference table in Washington we may be sure that he is pointing this moral to his colleagues. Like another old prophet, he will warn them not to "heal *lightly* the hurt of the daughter of my people." For few have realized better than the author of this book now reprinted the truth of that maxim of Coleridge that celestial observations are needed for the scientific constructing of even terrestrial charts.

HERBERT L. STEWART

## Incitements and Provocations

DECADENCE. By Rémy de Gourmont. The European Library. Translated by William Aspenwall Bradley. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

SOME MODERN FRENCH WRITERS. By G. Turquet-Milnes. New York: Robert McBride.

"DECADENCE" is a provocative book. Nothing, indeed, can be dryer, steadier, or cooler than Rémy de Gourmont's manner. His bearing is that of an inspector of steamboats or elevators, skeptical, impassive, expeditious, sometimes brusque, more often indifferent. He is without surprise or malice or anger, though he reveals a



certain obduracy, which in the competent but inelastic translation borders upon harshness. He has a true gift in verse, but his prose would suggest that he is a destroyer without the faculty of creation, and, what is much rarer, without joy in destruction; he doesn't warm his hands at the bonfire. He seeks truth less from any pleasure or hope in truth than from a profound and unbending impatience of fog and stagnation and imposture. He is a trifle arrogant, but not inflexible; he does not hesitate to qualify if the qualifications themselves can be trenchant and decisive. Indeed his hostility to the intellectual vices which are common to all parties gives Rémy de Gourmont a measure of disengagement, a species of impartiality. His defect as a truth-speaker lies in his seeming incapacity to drudge or verify. His office is incursion, not conquest; he prefers the foray to the siege; it is unfortunate that there are some truths on every subject which capitulate only to besiegers.

Of course his mind has its own bents, the most significant of which is self-intrenchment in the fact. De Gourmont values facts first of all; then images as neighbors to the facts; then ideas in the exact proportion of their neighborhood to images. Abstractions, which mark the extreme of recession from the fact, are detestable; he has no patience with absolute beauty, truth, justice, love (page 83). He is contemptuous of genres (page 164). Society even is too abstract for his purpose; the only fact is the individual. Reason itself, his own cherished tool, is an artifice imposed on unwilling things by presumptuous men for their own profit (page ix). The universe itself is a figment; all universes are notions, and there are as many universes as there are individuals (essay ninth). But these notions themselves are fortuities, each the correlate to a posture of matter. Matter is basic; we are materialists with partialities for evolution. De Gourmont exalts sex, not because it is animal or voluptuous, but because it is indisputable, the single absolute in a world of relatives (La Culture des Idées, page 228). So a man might value the ground, not for its dirt, but for its fixity. The heart of life is nature, and the heart of nature is sex. Beauty is a "sexual illusion" (page 29). Education should mean contact with things, or, at worst, with lifelike images; the teaching of abstractions to multitudes is folly. In style there are no principles, no common laws; the law for each and all is self-expression.

A synopsis of this kind does no justice to Rémy de Gourmont's mind, which is revealed at its best in darts and punctures. He has a word on every topic, and that word is never trite or tame. It may sometimes be ridiculous. He says, for example: "Most of Shakespeare's tragedies are only a succession of metaphors embroidered on the canvas of the first story that came to his hand. Shakespeare invented nothing but his lines



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and his phrases" (page 162). "But the characters?" murmurs the astonished reader. Ah, M. de Gourmont has thought of that. "His images being new, their novelty necessarily communicated life to the characters." The reader is silenced; consternation cannot speak. But for a fairer test of the critic's quality, take a passage like the following: "It is a matter (il s'agit) of making life at once an act of faith and an act of prudence. It is a matter first and foremost of preserving enough simplicity to breathe joyfully the social air, and enough suppleness to obey, without cowardice, the elementary laws of life" (page 107). A passage like that not only lifts the curtains; it opens the window; it lets us breathe as well as see. Take as other examples of this liberating faculty the curious assertion that "there are too few obscure writers in French" (page 154), or the dictum that truth is a "sensation uncontradicted by our intelligence" (page 83). In Rémy de Gourmont, right or wrong, the air is salted with adventure.

Mr. Turquet-Milnes, who knows something of Bergsonism and more of contemporary French letters, seeks to estimate the debt of the literature to the philosophy. Writers so eminent and so different as Barrès, Bourget, Claudel, Romaine, and Moréas have either cropped the Bergsonian herbage or found its like in pastures of their own; the flock even includes writers so far from sheepish as Anatole France or so doubtfully lamblike as Charles Péguy. Mr. Turquet-Milnes is full of knowledge and alacrity. He has bright sociabilities and gay intimacies in the world of thought; one fancies him leaving his cards for humanism and mysticism on some smiling afternoon, or dining with pragmatism at Maxim's every Thursday. In details at least he has a notable faculty for exposition. Do you want a simile for the theory that removes the matter from a material object, and leaves nothing but an eddy of vibrations? Mr. Turquet-Milnes likens it to the grin on Alice-in-Wonderland's Cheshire cat which returned after the cat had disappeared. The comparison is not only glittering; it is luminous. In larger relations, in perspectives, for instance, he is not so good; there are no avenues in his park. There are moments also when the innocence of so bright a man is disconcerting. He wishes to prove that J. S. Mill's father was a pragmatist. The evidence is the elder Mill's habit of giving his son books which showed men of energy and resource stemming and mastering unusual difficulties. At this rate we shall have no trouble in demonstrating the antiquity of pragmatism; when Adam delved and Eve span, it was already the inspiration of the race.

The number of affiliations with Bergsonism which the author is able to produce from contemporary letters is surprising, is, indeed, at the first glance imposing in its aggregate. If all anti-rationalist gospels, nay, if all extra-



rationalist gospels, patriotism, traditionalism, Catholicism, mysticism, are to be credited to M. Bergson, the revenues of that philosopher are enormous. Mr. Turquet-Milnes is too shrewd a man to push his claims so far as this: he admits fraternity as well as paternity in these resemblances. Still, even where the tie is brothership, to Bergson fall the rights of the first born. But may one not suggest that the originality of the French philosopher does not lie in the weight conceded to instinct or intuition in the *practice of life* (rationalists themselves have always admitted that weight, reproved it, and deplored it), but rather perhaps in the weight granted to this faculty in the abstract explanation of life, in other words, in philosophy? Philosophy, in short, has come over to the point of view of the poets and novelists, and Mr. Turquet-Milnes, a beaming witness of their reconciliation, is almost disposed to ascribe the inherited faith of the singers and tale-tellers to the tutorship of philosophy. It remains only to say that Mr. Turquet-Milnes has written a book that is rather informing and amusing than profound, but a book nevertheless whose information and amusement will appeal chiefly to the better class of minds.

O. W. FIRKINS

### The Honest Thrill

THE WILLING HORSE. By Ian Hay. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

THE TOWER OF OBLIVION. By Oliver Onions. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THE author of "The First Hundred Thousand" is a writer of and for his times. In a prefatory note to "The Willing Horse," he declines to be condemned to a mechanical avoidance of the war simply because war fiction is supposed to be out of favor. He admits that there is a wide field for novels about ante-bellum times ("the Christian era alone covers twenty centuries"), but suggests that it has been "cultivated by several writers already." Nor do two possible post-war varieties of novel attract him: the novel in which the war is ignored, and the novel which deals with the people who took no part in the war. He therefore "takes a chance" with the present tale, which is based, he says, "(a) upon the frank admission that there has been a war; (b) upon the humble belief that the people chiefly worth writing about in these days are those who gave body, soul—everything—to win that war." Hence the book and its title.

In all this Captain Beith is unmistakably honest and right. He continues to deal with that life in wartime which continues to interest him chiefly. But it is quite clear why that life, that phase of the world's experience, does continue to absorb his fancy. He is a romantic; he is of those thousands, for the most part inarticulate, who could suffer the horror and the squalor of

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war without turning a mental or moral hair, without losing a shred of their faith in the power and the glory of human nature, in the divinity of personal honor and the high thrill of romantic love. He writes of the ordinary people, the soldiers, the aristocrats, the women at home, whom the tribe of horrified pacifistic naturalists and disillusioned reformers and Utopians have tried to make us despise, but to whose idea, with or without shame, we have steadfastly clung. Our boys at least did not return to us embittered; if they did not return exultant and translated, that was in the nature of all things. They gave something, they received something; and it is our choice whether we and they shall dwell on what they lost or on what they gained. "Ian Hay" is in no doubt of his choice. He is a romancer, an idealist, a sentimentalist in the highest sense of the word. His popularity results from the fact that he is spokesman of the mute thousands who have needed to smile and to believe in company with one who did not too far out-top them in intellect or fear to show the kind of feeling they themselves unaffectedly cherished for the courage, and sacrifice, and honor, and goodness that not only survived, but were in some miraculous fashion nurtured throughout the horror and the squalor that were for all to see. "The Willing Horse" is very British, very romantic, a consistent piece of optimistic comedy. The bad man reforms, the good man gets his reward, the curtain falls upon a comfortable tableau. Like his fellow-romancers, W. J. Locke and E. Temple Thurston, like the author of "Peter Pan" himself, Ian Hay believes in fairies.

So does Oliver Onions—recognizing more frankly than most of his contemporaries the structural artifice and careful lighting essential to a successful production (in either the commercial or the stagey sense) of a modern fairy tale. A parodist might find an interesting stunt in sketching the different ways in which Poe, and Stevenson, and DeMorgan might have handled the theme of "The Tower of Oblivion." It would have been a congenial theme, or situation, for any of them. This story-teller (despite a pinch of dust flung in the opening sentence) treats it not simply, but with an adroit elaboration which we accept as right enough for his method. This tale has its elements of comedy and of tragedy; but, on the whole, I base my enjoyment of it on its character as a "psychological" mystery yarn. It has an absolutely new idea (so far as I know) in fiction; and no absolutely new idea or motive or situation can well be anything but artificial. It is a big feat to present such an idea, as this book does, without letting it seem merely hollow or trumped up.

The respectable and somewhat stodgy Englishman of current usage tells the tale. He is a popular novelist; his friend Derwent Rose is a novelist of real power and distinction, who



is too good to be popular. Rose is a trail-blazer, a lone adventurer in life and art. At forty-five, he has reached his prime as creative artist, and the remarkable strength and beauty of his physique have hardly begun to wane. He has lived and worked hard. Now, better or worse, something in his make-up breaks or shifts suddenly, and he finds himself growing younger instead of older. He has a premonition that he will keep dropping back, at uncertain intervals (the change always comes during sleep), till at the age of sixteen, he will find death. Our stodgy and respectable one is the first person to know what is going on, and the second is a middle-aged Julia, who has loved "Derry" all her life. These two are spectators of his strange backward lapse, and the woman is a wilful participant. How and why Derry escapes her, to find a complete, if brief, fulfillment of the self she has never known, I need not betray. Here, certainly, is the sort of tale that shouldn't be given away by a reviewer. It is, I say, an artificial type of story, but the writer gives it a touch of emotion and many touches of fancy and characterization which lift it far above the usual mechanism of the mystery tale.

H. W. BOYNTON

**Nippon the Lover of Beauty**

JAPANESE IMPRESSIONS. Translated from the French of Paul-Louis Couchoud by Francis Rumsey. With a Preface by Anatole France. New York: John Lane Company.


JAPAN AND AMERICA. By Yone Noguchi, Professor of English Literature in Keio University. New York: Orientalia.

IN days in which the perplexities furnished by Far Eastern politics are much to the fore, we welcome these two volumes, the one by a Frenchman, the other by a Japanese, which reveal Nippon as a source of poetry, of painting, of sculpture, of taste, and above all of reverence for pure natural beauty.

As a Frenchman, M. Couchoud praises Japan because in that country he sees the France of the Far East. He may not himself have so realized it, but it is so. In the patriotism of Japan, as of France, he discerns no political peril but only a national purpose to be praised. In Japanese conscription he finds only the heroic. Of whatever may have been alleged against Japan's Asiatic aims he is apparently unconscious. In his visit to Japan what he found was a people that could put perfect poems into seventeen syllables, that will travel for two days to Yoshino to see a mountain covered with flowers, and will declare a national holiday when falls the first white snow of winter. The city of Florence held high festival when Cimabue's Madonna, just painted, was carried thru the streets, and this is the tribute which the Japanese pay, not to art only, but to the loveliness of the seasons. If we live by admiration, hope, and love, then there

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is among the Japanese of all classes a wide diffusion of the secret of living.

To the Japanese that secret is simplicity, a home decorated by one flower and that flower enough, a reduction of objects of beauty and a development of a capacity for enjoying them. When one thinks of the vast superfluity of our possessions in the Western world, and the execrable taste which we have displayed too often in furniture, dress and pictures, we may fairly sit at the feet of Japan, as M. Couchoud bids us. Her influence on our art, from the days of Whistler to our own, has been often startling and always subtle. And as one sees Japanese students copying Western pictures in American galleries, one can not but ask what will be the converse influence, acting back on Japanese ideals of painting. Will it be a deeper perspective and richer chiaroscuro, or will it be a mere degeneracy from primitive purity of line and color?

Mr. Yone Noguchi is a Japanese poet and essayist who writes the best broken English one has ever read. His little book, "Japan and America," is bound in delightful Japanese style and is so printed, all of which adds a keen relish to his polite yet unsparing estimates of life in the United States. He finds this country "the incarnation of complacency" and her citizens "dreamers, but perhaps not very deep." He describes "the epical superstition" of Americans, and bids them "be thankful for being able to act foolishness." He thinks it a "really fortunate fact" that Americans "have found it hardly necessary to study the geography of the rest of the world," and he asks, "Where are the people who return home, like you, without a knowledge of the country or countries where they have traveled?" Having thus illustrated "your unreceptive mind," he takes courage and discourses on the "silent but dignified sense of humor" in America, on which he exclaims:

What a grand manner of yours is that, just like the manner of an elephant whose little eyes beam in humour mingled with sagacity.

Finally, he hits out straight like any Samurai:

I heard at Honolulu, in 1885, that an "American tip" (and some American missionaries) had corrupted the whole islands. I heard in London, in 1912, that the "American tip" (and American journalism) had also corrupted England. And I am observing here at Tokyo today that this "American tip" (and American chewing gums and moving pictures) is working a speedy corruption on Japanese mind.

People throng to America, he finds, "as if ants swarming round a big lump of sugar" and "woman-worship" is universal. Indeed, Mr. Noguchi prophesies, "even opium smoking, from which you will never succeed to keep yourself away." It is, of course, a fact that Americans are proud of their women and that in no country have women ever enjoyed, class for class, so good a time. In this respect, Japan might, perhaps, learn a lesson. There is, however, one subject in which America can teach



nothing to Mr. Noguchi. And that subject is with him a favorite. It is complacency. No one who reads his lecture to Americans will ever doubt that citizens of the United States have much to learn from him in the gentle art of national superiority. P. W. WILSON

## Random Book-Notes

THE experience of an Italian immigrant in America, his hardships and his final opinion of this country are told in interesting detail by Constantine M. Panunzio in "The Soul of an Immigrant" (Macmillan). The book recalls Mary Antin's work, but here we have it from the angle of a man and an Italian.

Rev. Frank M. Clendenin's book, "The Comfort of the Catholic Faith" (Longmans, Green), refers to "the Faith of the entire Church—Roman, Greek and Anglican." The somewhat confusing title is presumably justified by the author on the ground that these three churches constitute the Catholic Church.

Padraic Colum is telling over the stories of the Greek mythology, and in his new volume, "The Golden Fleece and the Heroes Who Lived Before Achilles" (Macmillan), he is assisted by Willy Pogany's illustrations to the creation of a fine volume.

Harold Stearns is a discriminating commentator upon "America and the Young Intellectuals" (Doran). Under his examination, it appears that some of them are young in nothing but years and intellectual primarily in their own estimation. A friendly but acute criticism.

Preferring to write his reminiscences before he is so old as to forget, Stephen McKenna has published "While I Remember" (Doran), at the age of thirty-one or thirty-two. The author of "Sonia" recalls his public school and university days, his adventures on the fringe of politics (and with the Balfour mission to America in 1917) and during and since the war. A serious comment upon public affairs.

The story of an exciting and picturesque period in Californian history is told in Mary Floyd Williams's "History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851" (University of California). It is a heavily documented, annotated work, with bibliography and index, but its text is none the less readable.

"Training for the Public Profession of the Law" (Scribner), by Alfred Zantlinger Reed, discusses the history and the present problems of legal education in the United States, with additional references to England and Canada.

The sermons recently preached at various colleges by Professor Francis G. Peabody of Harvard have been compiled in a book called "Sundays in College Chapels Since the War" (Houghton Mifflin).

"The Life of Jean Henri Fabre, the

## Books for Christmas

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Entomologist, 1823-1910" (Dodd, Mead), is by the Abbé Augustin Fabre, translated by Bernard Miall.

The wild countries of Sulu, Borneo, Celebes, and the Malay States, and the semi-wild lands of Java, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochinchina form the territory in which E. Alexander Powell found the sources of his interesting book, "Where the Strange Trails Go Down" (Scribner).

Dallas Lore Sharp's book on John Burroughs is little more than an essay, but it forms a capital appreciation of the man and is an attractive small book. It is called "The Seer of Slab-sides" (Houghton Mifflin).

Princess Bibesco (formerly Miss Asquith) writes a number of rather slight short stories in a volume called "I Have Only Myself to Blame" (Doran).

Farm demonstration work, boys' and girls' farm clubs and other agricultural topics form the subjects of the ten chapters in O. B. Martin's "The Demonstration Work; Dr. Seaman A. Knopp's Contribution to Civilization." (Stratford Co.)

In a volume called "Modern English Statesmen" (McBride), G. R. Stirling Taylor includes essays upon Cromwell, the Walpoles, the Pitts, Edmund Burke, and Disraeli.

"Prose-poems" and plays make up "The Fugitive" (Macmillan), by Rabindranath Tagore.

A convenient manual for amateur actors and for the managers of small theatres is Clarence Straton's "Producing in Little Theatres" (Holt). It has chapters on choosing plays, and upon rehearsals, but is especially strong on stage-settings, costumes, lighting, and other practical details. Many illustrations.

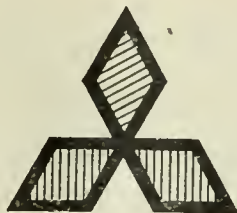
In "The Glands Regulating Personality" (Macmillan), Dr. Louis Berman studies the glands of internal secretion in the human body and their relation to the types of human nature. A scientific book of somewhat popular interest.

Dr. Sigmund Freud writes the preface to "A Young Girl's Diary" (Seltzer), which has been translated from the German (?) by Eden and Cedar Paul. The anonymous author, a Viennese, wrote this, so it is said, between the twelfth and the fifteenth years of her age. She is preoccupied with many of the puzzles and mysteries of life, not the least of which is, naturally enough, sex. The book will be valuable chiefly to those for whom it was published: parents, teachers, doctors and other professional men and women.

A play of modern American life, partly in a university town, is Susan Glaspell's "Inheritors" (Small Maynard).

W. B. Yeats has written in "Four Plays for Dancers" (Macmillan) some short plays intended to be performed in masks, and with simple stage settings. Designs for the masks and costumes are by Edmund Dulac.





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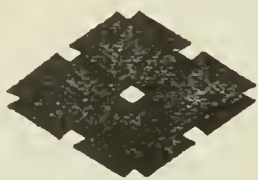
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# How to Study This Number

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### English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOJK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

#### I. Japan's Position in the New Order.

1. Write a long, complex sentence that will answer the question: "What position in the new order should Japan hold?"
2. Show how the first paragraph strikes the keynote of the article.
3. Read Rudyard Kipling's "Ballad of East and West." Tell why the writer of the article alludes to Kipling's poem.
4. Imagine that you are a Japanese of the older order. Write, as such a person might write, an argumentative composition in which you show the advantages of the native Japanese costumes over the costumes ordinarily worn in the United States.
5. Write a specific example that will illustrate every one of the following expressions: Yankee shrewdness; German efficiency and imperialism; British masterfulness.
6. In the fifth paragraph there is a reference to Lafcadio Hearn. Consult an encyclopedia and prepare a report on the life and literary work of Lafcadio Hearn. Why did the writer of the article refer to him?

#### II. In Japan Beyond.

1. What does the poem suggest concerning life in Japan?
2. How does the poem affect the reader?
3. What is the effect of the use of repetition and the refrain?
4. Explain clearly what is meant by "Old ages with gold in heart."
5. By what means could you attain "The old peace with velvet-sandaled feet"?
6. Explain how one who is to read the poem aloud should read it so as to bring out its full values.

#### III. My Impressions of America.

1. In a single sentence tell what characteristics of American life most impressed the writer of the article.
2. In the last line of the third paragraph the writer speaks of American achievements as being "A veritable Arabian tale." Explain the reference. What "Arabian tale" is perhaps best known in this country? What makes that tale so popular?
3. In the article the writer mentions a number of bad characteristics of American life. Write a short editorial article in which you show how the American people, and especially the students in your school, might overcome those bad characteristics.
4. Write a description of the picture that is printed at the close of the article. Try to awaken a single emotion in the heart of your reader. Make full use of words that will appeal to the five senses.
5. Give a talk in which you explain why, at this particular time, the editors prepared a "Japanese number."
6. Imagine that your school is to print a number of your school paper especially devoted to the interests of one branch of athletics in your school. Show how you could make use of the plan followed by the editors in this number. What would you include in your school paper?
7. For every one of the seven remaining short articles written by Japanese leaders write a sentence that will emphatically present the thought of the article.
8. Draw from this number of *The Independent* a series of propositions suitable for debate. Make every proposition concern the relations of the United States and Japan.

#### IV. 'Abd-UI Baha-Abbas Effendi.

1. Write a short editorial article for your school paper, in which you show how the students in your school would do well to follow some principles of 'Abd-UI Baha.

#### V. History Teaches.

1. Give an emphatic talk in which you explain in full the present significance of Hendrik van Loon's cartoon.

#### VI. Will America Fail?

1. Find in history any one of "The great decisions which left an impress on the whole course of history." Tell the story of that decision and its effect, telling it in such a way that it will apply strongly to the decision that America is about to make.

#### VII. Nippon the Lover of Beauty.

1. Explain how the writer proves the following statement: "If we live by admiration, hope, and love, then there is among the Japanese of all classes a wide diffusion of the secret of living."

### History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,  
Head of the Department of Social  
Science, Ju'ia Richman High School

#### I. Will America Fail? The Conference.

1. Look up the text of Article X and state the differences between it and the provisions of the Four-Power Treaty referred to.
2. Explain why the editor feels so deeply that the treaty should be promptly ratified by the Senate.
3. Investigate and describe "the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties" whereby "this treaty shall be ratified."

#### II. The Conference, Conference Currents.

1. What is the argument for and against the belief that it is "not only expedient but on the whole right that Japan should be left in possession of Manchuria"?
2. Summarize the decisions already arrived at concerning China. Review the "Root principles." With these carefully in mind read the discussion in the articles and decide what conclusions can be drawn about the application of the principles.
3. Summarize the other agreements of the Conference mentioned in this issue.
4. Show how this Conference has given an impetus to the "moral and spiritual" side of international relations.

#### III. My Impressions of America, Specimens of Japanese Opinion.

1. In how many different ways can you show that America is "a country of superlatives"?
2. Explain "the days which gave birth to the historic 'Gentlemen's Agreement,'" and Baron Goto's view of it.
3. What do you think Viscount Shibusawa means by "People's Diplomacy"? What examples of it does he give? How do the articles in this issue show the need of further work?
4. State the characteristics of the American people which impressed him.
5. What is meant by the statement "the evolution of Japan toward democracy will be like that of England"?
6. Test the statement that the Europe of rationalism emerged as a new Europe out of the Thirty Years' War.
7. Looking up the statistics of our foreign trade with Japan show to what extent the two countries are interdependent.

#### IV. Japan's Position in the New Order.

1. What do you think were Japan's "original motives . . . to assimilate our Western culture"?
2. Review the history of Japan's relations with China and show her "failure to conciliate China."
3. State the element of Japanese civilization which we have absorbed and show what desirable features we have failed to absorb.
4. Make as clear as you can "the strategic position in the new order which might be Japan's if she would but grasp it."

#### V. The Trouble About Tax Exempt Incomes.

1. What are "those incidental evils" to which "attention has been chiefly directed"?
2. See if you can state clearly the argument in "a more essential reason for objecting to the continued issue of tax-exempt securities."
3. State the President's proposal about those securities and show the difficulties involved in it.

#### VI. Ireland.

1. Summarize the present situation on ratification of the Irish Agreement.
2. What advantages to Ireland are stressed in this article?

#### VII. Germany.

1. Show the grounds for the statement: "German reparations finance has ceased to present a problem of overwhelming difficulty."

#### VIII. Two Good Votes.

1. Trace the history of civil service reform.
2. Show the American origin of Children's Courts and explain what has been their "contribution to progress."

#### IX. Super-Power Control.

1. Explain the large features of the super-power project.
2. Show in detail its relation to coal, to water power, to transportation, to manufacturing, to public utilities.
3. Why may it be considered a conservative measure?
4. Explain the governmental questions here raised.



# The Independent

and

## THE WEEKLY REVIEW

December 31, 1921



### Deflation—The Federal Reserve System and the Farmer

By George E. Roberts

Vice-President The National City Bank, New York

**A** TIME of falling prices and general business depression, following a period of rising prices and great credit expansion, always brings criticism upon the banking system. As values decline bank deposits decline, because deposits are constantly being checked out in payment of obligations and replenished by the sale of commodities. The sale of a given amount of almost any commodity today does not create as large a bank deposit as it did before the fall of prices began.

A period of rapidly declining prices is a trying one for a banker, for it affects the ability of his debtors to meet their obligations. A merchant who is in debt for a stock of goods which is declining in value is not as good a credit risk as when values are rising; and likewise a farmer cannot properly borrow as much against cattle, or cotton, or wheat when prices are falling and the outlook is bad, as when prices are rising and the outlook is good.

#### Bankers' Funds Are Trust Funds

It must be always remembered in considering banking policies that the banker is dealing with trust funds, and upon the express understanding that he shall keep himself in position to return them on demand. This condition is fundamental to the banking business, for without it the public would decline to make deposits, and the economic service which the banks render to the community would be lost. It is inevitable, therefore, in time of falling prices, that bankers in many instances will find it necessary to call for additional security for outstanding loans, and failing to get it will press for payment in full or in part.

Then there is pressure brought to bear upon the banker by declining deposits. As depositors draw down their balances the banker turns of necessity to his loans for the means of meeting the demands. Nobody would reasonably expect a bank with \$1,000,000 of deposits to lend as much as a bank with \$2,000,000 of deposits, but there are many banks in this country today with from 25 to 50 per cent. less deposits than they had in the spring of 1920, and yet people are wondering why they lend less money.

These are the fundamental factors in every tight money situation following a boom period. The public turns fiercely on the banking system for not keeping money easy under

conditions which are beyond its control. The real mischief was done when the public over-borrowed under the excitement of rising prices and booming times. Twice in this country within the memory of many persons the standard of value has been all but overthrown under the excitement and resentment arising from the pressure of such conditions. I refer to the greenback and free-silver campaigns.

#### Federal Reserve System Under Fire

The Federal Reserve System is now undergoing the first attack upon it, and the charges are perfectly familiar to any one who passed through the former experiences. The criticisms imply that if the system had but done its part we should still be enjoying the "prosperity" that characterized the first half of 1919 and the first quarter of 1920.

There was plenty of warning, however, that such conditions could not prevail indefinitely. Mr. John Skelton Williams, who served as Comptroller of the Currency for many years and until last spring, in his official report dated December 6, 1920, says:

The turning of the tide in the world delirium and inflation came in the Spring of 1920, with the financial and industrial collapse which took place in the Empire of Japan. . . .

The story of Japan's industrial and financial experience is largely similar to the experience of South American and European countries—some of them our allies and others neutrals. Some of these countries are now going through a business cataclysm similar to that through which Japan has so recently passed. In our own country we have been thus far fortunate enough—thanks largely to the splendid efficiency and stabilizing influence of the Federal reserve system—to avoid the financial crisis and complete disorganization which have made havoc elsewhere. We have passed with comparative safety through exceedingly troubled and nerve-racking times; but difficult and dangerous problems remain to be solved, the solution of which will demand clear heads and steady nerves.

The Comptroller goes on to say that in his report of the year before, issued in 1919, he had called attention to the dangers existing in the situation and sounded a warning against them:

A serious shrinkage of values was foreseen and predicted more than a year ago by those who studied conditions and considered the history of past wars.

In the report of the Comptroller of the Currency a year ago attention was directed to the grave dangers incident to



the then prevalent reckless expansion in prices, accompanied by a reduced production of commodities and articles representing real wealth, and warning was given as to the inevitable consequences. . . .

The graphic language in which Mr. Williams in two successive reports referred to the abnormal conditions shows that he considered them menacing. But he hoped that they might be brought under control without a shock.

#### The Vicious Circle of Borrowing

The trouble, however, with a wild situation like that is that it requires constant stimulus to keep it going. Unless prices keep on advancing they are bound to recede, and once opinion becomes general that they have gone over the crest a rapid collapse is inevitable. Rising prices stimulate speculation in every line, with accumulation of stocks, and purchase of property by going into debt. The more a man borrows for such purposes on a rising market the more he makes, and the more he borrows and buys the higher prices go, but not to the sky. At some point the situation inevitably becomes top-heavy, and when prices begin to fall there is a lack of reserve power to meet it.

This situation in 1920 was not confined to any part of the country or any one line of business. It was quite as bad in some agricultural districts as anywhere. The State of Iowa is one of the most substantial communities, and it enjoyed great "prosperity" during the war. It might be supposed that the farmers would reduce their indebtedness, but instead of that they enormously increased it. The census figures show a great increase of mortgage indebtedness, and they got head over heels in debt to the banks. At the last of June, 1919, the indebtedness of Iowa banks to the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago aggregated \$12,000,000. This was after all the war loans had been floated. Moreover, they had a good crop that summer and the fall of prices did not come until more than a year later. It would seem that they might have paid off that debt to the Reserve bank, but when the fall of agricultural prices came in the fall of 1920 the indebtedness of the Iowa banks at the Reserve bank was \$91,000,000!

The Federal Reserve authorities aimed at nothing but stopping the "reckless expansion of prices" to which Mr. Williams refers—the crazy cycle of wages and prices which clearly would lead to disaster. But the touch of a restraining hand was more than the fragile fabric could stand.

#### Ex-Comptroller Williams' Criticism

Since he issued his official report dated December 6, 1920, Mr. Williams has become a pronounced critic of the management of the Federal Reserve banks, and particularly of its treatment of the farmers. He has written at length to show that it has favored the trading and industrial communities at the expense of the farmer, and that it has contributed to bring about the great fall of prices and deflation of credits.

It is interesting to note that many of these critics who now treat of the twelve Federal Reserve banks as though they were one are the same people who in planning the system were determined to have twelve independent banks, which would conserve the financial resources of each district primarily for that district. Their dominant thought was fear of New York and a financial ring. They were so eager to trim New York that they put Jersey City in the Philadelphia district and Greenwich, Connecticut, in the Boston district. They established twelve originally watertight compartments, with the intention of dividing the banking resources of the country and keeping them at home. Above everything else they wanted to get away from the plan of a central bank, free to use its resources anywhere. It is true that in the last days of the consideration of the measure, at the suggestion of bankers, an amendment was made authorizing the Reserve Board to require any Reserve Bank to rediscount for another, which has greatly

increased the flexibility and efficiency of the system, but that was not a feature upon which the critics of New York set any store at the time.

The twelve Federal Reserve banks are owned in the districts where they are located, and elect their own directors and officers, except the chairman of the board. Their deposits come in the main from within their districts, and undoubtedly it is right that primarily the funds should be used within the district where they belong.

#### What the Big Reserve Banks Have Done for the Country Districts

Now the fact is that the reserve deposits held by the five Reserve banks at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Chicago comprise approximately 75 per cent. of the reserves of the system, and it is natural and proper that the loans should greatly exceed the loans of the banks in other districts. The loans of the New York, Chicago and St. Louis member banks are nearly equal to those of all the country banks in the system.

It must be considered also that the banks of the centres have borrowed heavily for the very purpose of lending to their correspondent banks in the country districts.

Furthermore, it must be considered that the loans made by member banks at the centres to manufacturers and wholesalers were in large part used for the purpose of enabling country dealers to extend credit to the farmers. When country collections are poor the demand for credit backs up through the country dealers to the jobbers and falls on the city banks. It is a gross misrepresentation of the real situation to assume that the credits granted to manufacturers, jobbers, railroads, grain dealers and others who buy of and sell to the farmers are of no service to the farmer. He may be carried through these agencies when he would not be able to borrow of local banks.

Finally, the Reserve banks of the East and Cleveland have been almost continuous lenders to the Reserve banks of Richmond, Atlanta, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Dallas to enable them to carry the country banks of their districts, these loans in the fall of 1920 aggregating nearly \$200,000,000, an amount approximately 30 per cent. of the latter's total loans.

In order to obtain a definite statement upon the extent of deflation in agricultural districts as compared with other localities, the Federal Reserve bank of New York compiled a table by counties, in which counties the value of whose products was 80 per cent. or more from agricultural sources, were classed as "agricultural"; those whose products were in value at least 50 per cent. agricultural were classed as "semi-agricultural," and those whose products were less than 80 per cent. agricultural were classed as "non-agricultural." Here are the results:

Between May 4, 1920, and April 28, 1921, the loans and discounts of banks in agricultural counties throughout the country declined \$36,500,000, or slightly more than 1.2 per cent.; the loans and discounts of banks in semi-agricultural counties declined \$18,700,000, or 1.3 per cent.; and the loans and discounts of banks in non-agricultural counties declined \$827,100,000, or 5.6 per cent. The borrowings from the Federal Reserve banks by banks in agricultural counties increased \$127,600,000, or 56.6 per cent.; borrowings by banks in semi-agricultural counties remained practically stationary; and borrowings by banks in non-agricultural counties declined \$629,100,000, or 28.5 per cent.

The truth is that the Reserve system has rendered an enormous service to the country in these trying times through which all the world is passing. It is difficult to see how we could have managed without it, and it is unreasonable to complain because it has not accomplished the impossible. The Eastern Reserve banks have loaned nothing within their districts during the past year but the funds belonging in their districts, and have loaned heavily, directly and indirectly, to support the country banks in the Western and Southern districts.



# Judge Hooper on the Four-Power Treaty

By Ellis Parker Butler

*In the following sketch the author of "Pigs is Pigs" creates a character to whose genial weekly comments—enlivened by the drawings of Tony Sarg—our readers will soon begin to look forward, we are confident, with the keenest interest.—Editors.*

HAVING instructed Court-officer Durfey to fill the inkwell, the eminent Riverbank jurist, Justice of the Peace Lemuel Hooper, put his spectacles on his nose and remarked that court was open.

"No cases this morning, your honor," said Officer Durfey.

"Crime is sort of slack, hey?" said the judge as he put his feet on his desk and opened the morning newspaper.

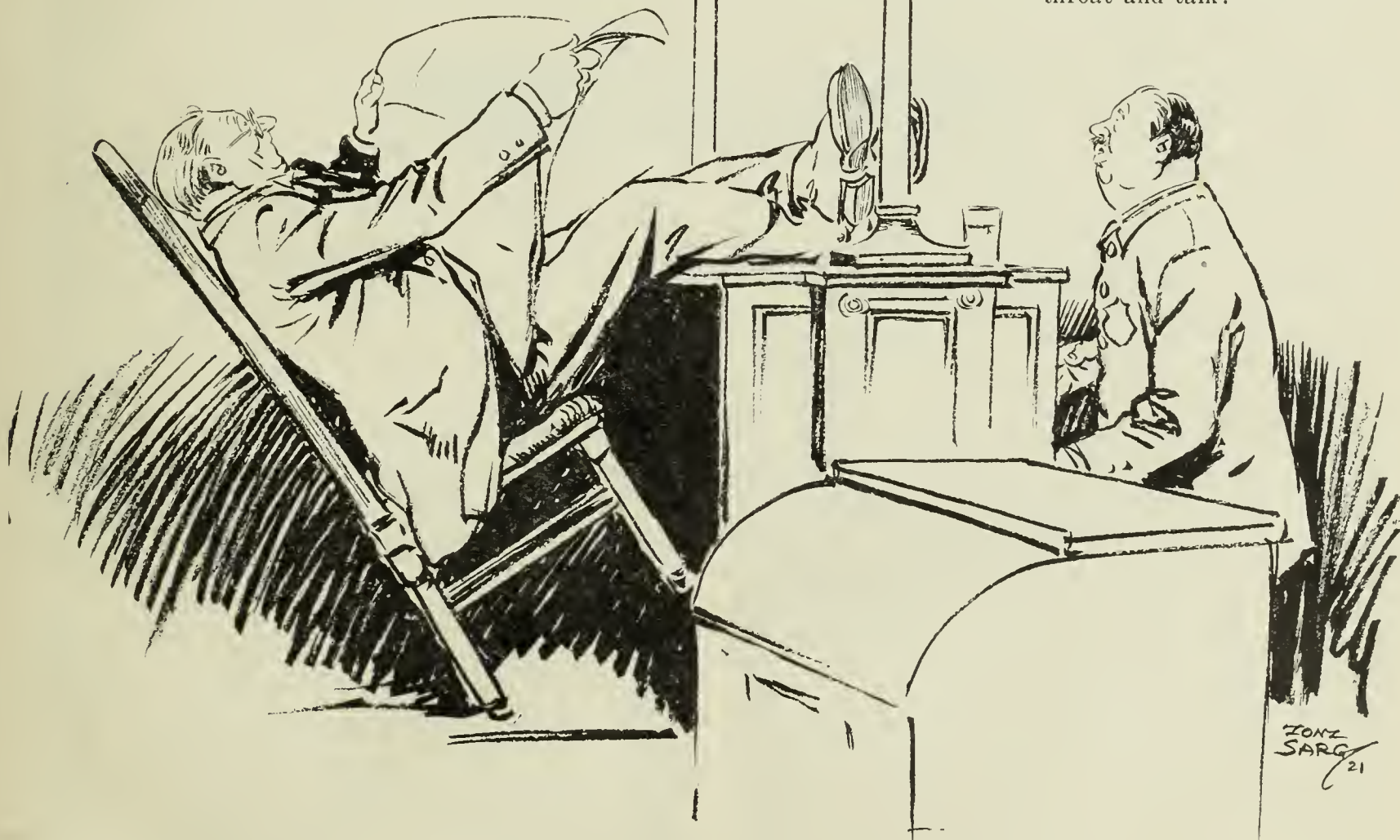
"Yes, your honor," said Officer Durfey, "but the day is young and I have hopes."

"And why, Durfey; why?" asked Judge Hooper, scanning the headlines.

"Well, your honor," said Mr. Durfey, "do not courts and the troubles for the courts to settle run side by side, sir? 'Twould be a shame, your honor, if the knowledge that we are here and ready to maintain justice and preserve the peace was not sufficient to induce the population to indulge in riot and misdemeanor."

"He is the man," said Judge Hooper, "who so successfully convinced many that black was black that now he seems unable to stop. He sees nothing but black. To the Senator black is black, and white is black, and pale blue with pink spots is black. He is like the man that looks at the sun too long, Durfey. He looked at the Treaty of Versailles and Article X so long and hard, Durfey, that he sees them everywhere, even in the Treaty of Four Nations. No doubt he would see Article X in the Ten Commandments if they were put in the form of a treaty. 'Thou shalt not steal' is a dangerous sentiment, Durfey, when put into a treaty concerning the Pacific Islands.

"If you were a Senator like Borah, Durfey, you would arise in the Senate and clear your throat and talk:



Judge Hooper put down his paper and looked at Officer Durfey sternly.

"Durfey," he said, pointing a stubby finger, "you make me think of Senator Borah, down there at our glorious Capitol in the magnificent but costly city of Washington. A little more talk like that, Durfey, and you'll be qualified to enter the Senate and enunciate the doctrine that every treaty of peace is a road to war. I can see you, Durfey, standing there, hand in hand with Mr. Borah, singing the chorus to his favorite song, 'I Don't Care What Its Words May Be, Every Treaty Looks Alike to Me.'"

"Who is Borah?" asked Mr. Durfey.

"'Fellow Senators and Gallery,' you would orate. 'Observe the hideous iniquity of this outrageous Treaty of Four which that bloodthirsty Hughes and gore-loving Harding are trying to put over on us. Was ever a peacefully inclined nation requested to sign such a dangerous document? What does it say, gentlemen? It says, in frightful words of dire import, that the high contracting parties 'agree between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean!' To respect their rights, gentlemen! That means war! Is it not a well-known historical fact, gentlemen, that whenever one nation respects the rights of



another there is bloodshed and murder? I fear that word "respect"!

"'Gentlemen,' you would continue, Durfey. 'Sit still and let the full significance of this sink into your thick skulls. It means we agree not to steal each other's islands. That means war. You may not understand it so but I have a better scoopful of brains. The only way to prevent the Pacific Ocean from becoming the Bellicose Ocean is to have all hands free to sneak up on an unsuspecting island any dark night and steal it. But that is not all, gentlemen! There is worse. If trouble comes, the four high contracting parties agree to call a conference to talk things over and to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

"'Gentlemen,' you would continue, Durfey, 'could anything be worse? You may not think getting together to talk over what is to be done means war, but you're wrong. I know! I have had experience. Whenever I get together to talk there is war. That proves it!'

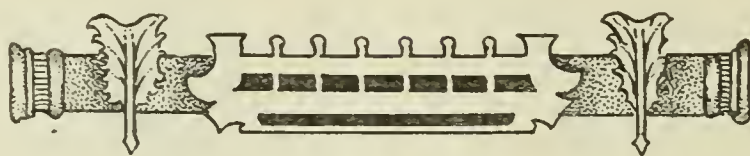
"To my notion, Durfey, Mr. Borah has specialized so continuously in the science of finding niggers in woodpiles that he can see them lurking in everything from an ice-cream cone to a pumpkin pie. If you shake my hand and wish me a happy New Year, Durfey, I do not consider that you are agreeing to get a gun and murder my brother-in-law if he borrows my socks without asking. If I take out an insurance policy on my barn, Durfey, it does not mean

that I have to join the Relief Hook & Ladder Company and wear a leather helmet for life. You're my friend, Durfey, and it is understood that you'll not burn down my chicken-coop and I'll not burn down yours, but if your dog-house catches fire, I'll go to the fire or not, as I choose. And I don't say but what, if your dog-house stands close against my barn, I'll be most likely to be on hand. I'd be on hand whether you were my friend or not, Durfey, and that's all this famous treaty amounts to.

"The four Powers, Durfey, are like four sane-enough men whose back-yards butt up together. Instead of waiting until all their gardens are dug up and everybody so mad they see red, they get together and agree to keep their chickens at home where they belong. And, furthermore, Durfey, they agree that if trouble comes, they will get together over the back fence and decide what to do about it. Even, it may be, if it happens to be a fifth neighbor's chicken that makes the trouble. And where's the harm, Durfey? Does it mean that one and all must start to throw bricks? So Mr. Borah seems to think, Durfey, but it is more likely that instead of a deluge of gore and murder a friendly talk would lead to nothing worse than putting up a few more feet of chicken wire."

"But why have any treaties if having none keeps us out of foreign wars, your honor?" asked Durfey.

"Because having none keeps us out of foreign wars the way having none kept us out of the World War."



## Gustave Flaubert: a Retrospect

December, 1821—December, 1921

By Ernest Boyd

THIS year, so rich in literary centenaries, closes with the celebration in France of the birth of Gustave Flaubert, who was born at Rouen, on December 12, 1821. Few of the many great names which the year has thus recalled to public memory could provide more appropriately and more usefully an opportunity for critical retrospection than that of the author of "Madame Bovary." Although the term "realism" does not, as is often supposed, date from the publication of that work, Flaubert is generally accepted as the father of the realistic novel. It was after a dinner given in his honor by Maupassant, Zola, Huysmans, and Octave Mirbeau, in 1877, that the "Naturalistic" school was created by the French press. The fame of Flaubert is definitely associated with Realism and Naturalism, and, as these are precisely the elements in contemporary American literature which are cultivated by the younger novelists, it is interesting to glance back at the chapter in French literature which began with "Madame Bovary" in 1857.

It was a year in which the unsuspecting Flaubert had every reason to believe that he could go on quietly writing for himself, as he had been doing ever since his return from the East. Labiche's comedies and the melodramas of Dumas,  *fils*, kept the theatre public busy; at the opera the first performance of Weber's "Oberon" occupied the attention of music lovers, while the reception of Augier at the French Academy and the death of Alfred de Musset provided the literary world with excitement, varied by the thrills of legal scandals, the trial of Baudelaire for "Les

Fleurs du Mal," and Victor Hugo's attempted injunction against "Rigoletto," on the ground that it was stolen from "Le Roi s'amuse." Paris had obviously plenty of things to attend to without troubling over the first novel of Gustave Flaubert, whose name was utterly unknown to more than a small circle when he began to issue "Madame Bovary" as a serial in *La Revue de Paris*.

Unfortunately, that review was in bad odor politically with the authorities, and they made the novel a pretext for harassing the editors. Flaubert was, however, more fortunate than Baudelaire, a few months later, for he was acquitted, in consideration of the serious artistic purpose which clearly inspired his work. The trial, as is the custom in these affairs, merely served as an enormous advertisement for the new author, of which his publisher reaped the immediate benefit, for Flaubert had received only five hundred francs for the rights to the book during five years. So great was the success of the scandal that a newspaper at once offered him fifty centimes a line for his next novel, clearly a substantial advance upon the terms he had received for his first work. All the interests of the crowd were driven into the background by "Madame Bovary"; no vaudeville show was complete without its song on the subject, and burlesque playlets were written with Emma Bovary as the central figure. The reviewers had naturally jumped into the fray and the furious and eternal battle was waged with great vigor, only Sainte-Beuve, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Baudelaire, and a few of the more discriminating realizing the true value and the literary significance of "Madame



Bovary." The press as a whole gave preference to Ernest Feydeau's "Fanny," a novel which appeared about the same time and presented a certain superficial resemblance to Flaubert's in its treatment of a similar theme, but is long since forgotten.

All the circumstances were propitious for a further exploitation of public curiosity, but Flaubert returned to his home near Rouen and gave no heed to popular clamor for five years, when he published "Salammbô." In the interval, all sorts of rumors had been in circulation, the author's first book was flying backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock between the camps of the realists and their opponents, and the general expectation was that Flaubert would either aggravate his former offences, or offer some sort of *amende honorable*. Flaubert did neither; he simply flabbergasted both his friends and his enemies by publishing this lengthy novel of Carthaginian life. Sainte-Beuve, even, called for a lexicon with which to decipher this mass of exotic words and archaeological terms, the learned experts denounced the pretensions of this novelist turned historian, and the inaccuracies of detail were solemnly exposed. In the main there was agreement on one point: the book was dull, though some suspected, and tried to prove, that indecencies were concealed beneath its soporific weight. The dullness and latent obscenity of "Salammbô" were the leading counts in the popular indictment of the book, for Flaubert was now a public personage and had to pay the penalty. Once more his name and his work were bandied about in the couplets of vaudeville singers, and an elaborate burlesque, "Folammbô, ou les Cocasseries carthaginoises," was produced at the Palais-Royal Theatre, in which Hamilcar became Arriv'tar, and by dint of much punning of this type the whole story was turned into ridicule, precisely in such a manner as to preserve the legend of the author's manifold indecencies. It is remarkable how the cheap humor of this parody summed up the general tendency of contemporary criticism towards "Salammbô," into which Flaubert had poured all his romanticism, his love of the fabulous Orient, of color and sound and primitive passion.

The author himself considered this book to be an even more definite manifestation of his theory of art than "Madame Bovary," and it was upon his theory, the doctrine of "impersonal" literature, that the whole reaction against the Romantic Movement took its stand. The Romanticists were entirely personal and subjective; the Realists sought for an objective, dispassionate notation of life, from which the author's personality and his sentiments are eliminated. What is the explanation of this misunderstanding between the master and his disciples? To ask this is to raise the whole problem of Flaubert's realism, for, it has often been pointed out, his works are apparently realistic and romantic alternately. After "Madame Bovary" came "Salammbô," and then "L'Education sentimentale," which was followed by "La Tentation de Saint-Antoine"; after which came the unfinished "Bouvard et Pécuchet." If the author of these works was hailed and denounced as the begetter of the realistic novel, if the Goncourts and Maupassant and Zola elected him as master, later criticism is disposed to regard him rather differently, and to refuse to allow him to be claimed either by the Realists or the Romanticists. He seems at bottom to have belonged to the latter rather than the former, but his romanticism was not based upon that horror of reality which is the true mark of the French Romantic school.

Thus in his works of sheer imagination, "Salammbô" and "La Tentation," the desire for reality, for verisimilitude, for the suppression of his own personality, leads him to write his romance as Zola documented himself for his records of the Second Empire. In his realistic novels, on the other hand, he took refuge from the despotism of facts by transferring his romanticism to his characters, to Frédéric in "L'Education sentimentale," to Emma in

"Madame Bovary," and, above all, by allowing himself the freest play in the beauty of his words, in the wonderful rhythm of his phrases, so that a story of provincial adultery, the most hackneyed theme in fiction, takes on the glamor of Chateaubriand's adventures in mythical regions of tropical beauty. As his correspondence reveals, Flaubert's romantic imagination was never more powerfully stimulated than when he was engaged upon a work of realism, but when he turned to a work of imagination, then his scrupulous concern for reality insisted upon satisfaction.

This Romanticist who had no fear of reality was destined to live just long enough to see the rise of a literary generation which cultivated that fearlessness to a point where the Realist dominated everything else. In 1877 he was the guest at a dinner party from which came the six authors, Emile Zola, Guy de Maupassant, J. K. Huysmans, Henry Céard, Léon Hennique, and Paul Alexis, who launched the Naturalistic movement with "Les Soirées de Médan," which was published in 1880, the year of Flaubert's death. Looking over the work of this group, not to mention the deservedly forgotten host of their imitators, it is difficult to connect them with Flaubert. That scrupulous artist, who could spend five days over the writing of one page, whose style is one of the delights of French literature, was surely the strangest progenitor for that brood of Naturalists. The Goncourts still preserved their cult of the "exact word," of the "rare epithet," but these writers cultivated the commonplace in both style and matter. Their virtues are seen in the work of Maupassant and in that sardonic little masterpiece of Henry Céard's, "Une Belle Journée," but who reads Zola nowadays, and who even remembers Leon Hennique and Paul Alexis, "the shadow of Zola," as he was called?"

In the pleasant process of progressing backwards, in which the younger American novelists are just now engaged, the oblivion which has descended upon Flaubert's succession seems to be ignored, or, at least, to suggest no disquieting reflections. There is a drift in contemporary fiction which takes the novel back to France of the eighties and late seventies, but not to the fifties, when Flaubert expressed the only durable reaction against Romanticism. All literature is the history of the reaction of one generation against the idols of another, and "Madame Bovary" marked the end of the Romantic movement. It was the work of the transition and is therefore characterized by that hesitation between two schools, which is the essence of Flaubert. The modern Realists, like his immediate successors, have emphasized only one element in the movement of which he was the leader, and their preoccupation with the mere details of actuality will as surely condemn them to neglect as it has condemned the voluminous literature of the Naturalistic school. With the exception of Baudelaire, no other French writer in modern times has exercised so powerful an influence as Flaubert with so small a volume of published work. During his lifetime only five books of his were published, yet they endure, while the twenty volumes of Zola's Rougon-Macquart series and the sixteen other volumes of his miscellaneous fiction have fallen into increasing disrepute, together with most of the "polygraphy" of that period. "Madame Bovary" shocked the bourgeoisie in accordance with all the rules of Naturalistic procedure; it evoked and reconstructed the life of a provincial town with the superb skill of the creative genius who is master of detail, in a fashion which only makes the labored piling up of facts seem intolerable in his successors. Yet, it lives, after all these years, as photographic realism never lives after the external circumstances of the time have changed. It lives because of that dual element in the genius of Gustave Flaubert, which enabled him to see the dream and the reality which together make up the sum of human existence, and to express both with the sensitive beauty of a great artist.





## As We Forgive Our Debtors

DISCUSSION of the possible remission of the debts owed by the Allied nations to the United States Government is complicated by two elements which interfere with a straightforward examination of the question upon its intrinsic merits. In the first place, the discussion is usually throttled at the very outset by the thought that, whatever might be said in favor of such a proposal, it is a waste of energy to discuss it because there is no chance of Congress assenting to anything of the kind. And secondly, any raising of the question is almost sure to be met by the charge that it is the result, directly or indirectly, of instigation by Great Britain, France, or some other of the debtor nations.

As regards the first point, it may well be said that, whether or not there is any chance of Congressional approval, it is fitting that the nation should give to the subject the consideration which its high importance demands; and further, that in matters of this kind appearances are often deceptive—things seemingly out of the question in advance of public discussion become possible enough as a result of it. And as to the second point, it should suffice to remark that there are in this country a large number of persons of the highest standing as citizens, as thinkers, and as men of affairs, who heartily believe that a remission of the Allied debts by the United States Government would be a superb stroke not only of humanity but of statesmanship; who are convinced that, to say nothing of its benefit to other nations, it would turn out a most excellent investment for the American people; who earnestly express this view in private conversation, but who refrain from pushing it in public owing to the feeling that its advocacy would be practically hopeless; and who, if they *did* give voice to their opinion, would do it solely of their own motion, and without any outside instigation whatsoever.

### The Question on Its Merits

Setting both these considerations aside, therefore, let us endeavor to look at the question simply from the standpoint of its inherent merits. During the Great War, after our entrance into it, the United States lent to Great Britain, France, Italy, and other countries which were fighting the common enemy some ten billions of dollars. None of these countries can claim that it is our clear duty to remit the debt thus incurred by them. They knew what they were doing when they incurred it; they entered no qualification as to its binding character. If the debt is to be remitted in whole or in part, this must be because that course is felt to be right by the United States either as a matter of its own feeling of honor, as a matter of humanity and good will, or as a matter of enlightened self-interest. The question is whether there is sound reason for so feeling on any or all of these grounds; and we believe that the answer is that there is such reason on all three of them, and

that the united force of the three makes the case conclusive.

### When and How the Debt Was Incurred

It is well to remember that not one dollar of the Allied debt to the United States Government was incurred until the United States became a participant in the war. Before that time considerable sums had been raised in America by the Allied Governments by means of securities taken up by *individuals* in this country; but these do not enter at all into the question. It was not until we became to all intents and purposes allies of the European Entente Powers that any advances were made by our *Government* to them. We threw ourselves heart and soul into the struggle; it was the splendid manifestation of American power and heroism that brought the conflict to its victorious close. But it was the better part of a year before that force was put into play, and it was only during the last few months of the war that it was thrown into the scale in decisive fashion. Our allies, during that year of waiting, were continuing to pour out both their blood and their treasure as they had been doing for two and a half years before; during which two and a half years we had been growing rich at an unparalleled rate while they had been suffering the most exhausting possible drain upon their resources, material and human. The money—or rather, money's worth, for the money was all spent in America—which we were sending over to them was maintaining the armies that were holding the ground against our enemy until our own forces could be brought to bear. Had our men been on the battle line, as they were afterwards, the cost to us would have far exceeded the amount that we advanced to our allies. Our service to them was beyond all computation; it made the difference between victory and defeat. But if—as surely every true American feels—the victory was not merely *their* victory but *ours* as well, would it not be the part of a high sense of honor to feel that the money we lent them before we began to fight should be regarded in the light of a contribution to the common cause, which we should not only be willing but glad to assume as our own?

### An Objection Considered

Before leaving this aspect of the question, it may be well to say a word about one objection that deserves attention. It has been urged against a remission of the debt that the precedent set by it would make international borrowing in time of war impossible in the future. But the force of this objection disappears upon examination. Nobody imagines that the precedent would have any influence upon the possibilities of ordinary international borrowing, in time either of peace or of war. It would only affect a case in which nations were banded together in a great cause, and the borrowing was an incident of the common effort. And in such a case it will be all the better that the nations should clearly recognize, what in the nature of things must be the fact, that the obligation of the debtor is not to be regarded in the stern and rigorous spirit in which debts are usually



viewed. Indeed, it would be best of all that any great and wealthy and comparatively unscathed member of the alliance should frankly from the outset view its contingent of financial assistance as a contribution to the common cause rather than as a loan to be repaid however great the hardship and inequality that repayment might entail.

#### Humanity and Good Will

On the side of humanity and good will, the case is so plain that words are almost needless. The only answer to it is to be found in the much-abused maxim that charity begins at home—a maxim too often translated into practice as though it read that charity begins and ends at home. Our sufferings in the common cause were so slight in comparison with those of our allies, our material condition is so immeasurably better than theirs, our difficulties are so trivial alongside those with which they have to cope, that a policy of generosity in regard to the money they owe us must instinctively recommend itself to any large-hearted and large-minded American.

#### Enlightened Self-Interest

We freely admit, however, that if there were nothing to be said for the proposal except that it is what a high sense of honor and a generous regard for friends in distress would dictate, there could be no practical chance of its adoption. High sense of honor, generous regard for friends in distress, its opponents would say, are all very fine; but the American people are not going to be taxed to the tune of half a billion dollars a year in order to gratify those sentiments, however beautiful. But fortunately the case is fully as strong from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest. The prosperity of Europe, its return to a normal state, is a prime essential of the return of our own prosperity. The removal of the burden of that ten or eleven billions of debt would have a wonderfully stimulating influence on European financial and industrial conditions. Moreover, it must be frankly understood that, so far as the immediate future is concerned, the remission of the debt would make little difference in our own finances; for is it not pretty generally agreed on all hands that the United States will not press for payment even of interest, to say nothing of principal, and that no country except Great Britain will make such payments for years to come? The case of Britain, moreover, is peculiar, in that she has always stood ready to cancel the debts owed to her by her allies if we did the like by her debt to us; accordingly, our cancellation of Britain's debt would redound to the benefit of France and other hard-pressed countries, and act as a two-fold relief to the world. Broadly speaking, what would happen if we were to remit the Allied debts to us would be that we should make no great sacrifice in the way of immediate revenue; our sacrifice, such as it was, would have reference practically to a remote time—a time when circumstances might have so wholly changed that no one can say with any confidence what will really happen. And it is the opinion of many of the most competent and sober judges that, whatever we may do at the present time, we shall in the end let the debts go.

Now the point is that *this* is the time when the world stands in desperate need of relief from care and depression and uncertainty; *this* is the time when the revival of industrial and commercial and financial energy is of infinite importance; *this* is the time when anything that

gives Europe a big shove forward will be reflected in a tremendous advance in our own prosperity; and *this* is the time when we need that advance more than we have ever done since the dark days of 1893-7. And that is one great reason why cool-headed leaders in the financial world feel convinced that the best possible investment that America could make of ten billion dollars, the best possible investment in a strictly material sense, would be to lift that debt from the shoulders, to exorcise the worry about the debt from the minds, of the European peoples.

#### The Moral Effect Most Potent of All

But there is in the case a broader consideration, a more potent element, than even this. The direct financial relief to the several nations whose debts were canceled would, we are convinced, represent but a small part of the beneficent influence which our act would exert upon the world. It would be hailed as an evidence of magnanimity, of largeness of heart and largeness of mind. It would operate—just as Mr. Hughes's opening speech at the Conference did—to confound cynics and pessimists, to hearten those who do not despair of the world's future. The degree in which such heartening would quicken the economic life of the world is quite beyond the reach of any ordinary commercial or financial calculation. What the world needs above all else, for its economic no less than its spiritual restoration, is a return of confidence in the better side of human nature, a revival of the instinctive feeling that things are making for good and not for evil. What could give a more powerful impetus to all this than a conspicuous act of generosity on the part of the richest and most powerful of nations?

It has sometimes been suggested that any remission of debts on our part should be accompanied by the condition that a corresponding amount shall be deducted from the reparations levied upon Germany. We do not believe that any such condition should be imposed. To do so would be largely to destroy the grace of the act itself, and its grace is a large part of its value. But we believe that the act would inevitably conduce to a more liberal and generous attitude toward Germany; it would give tenfold force to any just plea that might be made for relieving Germany of a burden too heavy for her to bear. France, too, would feel that from the standpoint of her own self-interest it would be folly to insist on keeping alive indefinitely a sense of intolerable hardship on the part of the country which has been her mortal foe but with which she has now to find means of living on terms of amity or at least of economic harmony. The example of the United States, the success (even from a selfish standpoint) that had attended her large-minded action, would exercise a steadily growing influence, and would do more than oceans of discussion and diplomacy toward humanizing the relation between Germany and France. Our act, primarily one that related to dollars and cents, would produce its greatest effect not through the pocketbook but through the heart and the mind. It would be a master stroke, fully matching in beneficence the scrapping of our ships and the initiation of a new instrumentality of reasonable intercourse between nations. And we believe that, if its vast potentialities of good are brought fairly before the American people, they will view the question in no small or short-sighted spirit, but will rise to the height of the great issue.



## The Power of Simple Truth

IT doesn't matter a pin whether the phrase "insular possessions and insular dominions" in the Four-Power Treaty does or does not cover the islands which constitute Japan itself. Any situation that threatened Japan would of necessity threaten the Pacific islands over which she holds rule; and consequently whenever Japan was threatened it would of necessity become the duty of the Four Powers to enter into a conference as the treaty contemplates. More than this the treaty does not call for, whatever the interpretation of the disputed words; so much as this the treaty is in practice absolutely certain to require, whatever the interpretation of the disputed words. It doesn't matter a pin which interpretation is adopted.

Nevertheless, President Harding made a grievous slip when he gave offhand his own interpretation of the words, natural as that interpretation was. On the other hand, the statement which he gave out only a few hours later was of ideal excellence. It was so simple, so free from all mental disturbance, that to any alert intelligence it conveyed much more than a mere withdrawal of the earlier statement. He had thought the words did not include Japan; he found that the American Commissioners regarded them as including Japan; and he was perfectly content that it should be so. That was all: no argument, no apology, no perturbation. And why? Obviously for the reason that the essence of the matter lay quite elsewhere; that, in fact, it didn't matter a pin which of the two meanings was adopted.

It was accordingly quite within the possibilities that the misstep which the President had made, and which started up immediately so ominous a commotion among the Senatorial hornets, might be turned into an actual advantage for the treaty. We hoped that some Senator, of genuine debating ability, might drive home the real point of the incident—the demonstration that it provided of the true character of the treaty. Could anything more thoroughly demonstrate that character than the light thus accidentally thrown upon it? If it involved technical obligations, if it tied us up with promises of specific action, it would make a great deal of difference just how the geographical limits of its application were defined; that it turns on no technicalities, involves no intricacies, is the only possible explanation both of Mr. Harding's slip and of its simple and straightforward correction.

But now has come Mr. Harding himself, and has done in supremely effective fashion what we had hoped some Senator might do more or less effectively. So admirable is the utterance, so appealing in reason as well as sentiment, so moving in its expression of deep and sincere feeling, that we make no apology for reproducing in full the President's formal and informal statement:

The President will offer no comment on the disputes which attempt to magnify the differing constructions on the Four-Power Treaty. To him these are unimportant. The big things aimed at are understandings for peace and an agreement to meet and discuss the preservation of peace whenever it is threatened.

No alliance or entanglement is thought of, none will be negotiated. It would be better to rejoice over things accomplished than to dwell on differing views which can be of no great consequence.

The President is unwilling that the unjustified charge

that the United States delegates are withholding information shall go unchallenged. He had full confidence, else he had not chosen them, and he has full confidence now and is more than gratified over their efforts, because they are working out the greatest contribution to peace and good-will which has ever marked the Christmas time in all the Christian era.

It is one thing to talk about the ideals of peace, but the bigger thing is to seek the actuality. This the Conference is doing, in harmony with an overwhelming American sentiment, and a world sentiment, too, and in full accord with cherished American traditions.

Replying to the question, "Do you feel that the world has made great progress in the direction of peace and good-will?" President Harding said:

"I think I made some such reply to a similar question at the last interview. I do think so. I believe it with all my heart. I do not say that with the thought of arrogating to the United States of America any greater part of the contribution than that which has been made by other nations of like importance and like civilization.

"But it seems to me that in 1921, as we have come to know more fully the aftermath of the war, as we have come to appraise the unspeakable cost of it all, there is a new conviction in the hearts of men that that sort of appeal—the appeal to arms—to settle the international questions is a futile thing, and that we are unworthy of our position and unworthy of the blessings which fall to a righteous civilization if we do not find some means for a righteous adjustment without appeal to slaughter and waste and all the distresses that attend.

"I think that conviction has rooted itself throughout the world, and there must come some helpful, progressive expression of it. I think that expression is being given at this Conference. I have no thought to preach on this subject today, but make your own applications, please.

"When men sit about the conference table and look each other in the face and look upon the problems deliberately, without passion, they find the way to come to an agreement. And after all, there has never been a conflict in the world that has not been settled in the end in that way. You have a war; you destroy thousands or millions of men and measureless treasure, and then you gather about a table and settle it.

"I have a feeling that mankind has become wise enough to sit down before the war and try to settle it. And that is the object of the Four-Power Treaty. That is why I say the small lack of agreement in construing it is not significant.

"Why, if there was a menace to peace in Japan, what objection could there be for the United States to sit down with her friend in the Orient and with the other great Powers and discuss how the matter could be adjusted? If some one had done that when Austria was threatening Serbia, there would have been no European war. The whole purpose of this Conference is to provide some means where just, thoughtful, righteous peoples who are not seeking to seize something which does not belong to them can live peaceably together and eliminate causes of conflict.

"This is in the American heart and it is in the British heart and it is in the Japanese heart, in the French heart, in the Italian heart—it is everywhere in the world. If this present day civilization cannot take advantage of this new realization, of that emphasized conviction, I would not give much for the civilization of the future. But there is a new spirit seeking and impelling peace, and it must add to our Christmas happiness."

For sheer effectiveness in meeting a given situation, it would be difficult to match this utterance. It is so simple that a child can understand it; and yet it goes to the heart of the matter as the most pretentious of "state papers" could not do. It ought to be before the eyes of every man and woman in America from now until the treaty is ratified. That it *will* be ratified we have little doubt; and less doubt than ever, now that the President has put the case before the country in such shape as to make the kind of opposition it has encountered seem too paltry and stupid to be thought of without a blush.



## Shaking Down the "Open Price" Trusts

EVENTS may show that substantial relief from the present excessively high level of prices is assured by the Supreme Court's decision that the "open competition" system of the American Hardwood Association violates the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The revelations of the Lockwood Committee in New York have proved that one of the most grievous burdens on housing, and on building construction generally, is the kiting of prices due to just such spurious "open competition" or "open price" associations dealing in building materials. There is reason to believe that similar practices in many other lines of business impose in the aggregate a heavy burden on the country at large. Prosecutions under State laws, if the results of those in New York are any criterion, are of slight remedial worth. Much better results are likely from Federal prosecutions, for every "open price" association of any weight depends on interstate relations among its members, and these vital interstate relations can be controlled only by the Federal Government.

Looking to practicable measures, however, we believe that a larger and more enduring relief to the public would come from the Federal Government's assuming the task of publishing the market, production, and price statistics whose restricted and semi-secret use makes possible the vicious activities of the "open price" trusts. It has been justly pointed out that in their origin the open price and coöperative organizations of manufacturers aimed at removing competitive excesses that were, in the long run, as profitless to the public as they were harmful to the competing manufacturers. The collection and publishing of business statistics is in itself not only harmless, but may be of great value to the public as well as to business. It goes without saying that, in order that this purpose shall be served, accuracy, impartiality, and comprehensiveness are absolutely essential requisites.

Mr. Hoover pointed out last Spring that if in the rubber industry, for example, "there had been an accurate monthly statement of the current ratio of production capacity and operation in the different branches of the industry, and of the stocks of major manufactured and raw materials in hand, they would have been saved tremendous losses, not only in over-accumulation of goods, but in over-expansion of equipment."

Now Mr. Hoover, in this speech to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, was urging the value of a proposed new Government statistical service as a general stabilizer of business, enabling manufacturers to have a more accurate knowledge of the facts and conditions to which they must adapt their policies. Essentially, Mr. Hoover proposed that the Government should give with complete publicity, to all business, the same fundamental service that the "open price" trusts give, with what is practically secrecy, to their own members.

Practically every anti-trust prosecution by the Federal Government is based on statistical and accounting studies. The same sort of study of any branch of trade in which prices are high, *immediately published broad-*

*cast to the country*, would, we believe, have a very powerful restraining effect on monopoly movements in that trade. Taken in combination with the now established right of the Federal Government to prevent all interstate manipulation of prices and output, we believe this system of accurate, official, business publicity would abolish without litigation nearly all of the illegal burdens these vicious associations now impose upon the public. And such Government statistics would, after all, be little more than an extension of the system of Government crop reports, to which we have for so many years been accustomed.

## Cupidity and Psyche

IT began about the time that William James put philosophy on the map—at least on the map of the man in the street. Before that time every plain man had been his own philosopher, and had contemptuously thought of trained philosophers as visionaries. The glowing talk about James's Pragmatism had the effect of making men feel that they needed philosophy in their business, not their own informal sort, but something systematic. They got to know precious little about Pragmatism, taking it roughly to mean: Whatever you can get away with is true. Applied philosophy then became synonymous with "business psychology." The result was that every salesman was expected to be an expert psychologist, and did, indeed, talk more "philosophy" in a single day than Professor James talked in a week.

The upshot of it all is familiar history; for the jargon has become part and parcel of our everyday life. The worst of it is that the thing does get business and is apparently here to stay. Unfortunately, the business psychologists who evolved it knew but the simplest elements of the science, and their system, in the eyes of the real philosopher, is therefore essentially baby-talk. The attention of babies can be held by a moving object—hence the winking night-signs. The Hoovened circular letter is supposed to pull ten times as hard as that in which the addressee's name does not appear. Only think! If one could only put into one's Hoovened letter "When you were in Boston last week," a person would at once reason thus, "I don't seem to remember the name signed to the letter, but evidently he must know me." The curious assumption is that the addressee is unfamiliar with the newspapers' habit of mentioning the meetings of conventions in the various cities, together with the names of some of those present, and is likewise unacquainted with the now usual custom of being devilish clever in circulars. The salesman has supplanted the corporation lawyer of a previous decade in the art of outwitting. His is the duty of finding some loophole to your attention.

It is an extraordinary reversal when the scholar can call the business man a silly little pedant, playing with the A B C's of a science which, if made use of in grown-up fashion, would net incomparable rewards. The business man is not lacking in a retort—that he has extracted from psychology all that's worth anything. It may be; but, for ourselves, we long for a return of the unsystematic, grandiose methods of P. T. Barnum and Lydia Pinkham.



# The Story of the Week

## The Conference

VERY little definite has been accomplished, or at any rate announced, by the Conference recently.

On December 14 the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions adjourned "to permit continuation of the conversations regarding the naval ratio and Shantung." So reads the official *communiqué*. The Chinese delegation had just presented for consideration by the committee the Manchurian leaseholds (*i. e.*, the Liao-tung peninsula, the South Manchurian railway, and the railway zone), the famous twenty-one demands and the treaties forced upon China by Japan pursuant to those demands. In a very able paper Justice Wang, of the Chinese delegation, had set forth China's case, on which she bases her demand for abrogation of the treaties and for complete withdrawal of Japan from Manchuria. Many persons entitled to an opinion on the matter are convinced that the chief reason for adjournment of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was unwillingness to debate (for the present, anyway) the Chinese demands. The committee has not since met. What, in the end, is the committee going to do about it? No committee ever was in such a dilemma. Decide in favor of China? That would, everybody thinks, nullify all that has been done by the Conference; the Japanese would not accept such a decision. Decide in favor of Japan? Can that be done consistently with the Root principles? Refuse to debate or decide? Silence would give consent to Japan's claims. Refer the matter to a commission or to a later conference or to both? Perhaps. The reader may take his choice of the above answers, or find a better one.

The chief recent activities of the Conference have been those of the sub-committee on Naval Limitation, and the dual negotiation (nominally outside the Conference) on Shantung between Chinese and Japanese delegates.

The French naval claims have caused, to put it delicately, an embarrassment. At last the Japanese had consented substantially to the naval programme for Britain, the United States, and Japan, proposed by Mr. Hughes in his famous opening speech. To be sure, the Japanese had been allowed to keep the *Mutsu*, a ship peculiarly their pride, purely a product of Japanese naval genius, paid for by Japanese schoolchildren, named after the great Mutsuhito; and that concession compelled a readjustment in respect of ships to be scrapped in the three navies so as to keep the relative strengths as originally proposed. The ratio of 5—5—3 was maintained. The total tonnage allowances for replacement became: 525,000 for Great Britain; 525,000 for the United States; 315,000 for Japan.

The above arranged, all else might be expected to go smoothly. But it didn't. It remained to fix the allowances for France and Italy. France exploded a bomb. Her delegates demanded a capital ship allowance of 350,000 tons and allowances of auxiliary craft to correspond thereto as in the Hughes programme for Britain, the United States, and Japan. We lack space to discuss the French arguments in support of this plan, which do not lack plausibility; we shall only remark that, should the French allowance be determined by the formula applied to the British, American, and Japanese fleets, it would be about 136,000 tons. Secretary Hughes now did a startling thing. He appealed to Briand by cable above the heads of the French delegation, requesting Briand to accept a capital ship tonnage total of 175,000. "At this time," said Mr. Hughes, "when

we are anxious to aid France in full recovery of her economic life" [just what is the full import of this statement?], "it would be most disappointing to be advised that France is contemplating putting hundreds of millions into battle-ships." [The present total capital ship tonnage of France, including several obsolete pre-dreadnoughts, is about 164,000.]

Briand responded, complying readily as to capital ships, but making clear that the French demands as to auxiliary craft must be independently considered:

With regard to the tonnage of capital ships, that is to say, attacking ships, which are the most costly, I have given instructions to our delegates in the sense which you desire.

But so far as the defensive ships are concerned (light cruisers, torpedo boats and submarines), it would be impossible for the French Government, without putting itself in contradiction with the vote of the Chamber, to accept reductions corresponding to those which we accept for capital ships.

The idea which dominates the Washington Conference is to restrict naval armaments which are offensive and costly. But I do not believe that it is the programme to deny to a nation like France, which has a large extent of coasts and a great number of distant colonies, the essential means of defending its communications and its security.

As we write, the French demands as to auxiliary craft have not been disclosed; but it is certain that they will take account of the following facts: that France has a coast line on the Atlantic and one on the Mediterranean, these two separated by the Straits of Gibraltar commanded by an English fortress; that in case of a European war the communications between France and Algeria must be secure; that decent provision must be made for safeguarding communications with Indo-China and other French possessions in the Far East and Pacific.

The dual negotiation upon Shantung has been adjourned without agreement on the most important item—the railroad. The latest Japanese proposal has been referred to the Tokyo Government. The Japanese seem resolved to retain an important interest in the railroad, whether through a Japanese long-term loan to cover the purchase price (with the customary vexatious features of loans to China), or through retention of participation in the management, or through whatnot. Certainly refusal of the Japanese to accept cash payment (the principle of Chinese recovery of the railroad being conceded) is a suspicious circumstance. But the situation has not been clearly presented; the Japanese may have a better case than press reports disclose.

The French were not the only ones to explode a bomb among the conferees within the week. President Harding himself inadvertently exploded one—a monster. He told certain press correspondents the other day that the expression "insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific



Donahy in Cleveland Plain Dealer



Ocean," in the Four-Power Treaty, was not intended to include the islands of Japan proper. The President's interpretation ran counter to the one generally accepted in Washington, and in a few minutes all Washington was agog. It seems that the President had not been informed on this most important matter. The same evening he announced that "he had learned from the United States delegation that they had agreed to the construction which includes the homeland of Japan in the term 'insular possessions and insular dominions,' and had no objection to that construction." The incident was unfortunate in that it furnished fresh arguments to the opponents of the treaty, arguments which, however strained, are likely to make a wide appeal. Some of the opposition arguments appear in the following statement by Senator Borah:

It is not remarkable that many Senators are beginning to wonder what the treaty is all about when its authors find themselves in disagreement with the President himself as to just what it does mean. In view of what has happened and the bewilderment which has followed the different constructions placed on the treaty, no one will surely urge that it be ratified until at least it is made to speak plain language.

There are two propositions which provide impelling reasons why the treaty should be rewritten; one, as to just what it does cover in the way of territory, and, two, as to just what it means when it says that the contracting parties shall communicate with one another, fully and frankly, in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, and so on.

Altogether, despite formal acceptance by Japan of the 5—5—3 ratio (there had been little doubt thereof), the Conference has moved slowly and none too surely of late.

## A Meagre News-Budget

**A**SIDE from the Conference on Limitation of Armament (which is really a world rather than a domestic affair), the recent domestic news of importance has been meagre.

The House has been debating the anti-lynching bill, which, through a clever filibuster, goes over until after Christmas for a vote. So far the debate thereon has been rather mild, but it promises to become exceedingly bitter before it is over. The bill (to quote from the *New York Times*):

imposes a fine of \$5,000 and up to five years' imprisonment upon any State or municipal officer who fails to protect a victim of a mob; places a prison penalty of five years to life upon any participant in a mob where a life is lost; provides that a county where a lynching occurs must pay \$10,000 to the family of the victim, and imposes a like penalty upon any county through which the prisoner is taken on the way to the scene of his execution.

The bill is being opposed as unconstitutional in that it usurps States' rights, and as bad because it will encourage the particular hideous crime which provokes lynchings. It seems certain to pass the House.

The House has passed the bill appropriating \$20,000,000 for Russian relief. The Senate has also passed that bill, and is now debating the Newberry case.

The farmers' bloc is devising new class legislation for the farmers' supposed benefit, without much thought, apparently, of the commonwealth as a whole. This bloc had its way with the tax bill and is having its way with the

tariff bill. It is trying to put through a bill whereby one member of the Federal Reserve Board must be a representative of the agricultural interests. What next?

Mr. Hoover has said that between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 men and women are now employed who would be out of work but for the beneficent labors of the National Conference on Unemployment.

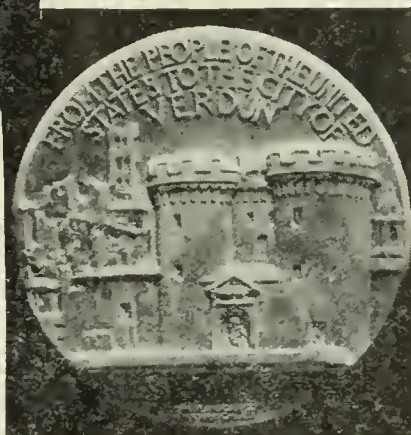
## To Ratify or Not to Ratify

**T**HAT is the momentous question before the Dail Eireann. The open discussion of the agreement signed by the Irish delegates in London began on Monday, the 19th. On Thursday night adjournment was taken to January 3. Mr. Griffith, that truly great man, moved the resolution for approval of the agreement. The position of de Valera is not clear. It seems that in the secret session he submitted an alternative form of agreement, but he could not be prevailed on to produce it in the open session. It may be inferred from the references to it in the open session that it does not call for a republic. Griffith inti-

imated that its differences from the signed agreement offered for ratification are but quibbling, hair-splitting ones. Others have made the same charge. We should like to see the document referred to, in order to judge for ourselves. Whether "on a quibble" or not, de Valera will vote against ratification, and he will carry many with him. Ratification, which seemed fairly certain some days ago, seems much less certain now.



International  
Gold medal, gift of people  
of United States to the City  
of Verdun



## The Economic Situation of Europe

**O**N Monday, the 19th, M. Briand, the French Premier, accompanied by several economic and financial experts, including M. Loucheur, Minister for the Devastated Regions, arrived in London to discuss with Lloyd George a number of things; chief of which things is the economic situation of Europe.

Observe that we say "the economic situation of Europe," and not merely "the German reparations question." The German reparations problem was discussed as earnestly as ever before; but for the first time (at any rate we are led to believe so) in its proper proportional relation to the general economic problem of Europe, including Russia. That due subordination of the reparations problem is a development of the very first importance.

The conversations ended on Thursday, when the Frenchmen went home. The only definitely known result of these conversations is the decision to hold a meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes in mid-January.

It is said that until very recently Lloyd George and Briand continued to hope that the great Republic would intervene to save Europe from economic ruin. It is said also that Briand took home from Washington the strong conviction that the great Republic would do nothing of the sort—at least, not yet. Europe must first demonstrate that she has made every effort to save herself. That is, to mention only the most obvious of the measures necessary to self-salvation: the German reparations business must be put on a workable basis; Europe must be pacified and harmonized, whence reduction of standing armies to the merest fraction of their present size and consequent lifting of the most terrible financial burdens; inflation of currencies must cease, and deflation must be set on foot. When Europe has done such things, then American capital will seek investment in Europe on terms generous to Europe; then



American coöperation without stint may be counted on.

They are saying that Briand and Lloyd George are agreed that in order to an effective general programme of self-salvation for Europe the meeting of the Supreme Council must be followed by a European Economic Conference, to



Thomas

include delegates from ex-enemy countries, even (if possible) to include delegates from Russia.

The so-called "London programme" of German reparations has fizzled out and must be greatly modified or else scrapped. Our information has it that Britain is seriously considering a piece

of selfish generosity: i. e., to forgive the German reparation debt to Britain, and to write off the war-debts owing her from Allies, these Allies to turn over to her German reparation bonds to the amounts of these debts, which bonds the Chancellor of the Exchequer would dump into the Thames. The German reparation debt remaining could be paid without distress, most certainly so if most of it might be paid in raw materials and manufactured goods instead of gold. "Selfish generosity;" for, as Britain figures it, the revival of trade which would follow such a forgiveness of debts would in the long run compensate many-fold for that self-imposed loss.

But such a settlement of the German reparations problem would not alone suffice to save Europe. There must be pacification and harmony. Britain would require as a condition of such a self-denying act reduction to the irreducible minimum of land armaments in Europe. France must persuade her protégés—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia—to disarm, and must herself disarm to the limit permitted by considerations of safety. "But we cannot greatly reduce our army without a guarantee," say the French. "We will give you a guarantee," say the British. "We will pledge our support to you against German aggression, but" [here is something novel and startling] "let us admit Germany into that treaty. Furthermore, let us three—Britain, France, and Germany—pool our resources and go in and reconstruct Russia together. In this way not only shall we three restore Russia—a thing so necessary on every count, but we two—France and Britain—shall prevent domination of Russia by Germany, which otherwise seems certain." So goes our information; perhaps entirely at fault, but at least plausible and suggestive. Russia offers the chief difficulty in the path of reduction of armaments. Suppose that the present rulers of Russia should fall in with the programme above hinted—consenting to disarm and take over the obligations of the Czarist régime, would the other European nations acknowledge their government and restore Russia to the European fellowship? It is said that Briand and Lloyd George discussed even such a possibility.

Of course there are reports of a complexion entirely different from those noted above: reports which show the French obstinately resolved to "exact their pound of flesh"; reports which show Chancellor Wirth (head of the German Government) quite powerless to effect reforms against the powerful opposition which has hitherto obstructed his "policy of fulfillment"; reports which show that the French and British points of view are apparently too far apart to be bridged. But on the eve of Christmas it should be permitted to entertain hope even as to the economic prospects of Europe.

## The Tacna-Arica Controversy

EVERYBODY has heard of the Tacna-Arica controversy, but we venture to say that very few people indeed know anything about it. We shall not attempt to enlighten them much, for two reasons: one, that we do not thoroughly understand it ourselves; the other, that it would require too much space. The controversy has existed ever since 1883, when the Treaty of Ancon, between Peru and Chile, was signed, following that war between Chile on the one side and Peru and Bolivia on the other, which was or was not forced on Chile by the cupidity and aggressions of Bolivia and Peru, and which at any rate ended in the victory of Chile. Under the Treaty of Ancon, the Peruvian Provinces of Arica and Tacna were turned over to Chilean administration for ten years, at the end of which time a plebiscite was to determine whether they should thenceforward belong to Chile or to Peru.

But a controversy arose as to the conditions of the plebiscite, which to this day has never been settled, and so to this day no plebiscite has been held and the provinces remain under Chilean administration. There have been no diplomatic relations between Peru and Chile since 1910, chiefly on account of ill-feeling bred by the controversy over the above-mentioned plebiscite conditions.

The other day the Chilean Foreign Minister wrote a note to the Peruvian Foreign Minister suggesting a fresh negotiation looking to a plebiscite. The Peruvian Foreign Minister replied, intimating that the plebiscite provisions of the Treaty of Ancon should be considered as having lapsed, but suggesting arbitration by the United States. The reply of the Chilean Government proposes negotiations having arbitration in view.

A certain hope—not too strong, in view of the history of the controversy—is justified that at last this controversy, which has kept alive an unhealthy chauvinism in Peru, will at last be settled. To what extent Peru, to what extent Chile, may have been at fault for delay of a settlement, we do not pretend to say. The case for Chile is well, but very partially, presented in an article by a Chilean journalist in the *New York Times Current History* for December.

## Brief Items

THE Spaniards continue to recover lost ground in the Spanish Zone of Morocco.

\* \* \*

The situation in Vienna is said to be terribly critical. A communist revolt is reported imminent. In view of the riot of December 1, the report is not incredible.

\* \* \*

A bloody revolution in Portugal was reported in the press of the 20th. Later reports denied any such thing. It seems, however, that conditions there are ripe for revolution.

\* \* \*

Watch Egypt! Trouble seems to be brewing there.

\* \* \*

A conference between leading statesmen of Czechoslovakia and Austria has just ended happily. An agreement which should ensure political and economic harmony and coöperation has been drawn up.



Morris

Seeing ourselves as others see us



# Cabbages and Kings

By Henry W. Bunn

## An Unnecessary Question

WE have been going through Lucian again. We ought to be ashamed, we suppose, to acknowledge that we used to read him in the original Greek. On the contrary, we are ashamed to acknowledge that we can no longer do so without so much labor as greatly to offset the pleasure. Fortunately there is at last an admirable translation of Lucian in English, by H. W. and F. G. Fowler. Renewing our intimacy with this immortal, we discover that, of all writers down to the Renaissance and perhaps down to Goethe, he is the most nearly a Citizen of the World. A Semitic Syrian, he is a very Greek of the Greeks in culture. He made the grand tour at leisure, knew well his Rome and Egypt, traveled to Gaul and the Euxine settlements, even acquired considerable information of the world beyond the imperial limits. He might have had preferment in Rome, but chose rather to spend most of his manhood in Athens, still the capital of culture. The poetry, science, and philosophy of Greece were as familiar to him as to any autochthon, and he wrote incomparably better Attic than any of them. Yet he never forgot, probably was not allowed to forget, that he was a Syrian from the Euphrates. Several times he asserts that worth is not a matter of blood or nationality, but of culture and character. In that amusing piece in which he represents himself as dragged by the philosophers before the court of Philosophy, to defend himself against the charge of flouting them, he makes himself say, in answer to Philosophy's question "Your country?": "I am a Syrian from the Euphrates, my lady. But is the question relevant? Some of my accusers I know to be as much barbarians by blood as myself; but character and culture do not vary as a man comes from Soli or Cyprus, Babylon or Stagira. However, even one who could not talk Greek would be none the worse in your eyes, so long as his sentiments were right and just." To which Philosophy handsomely replies: "True, the question was unnecessary."

In another place he slyly makes Toxaris, the Scythian, observe: "The fact of their" [certain Greeks] "being foreigners does not prevent us from recognizing their virtues. We do not inquire into the nationality of noble souls: we can hear without envy of the illustrious deeds of our enemies; we do justice to their merits, and count them Scythians in deed if not in name."

But even today, even after so many illustrious instances besides that of Lucian, that question which Philosophy admitted to be unnecessary is asked. And today the magnanimity of Toxaris, the Scythian, is not too common. But perhaps the time will come when one may even discover noble souls among the Boches of the late war, may do justice to their merits, and count them Americans in deed if not in name. We did not like the Germans before the late war, and we like them less now; but, being in a mood of lofty speculation, we offer the thought.

## A Charming Little Revolution

There was recently a revolution in Guatemala. After a terrible struggle, in which three persons were killed and several were wounded, President Herrera was overthrown and compelled to surrender his powers to a good old-fashioned Junta of three generals. These heroes are said to disfavor the Central American Federation of which Guatemala is one of the three constituent states. One object of federating was to do away with these little *coups*; presumably the federal government has intervened or will intervene in the interest of constitutional procedure. Other-

wise, the federation had best be dissolved. It had best be dissolved anyway in the interest of future O. Henrys and Richard Harding Davises.

## Distance Lends Enchantment

Some wiseacres are certain that the quarrel between the supporters of Horthy, Regent of Hungary, and the Hungarian Legitimists will ultimately result in civil war. "Legitimists"? Yes, supporters of the Hapsburg. Did any reader of history suppose that passage of a resolution by the Hungarian National Assembly (under pressure from the Allies and the Little Entente), barring the Hapsburg from the throne, would snuff out the Hapsburg? Karl, to be sure, made a sorry figure as he embarked on the British cruiser for Funchal, his place of exile. But distance has already lent enchantment to the absurd kingling, and ensorcelled his former subjects, few of whom were, the other day, so poor to do him honor. The wiseacres may be right.

## What's Brewing in China?

That old rascal Chang Tso-lin, Inspector General of Manchuria, went down to Peking the other day, and on his arrival, and doubtless at his suggestion, the cabinet resigned. He has replaced those dubious gentlemen by a set of hard-boiled reactionaries, Tories of purest ray serene. This is a *coup*, sure enough. It may work to the advantage or to the disadvantage of China's cause at the Washington Conference. Naturally, the Chinese delegation at Washington are giving the most favorable interpretation to it. According to them, Chang Tso-lin is the strong man needed at this crisis. Those other strong men, General Tsao Kun, Inspector General of the Chi-li group of provinces, and General Wu Pei-fu, Inspector General of Hu-peh and Hu-nan, are sure to welcome the *coup*, and Sun Yat-sen, President of the Canton Republic, seeing a pure, strong government installed at last in Peking, will make haste to announce his adhesion to it. That is very pretty; but already Sun Yat-sen has declared his abhorrence of the *coup*, and, though Tsao Kun is a man of the same kidney as Chang Tso-lin, Wu Pei-fu is not, and his adhesion is very doubtful.

The fact is that Chang Tso-lin is peculiarly suspect. Though it is not denied that he may be a patriot at heart (he is indeed an enigma), he has been intimate with the Japanese. It is surprising that no one has suggested that the *coup* is inspired from Tokyo. Because of Chang Tso-lin's unsavory reputation, the *coup* is not likely to commend itself to the European and American delegates at the Conference, and it may well be that it has cooked the Chinese goose in Manchuria.

The situation is full of possibilities. It might be mentioned that the ex-Emperor, Hsuan-Tung (not a bad sort), is living in Peking. And we note that among the *entourage* of Chang Tso-lin is the redoubtable General Chang Hsun, easily one of the most interesting men in the world; the same Chang Hsun who in 1917 restored Hsuan-tung to the Dragon Throne for a few minutes—a Manchu of the Manchus, a kind of Chinese Douglas or Norfolk. A penny for thy thoughts, Chang Hsun! We have before us a quaint Chinese manuscript describing thee; "wan face, slender queue of black hair, thoughtful expression but eyes that grow brilliant at every touch of humor," and a habit of disconcerting people by quoting sentences of Confucius "with some point." Would we had thee with us over the holidays! We would sing together a song ourself have made ("He was a lusty bootlegger") to the incomparable Chinese tune of "Rainbow Skirts and Feather Collar."



# Income in the United States

## Outstanding Features of a New Study

By Benjamin Baker

THE report on the income of the American people prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research, and just published by Harcourt, Brace & Co. under the title, "Income in the United States," is an event of more than momentary interest. The study represented by the report is the broadest and most thorough work of the kind yet undertaken in this country. Substantially all the statistical sources bearing on the matter have been examined and drawn upon under the direction of an exceptionally competent research staff. The resulting statement of facts and deductions is likely to be for some years to come the main statistical source in the discussion of many pressing issues of economic and social policy. Some very pertinent questions—such as what is "Labor's share" in the income of industry—are not fully answered in the present report, for lack of adequate materials. If either the facts or the gaps in the report should lead to establishing a comprehensive Government census of incomes, that result alone would justify the labor and expense of this study.

National income is defined by the Bureau as consisting of the goods and services produced by the people of the country or obtained from abroad for their use—omitting goods and services for which no price is paid. The magnitudes of these goods and services are necessarily expressed in dollars; and these magnitudes are "net," that is, negative income (losses), maintenance and depreciation charges are deducted.

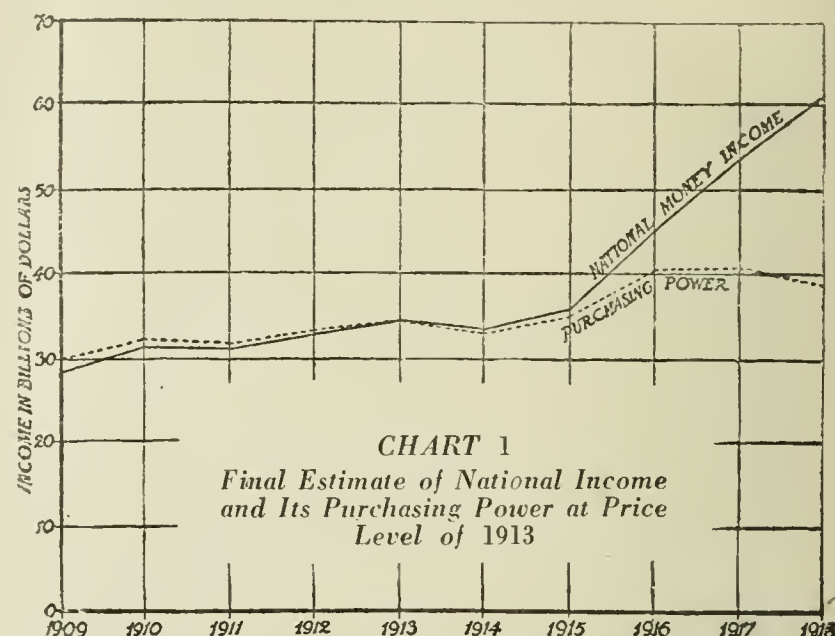
The table below gives the Bureau's final estimate of the national income for each of the ten years 1909-1918. This is perhaps the best place to note that the Bureau made two independent estimates of national income, one by incomes received, the other by sources of production, and based its final figures on these two closely parallel bases. The final figures are believed to be correct within 10 per cent.

TABLE 1  
FINAL ESTIMATE OF THE NATIONAL INCOME PER CAPITA AND ITS PURCHASING POWER AT THE PRICE LEVEL OF 1913  
1909-1918

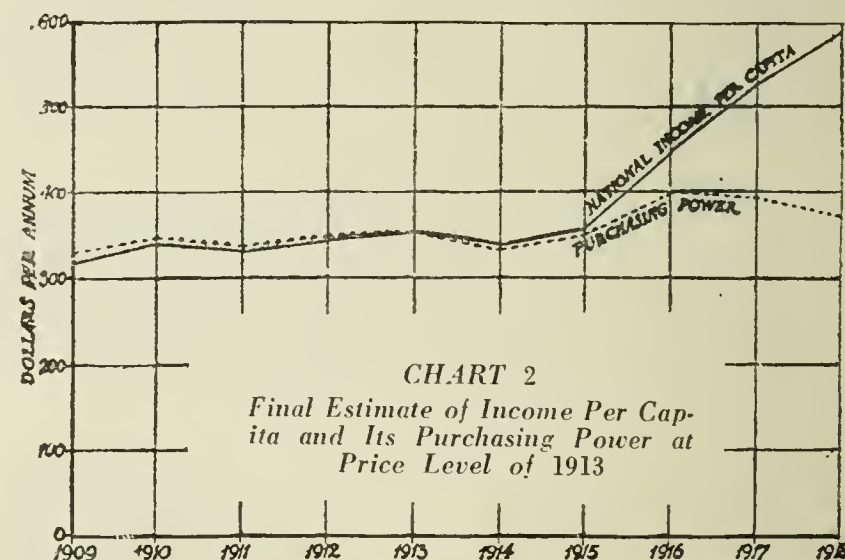
Year	Population in Millions	National Income		Purchasing Power at Price Level of 1913	
		Income in Billion Dollars	Per Capita Income in Dollars	Income in Billion Dollars	Per Capita Income in Dollars
1909.....	90.37	\$28.8	\$319	\$30.1	\$333
1910.....	92.23	31.4	340	32.2	349
1911.....	93.81	31.2	333	31.7	338
1912.....	95.34	33.0	346	33.2	348
1913.....	97.28	34.4	354	34.4	354
1914.....	99.19	33.2	335	33.0	333
1915.....	100.48	36.0	358	35.2	350
1916.....	101.72	45.4	446	40.7	400
1917.....	103.06	53.9	523	40.8	396
1918.....	104.18	61.0	586	38.8	372

The most striking aspect of this table is the evidence given in the two right-hand columns that the apparently immense increase both in total national and in per capita income was mainly the result of monetary inflation that first shows its influence in 1915, when we began to revel in war orders from Europe. Up to that time both the total and per capita increase was moderate. From 1909 to 1918 the total income, in dollars, increased nearly 112 per cent., and the per capita 83.7 per cent. But when these dollar values are translated into purchasing power, on the basis of the dollar of 1913 as 100 (as shown in the two right-hand columns), we find that the total income increase, in *real* dollars, was only 29 per cent., and the increase per capita only 11.7 per cent. Purchasing power was highest, both for total and per capita income, in the two boom year 1916-1917, though in the latter rising prices had begun to cut into the real value of the per capita income.

These relations of nominal money value to purchasing power are shown graphically for total national income on Chart 1, and for per capita income on Chart 2.



Aside from giving visual emphasis to the variance between the dollar values and the purchasing values of these incomes, these two charts show, in the decline of the dotted line representing purchasing power, an actual decline in production beginning as far back as in 1917. We have rather patted ourselves for our "great increase in productive efficiency" during the war; but these graphs show that that increase was in large part an illusion of price-tags.



The contributions to the national income made by seven groups of industries are graphically shown on Chart 3 in terms of percentages of the total income.

In these groups, manufacturing holds first place—certainly so if the value product of the hand trades, which include construction work, is combined with that of factories. On the average of the decade covered by the report, manufacturing is credited with producing 30 per cent. of the national income. Agriculture comes next, with somewhat more than one-sixth of the total; then follow merchandizing and transportation, each with about half the product value of agriculture. Mines provide less than one-thirtieth, and banking less than one-fiftieth of the total.

Chart 4 presents an analysis of the total national income in terms of incomes received under five different heads.

In this chart, the small percentage represented by tax-

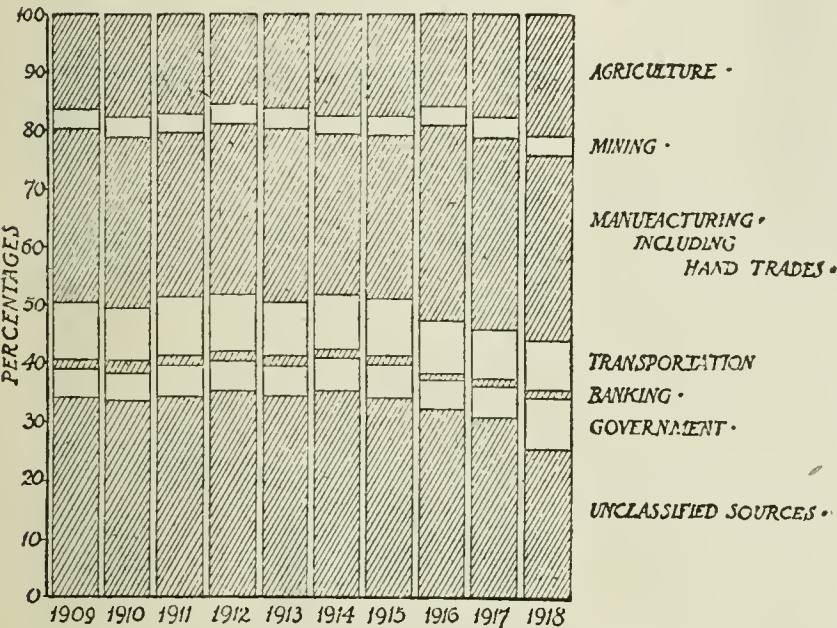


exempt incomes is notable. The enlargement of the "over \$2000" class in the boom years 1916 and 1917 shows clearly; while the under \$2000 group is in all years much the largest. This latter group actually includes a part of the farmers, though farmers' income is shown separately on this chart.

Distribution of the national income among classes of individuals is difficult to follow outside of certain fields, and beyond certain limits, because of the infinite intricacy of the facts, and also the absence (for a large part of them) of any statistical evidences of these facts. Pay-roll and salary figures do permit, however, expression as percentages of the net value products. In Table 2 such figures are given for ten groups.

CHART 3

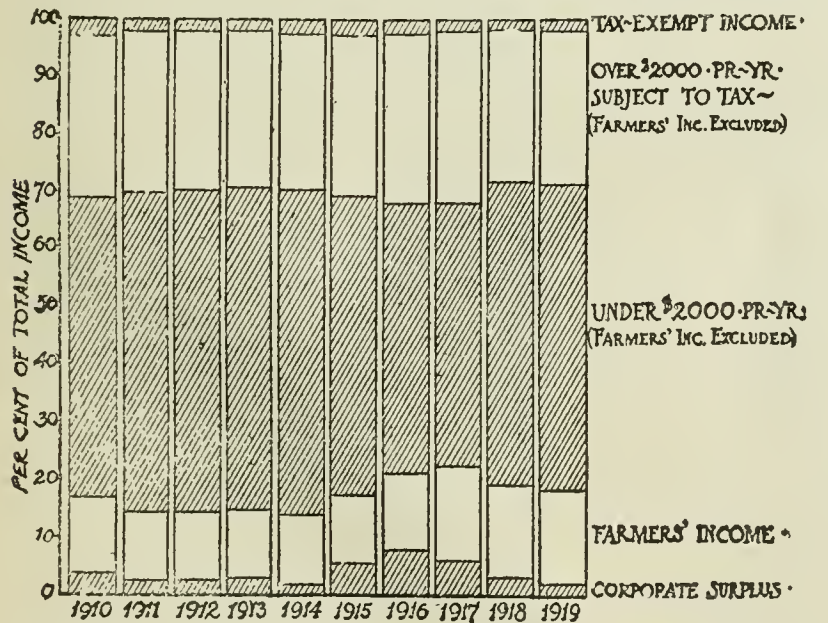
Percentages of the National Income, by Various Industries.



Most striking in this table is the inequality of the percentages for different industries. In agriculture the share of hired labor is very low, averaging about one-eighth of the value product, because the farmer and his family do so much of their own work. In banking it is low because the amount of work required is small in comparison with the capital invested. The hand trades are in similar case

CHART 4

Percentage Division of National Income, by Income Classes.



to farming, because in the hand trades a considerable part of the labor is paid in profits rather than in wages. In mining, manufacturing, water transportation and government work, the percentages are not far from three-quarters of the total. The percentage for all industries is kept down to a little above fifty by the weight of farming with its very low percentage.

The division of the total payments for hired labor between the salaries of officials and manual and clerical workers in the highly organized industries of mining, large-scale manufacturing, and land transportation confirms generally accepted opinions, says the report, (1) that the salaries of officials do not bulk large in the total payroll, and that (2) salaries are distinctly more stable than wages. In these industries salaries absorb not much more than 7 or 8 per cent. of the payroll, and not more than 5 or 6 per cent. of the net value product.

Division of income in these industries as between salaries and wages on one side and management and property on the other shows for the decade that wages and salaries are

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGES OF THE NET VALUE PRODUCT OF VARIOUS INDUSTRIES RECEIVED BY EMPLOYEES, IN THE FORM OF PAYMENT FOR SERVICES  
1909-1918

NOTE:—These figures show merely the share of hired labor of all grades (received as wages, salaries, pensions, compensation for accidents and the like) in the net value product of the several industries. The net value product does not include raw materials, supplies or services received from other industries. These figures do not show the "share of labor" in industry or in the national income; neither do they show the total incomes of employees, many of whom have other sources of income besides their wages or salaries.

Year	All Industries	Agriculture <sup>1</sup>	Production of Minerals	Manufacturing Factories <sup>2</sup>	Hand Trades <sup>3</sup>
1909.....	53.0	15.3	71.0	72.2	57.3
1910.....	52.2	12.5	73.7	71.6	58.9
1911.....	53.9	14.1	73.8	76.4	58.6
1912.....	54.9	14.4	71.4	74.5	59.3
1913.....	55.6	13.4	73.4	74.5	66.7
1914.....	54.7	12.7	72.7	77.8	58.9
1915.....	53.6	12.3	67.4	75.4	58.7
1916.....	51.9	11.7	60.9	68.7	57.8
1917.....	51.6	10.9	63.1	71.0	61.6
1918.....	54.0	9.9	70.6	78.1	59.6

Transportation					
Railway, Express, Sleeping-Car Switching and Terminal Companies		Street Railway, Electric Light and Power, Telegraph and Telephone Companies		Transportation by Water	
				Banking	Government
				Unclassified Industries	
1909.....	59.6	50.4	83.5	26.6	93.3
1910.....	60.3	50.7	75.0	24.3	92.2
1911.....	62.8	51.5	81.7	26.5	91.6
1912.....	64.2	51.7	77.7	28.6	91.7
1913.....	66.4	52.9	79.1	31.6	91.7
1914.....	66.3	53.2	85.6	31.9	91.6
1915.....	61.5	51.1	79.2	34.5	91.3
1916.....	60.9	52.5	72.2	35.5	91.4
1917.....	67.4	55.4	79.1	34.8	90.8
1918.....	78.2	62.8	83.2	36.7	90.5

<sup>1</sup> Includes stock raising, market gardening, etc.  
<sup>2</sup> Includes lumbering and shipbuilding.  
<sup>3</sup> Includes building and construction other than shipbuilding.  
<sup>4</sup> Includes schools and government-operated enterprises under state and local as well as national governments.

near, or a little above 70 per cent. of the net value products, with the share of property and management about 30 per cent. In 1918 the latter share sank to 22.7 per cent., while wages and salaries advanced to 77.3 per cent.

Average money earnings of wage and salary earners are given in the report in a table too elaborate either for reproduction or even summary here. According to the Bureau's figures the economic condition of the average employee improved in the industries covered, from 1909 to 1913. After that, there were sharp fluctuations, the effect of which was to lower purchasing power by about 5 per cent. from the 1913 level in four industries—government (on account of the huge army forces on low pay), public utilities, banks, and unclassified industries. On the other hand, marked gains were made by employees of mines, factories, railroads, and water transportation companies.

The report will appear in two volumes, the second of which (not yet completed) will deal in detail with sources and methods more fully than was appropriate for the main statement of conclusions.



# New Books and Old

## Books of the Week

LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 1846-1906. Edited by Mary Thacher Higginson. Houghton Mifflin.

FAIRY TALES AND STORIES, by Hans Christian Andersen, edited by Signe Toksvig. Preface by Francis Hackett. Illustrations by Eric Pape. Macmillan.

MODERN RUSSIAN POETRY; an Anthology, chosen and translated by Babette Deutsch and Abraham Yarmolinsky. Harcourt, Brace.

A BOOK OF WOMEN'S VERSE, edited with a prefatory essay by J. C. Squire. Oxford University Press.

SEA AND SARDINIA, by D. H. Lawrence. Seltzer.

LIFE, for the vivid young intellectual, is just one blow after another. When Mr. Strachey's "Queen Victoria" appeared, the intellectual was wounded in the house of his friends: the Queen, while often ironically treated, was not shown up altogether as a frump. This was pretty bad, but worse is yet to come. Here is a man trying to rehabilitate Queen Elizabeth! It is Frederick Chamberlain in his volume "The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth" (John Lane). He says, in his introduction, that he had always taken the popular view of Elizabeth, which was that of the school-girl's essay: "Queen Elizabeth was a very improper person; but by reason of great tact she succeeded in being called a Virgin Queen after she was dead." Mr. Chamberlain thinks that Gloriana has been most unjustly condemned by historians and by rumor, and he makes a searching examination of all the charges and evidence against her. It is a curious and amusing book, however it may pain that section of Greenwich Village which, while righteously indignant at the white-washing of historical personages, is also rather prone to enjoy slinging mud at them. And, anyway, as a friend of mine remarked, it is good to know that a certain great State of this Union is under no obligation to change its name.

An impressive roll of the Scotchmen who have helped build this nation is given in Dr. George Fraser Black's "Scotland's Mark on America" (Scottish Section of "America's Making"). With separate sections or chapters devoted to Scots as Colonial Governors, as Signers of the Declaration, Scots in the Presidency, in the Senate, the Cabinet, Scots in the Army, in Education, in Finance, as Inventors, and in a dozen other classifications, the author presents a careful and authoritative account of the extraordinary contribution which Scotland has made to the United States.

That amusing dinner of the editors and contributors to the *Atlantic Monthly*, when Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe and Miss Prescott were guests of honor, is described in part in the "Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson" (Houghton Mifflin). Mrs. Stowe was already a great celebrity; Miss Prescott, afterwards Mrs. Spofford, had just attracted attention by her story "In a Cellar." Mrs. Stowe put a blight on the dinner, in advance, by stipulating that there should be no wine. Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell did not enjoy this innovation—at the first of the *Atlantic* dinners to which ladies had been invited. The feast was held in some Boston hotel, and the ladies were conducted upstairs, as soon as they had arrived, to "lay aside their shawls" and prepare for the banquet—powdering their noses, was not, I suppose, part of the ceremony in or about the year 1850. After a time, the assembled poets below, not knowing to what sort of mystic recess the two ladies had been conducted, indulged in a debate whether or not they should ascend and fetch them down. Finally a servant informed them that an escort would be welcome. Colonel Higginson—the Reverend Mr. Higginson, as he was then—conducted Miss Prescott below, and asked the young lady whether she had had any conversation with the great Mrs. Stowe. "Yes," said Miss Prescott, "she asked me if I knew what time it was and I said that I didn't." It was, I think, at this dinner, that Dr. Holmes developed his theory that profane swearing had been introduced and made a popular custom through the use of the words in a theological sense in the pulpit—a line of conversation which did not make a great hit with the Reverend Dr. Stowe, who sat near by.

From "Modern Russian Poetry" (Harcourt), chosen and translated by Babette Deutsch and Abraham Yarmolinsky:

### AN OLD MAN'S SONG

By Alexey Koltzov

I shall saddle a horse.  
A swift courser, he;  
I shall fly. I shall rush  
As the hawk is keen.  
Over fields, over seas,  
To a distant land.  
I shall overtake there  
My young youth again:  
I shall make myself spruce,  
Be a blade again;  
I shall make a fine show  
For the girls again.

But alas! no road leads  
To the past we've left.  
And the sun will not rise  
For us in the West.

On the second page of Edna Ferber's "The Girls" (Doubleday), a novel which opens with a flavor of Mrs. Watts and Mrs. Wharton, to-

gether with a lively original mixture of the author's own, there are two sentences which gave me pause. Miss Ferber is describing her three girls, all of them named Charlotte. The youngest, who represents flapperdom—she is seventeen or eighteen—is, of course, called Charley. "Charley," says the book, "speaks freely on subjects of which great-aunt Charlotte has never even heard. Words obstetrical, psychoanalytical, political, metaphysical, and eugenic, trip from Charley's tongue."

I wonder. I wonder if Miss Ferber really knows any Charleys (female) who are like that, or has she to put them in her book because they have become stock characters with which to flutter the provincial pigeon-coops. Mr. Scott Fitzgerald invented them, and now no writer of novels or short stories sits down to his typewriter without fishing one or two up from the depths of imagination. Just as no artist can take a stroll in the forest, along the side of a crystal brook, without happening upon a nymph or naiad about to plunge in, so is the novelist singularly sure to know these slim, vivid, young things—fine athletes (cf. Charley in "The Girls"), yet rather better informed in current literature and science than a university instructor. And all at seventeen or eighteen!

Actually, the flapper of today could not even pronounce all those jaw-crackers in Miss Ferber's second sentence. She is about as apt to turn red and uncomfortable at "words obstetrical" as her mother was at her age. She knows that psychoanalysis is something about dreams. She is stumped about politics if you are mean enough to ask her suddenly who is Speaker of the House or how Senators are elected. Metaphysics is—er—oh, I think we take that up next semester. And eugenics means better babies—no, it doesn't, it's purifying the milk supply, or else vaccination for typhoid. She's not sure which. In all respect to Miss Ferber's admirable novel, I think that these wonderful flappers who haunt the fiction of the period 1920-1922 are going to be as grotesque to us in 1950 as the profound heroine of "St. Elmo," who at the age of sixteen discusses Stoic philosophy with the magnificent hero, or—to go still further back—as the "dear, delightful, bouncing girls" who sailed away into the higher mathematics and the subtleties of Unitarianism with "John Bunce," while they prepared hot chocolate for his inner comfort.

And as for her rattling game of tennis (Charley "packed a mean, back-handed wallop") there is invariably a cool woman of thirty-five in the same club who can make a monkey out of her for three straight sets. Why, even her short skirts, with which she hoped she was shocking somebody, are old stuff. Take down your "Martian" by George Du Maurier, and look (page 139) at his picture of "Three Little Maids from School in 1853."

EDMUND LESTER PEARSON



# Book Reviews

## Picturesque Business

IN ONE MAN'S LIFE: THE CAREER OF THEODORE N. VAIL. By Albert Bigelow Paine. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.00.

MR. PAINE'S biography of Theodore Vail is a workmanlike job. It is full of personal touches and of those irrelevant sayings and incidents which make the subject alive for the reader. On the title page of his book Mr. Paine prints a phrase, coined by somebody, "Bell created the telephone and Vail created the telephone business." The statement is correct. This was precisely the contribution that Mr. Vail made to the world.

Men who are in middle life are probably the only people in the world today who can not merely realize but feel the unique character of that contribution. The so-called "miracles of science" are the commonplaces of daily life nowadays, and for people who are still on the sunny side of forty they are the merest routine. Many of them are indeed routine for the older generation, but it is fair to say that only a human being in whom imagination has failed to develop beyond the rudimentary stage can use the telephone without at least a momentary appreciation of the miracle that it is. Thirty years ago, all the telephones in use in the United States were less in number than those today in use on Manhattan Island. When a man moves house nowadays, the first thing that he thinks of is the installation of his telephone. Modern business is absolutely dependent on telephone service. One is almost ashamed to write these words, for they are a truism of the boldest kind, and yet is there any man of the older generation who can, week in, week out, use his telephone *instrument without feeling the thrill that belongs to things preternatural?*

There was no precedent to serve as guide for the development of telephone service. The business was subject to difficulties entirely its own and to laws entirely its own, unlike most of the other great inventions which have become the appliances of civilization. It had to be built with no experience to serve as guide. The unique, the marvelous thing about it was that the mistakes were mistakes of detail only, and that its development was successful at once and thereafter. It is perhaps too much to say that this was entirely due to Mr. Vail, but that his was the lion's share there can be no doubt, in face of what he did as a young man in the Railway Mail service. If ever a man possessed the courage of imagination in the highest degree, it was Theodore Vail. It is rare to find a quality of this sort in practical affairs, conjoined to that quality which is commonly described as the knack of "keeping both feet on the ground." All his life long Vail was backing inventions with his money, and he must have accumulated an extraordinarily variegated stock of many-colored certificates. His biographer quotes him as saying to somebody

that he had never saved a dollar in his life. That sort of thing usually spells a mess, so far as the patient's career is concerned. Of Vail it might be said that he had just enough capacity for keeping his feet on the ground, while yet allowing to his imagination the utmost liberty consistent therewith. No more picturesque career can be found in the annals of American business.

THOMAS F. WOODLOCK

## Poison of the Tropics

THE TREMBLING OF A LEAF. Little Stories of the South Sea Islands. By W. Somerset Maugham. New York: George H. Doran Company.

THE HIDDEN FORCE: A Story of Modern Java. By Louis Couperus. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

MR. MAUGHAM'S title is explained by his motto, a line from Sainte-Beuve which reads in English, "Extreme happiness barely separated by a trembling leaf from extreme despair, is not this life?" From Mr. Maugham's lips we seem almost to get the turn of the definite article: "Isn't this the life?" For he is of those who dwell with a kind of voluptuousness on the ironic hazards of human experience. Like Emily Dickinson, he likes a look of agony, because he knows it's true. These are not pleasant tales, God forbid! The South Sea isles of the chronicler are snaky Edens. They are not far, one might say, from Spoon River, or Winesburg, Ohio. But they lie under a special curse. The tropics may be beautiful to the eye, but these tropics are not pretty to the Northern judgment. In themselves, pictorial qualities aside, they may be easily tolerated or ignored. But they won't let us alone; they lure us to them and then betray us. They too willingly provide a scene for self-betrayal, a sort of hot-house for the forcing and extreme florescence of whatever is malignant and weedy in the Northern nature.

Such are the South Seas of this writer. He worships their beauty, but never trusts it for a moment. And that mood of moral neutrality which he held in "The Moon and Sixpence" must have been held by main force. For it is plain here that he not only perceives the wiles of the Southern charmer, but resents them. He can neither ignore nor without protest endure the spectacle of the havoc played by tropical passion and languor with the blond sons of the North. It is an old story, old before Conrad and before Kipling. Mr. Maugham gives it a note of tense and even fevered irony. Old Walker in "Mackintosh" is made of rough and strong materials, to withstand even the sapping methods of the tropics. His way of bearing the white man's burden is not the polite way of Kipling's British administrators. He has no manners and no scruples, he is a whiskey-soaked tyrant; but he rules his little island kingdom with almost unerring authority and wisdom, because he loves his subjects. When a

crazed native shoots him and he is dying, he pleads with Mackintosh, who would naturally succeed him, not to press any charge that may involve his people: "I don't want anyone punished," he whispers. "They're children. I'm their father. . . . I've loved them, you know, always loved them." Walker is sorry to be taken away, in his gross but still vital age, from his island and his whiskey, his work and his children. Mackintosh is another sort, a sensitive man, a reading man, hopelessly out of place. He cannot face the music, and a bullet through his brain lets him out. Both men have been true enough to their better natures, and both have fallen sacrifices upon the flower-decked altar of the South. The later stories, "The Fall of Edward Barnard," "Red," "The Pool," and, most tragically, "Rain," are all studies in the degeneration of white men in the brown man's country. In "Rain" the case is not one of gradual degeneration, but of the sudden and fatal snapping of a proud soul under the prolonged and insidious strain of contact with the voluptuous lure of the tropics. It is a harrowing tale, and I am not sure that either the maker's intention or his skill quite justifies it, satanically effective though it be.

Readers of Couperus will recall frequent allusions in "The Books of the Small Souls" to "India," the Dutch East Indies where the Hollander of the ruling class may find employment as the Englishman finds it in his larger India. The scene of "The Hidden Force" is laid in Java, and the action concerns the working of those subtle and hardly tangible influences through which the East maintains its own standards and its own powers while succumbing to Western domination in matters of politics and commerce. Van Oudijk, the Dutch resident of Labuwangi, is in some ways comparable to Mr. Maugham's Walker. He thoroughly enjoys his well-nigh autocratic powers in his district, and is at the same time unfeignedly devoted to the welfare of his adopted people. So far as a European may, he knows his Oriental. In any open issue with them he is easily able to hold his own—and "then some." On his first accession to the residency, he has found a friendly old prince, resigned to the fact that Dutch dominance works, on the whole, for the welfare of his people. He leaves two sons, one a drunkard and the other a fanatic; and Van Oudijk's attempts to control them are at the root of his own downfall. This comes about, however, not in any overt fashion, but by the slow undermining influences of a racial hostility which works always by subtle and occult methods. From the beginning a secret menace hangs over the outwardly placid scene. Whatever the nature of this inimical force, whether exerting itself in forms of psychic terror or of petty obstruction, its effect is corrupting and disintegrating. It flatters and increases the sensuality of Van Oudijk's young wife, until in the end



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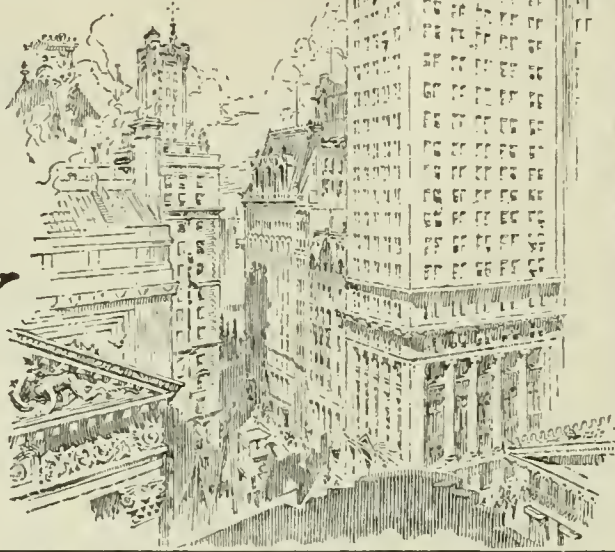
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she becomes a frank harlot; it absorbs his pretty daughter by marriage; it has already cursed his handsome son by mingling its blood with the white blood in his veins. And finally, when family and private happiness and authority have gone to pieces about him, it conquers Van Oudijk himself. It kills his faith and his ambition. He refuses the offer of a higher post, and lingers in the East, a broken man, because he shrinks from return to the Holland he has almost forgotten. Characteristically, Couperus does not finish him off according to recipe. He does not commit suicide or take to drink, but constructs a little happiness out of the remnants of the past, and prepares to go down not ungentle nor in utter loneliness to the grave of one who has served and does not regret his service.

"The Hidden Force" was written twenty years ago, in what Mr. de Mattos calls Couperus's second period—between, we take it, his early "sensitivist" phase and the more solid realism of his later work. It lacks the firmness of characterization and economy of action in a "Dr. Adriaan" or "The Inevitable." It is a novel with an idea, with the merits and faults of such a novel; not to be missed, certainly, by those who give the portraits of Couperus a place near the line, in the private gallery every reader hides away somewhere in the back premises of memory.

Mr. Ben Hecht, author of "Erik Dorn" (Putnam), is engaged in inventing a new literary style. His novel is more apt to be enjoyed by those who look upon literary productions as laboratory experiments, and affect a certain tired disgust for persons who care for a good story rather than the spectacle of a novelist in torture. "Erik Dorn" borrows the three dots of H. G. Wells, the extremely short sentences, which the late Horace Traubel used to employ, and has added to these two devices an occasional excursion into the manner of Else von Freytag-Loringhoven, a writer who proved eccentric even to the readers of the *Little Review*. Erik, himself, has evidently been reading Witter Bynner's "Pins for Wings," for he is given to making epigrams in the style of that work. They are his only consolation, for otherwise he regards the world, American newspapers, the war, his love affairs, the revolution in Germany and everything else with which he comes in contact, with disgust and contempt. Some readers will enjoy Mr. Hecht's sardonic humor and cold distaste for this planet, and regret that there are not more of his good pages and fewer of his stylistic experiments. Others will find his prose very much to their taste, and discover in it the same originality and excitement that exists in a futuristic painting of Times Square, in which the noise of automobile horns is represented by yellow zig-zag streaks, and the low rumble of surface cars by lovely loops of purple paint.

H. W. BOYNTON



# Drama

## The Reign of the Revue

THE MUSIC BOX REVUE. By Irving Berlin. Music Box.

THE GREENWICH VILLAGE FOLLIES. Devised by John Murray Anderson. Shubert Theatre.

THE PERFECT FOOL. By Ed Wynn. George M. Cohan's Theatre.

REVUE reigns in our most beautiful and most expensive theatres. It is by far the most popular type of entertainment offered in Paris, London, and New York. But it is only in New York that it is treated with critical condescension, only in New York that our reviewers tacitly assume that the revue, as a dramatic form, is not worthy of serious attention. As a matter of fact revue is merely a new name for an ancient art. There is as great a tradition in revue as in any other form. Revue is not mere formlessness, not merely, as some of its local producers lead us to believe, a plotless hodge-podge of words, songs, dances, and spectacular *divertissements*, an inchoate, incoherent potpourri of varying degrees of amusement. Revue is rather the drama at play, made up of satire tempered with song. It may be irreverent and malicious, caricaturing the conventions of the contemporary theatre. It is usually based upon the topics of the day. In this sense, revue, one might almost venture to say, has existed from time immemorial. Certainly it flourished in Athens at the time of Aristophanes.

The plays of Aristophanes are more comparable in spirit to the revues that reign today in London, Paris, and New York than to most of our contemporary comedies. Aristophanes snatched up the unconsidered topical trifles of the Athenian day, and, with the aid of dancing and song, created his revues of current celebrities and the intricacies of Hellenic politics. His caricatures were so acid that actors sometimes hesitated to enact them. It is recorded that Aristophanes himself, not unlike the Broadway author today, was compelled at the last minute to "jump into the part" of Cleon, whom he so effectively enacted that his characterization evoked a lawsuit from that dignitary. Like the assembler of our own revues, Aristophanes created his "material" out of the popular topics of the day. And the topics of that day, strangely enough, were radicalism, communism, disarmament, birth control, feminism, and the advocacy of a league of nations. Precisely in the spirit of our own revues is that scene he places in the "thinking shop" of Socrates, in which a comic verbal battle occurs between the Just Argument and the Unjust Argument, the latter of course finally triumphing, even as tonight at the Music Box Willie Collier is almost certain to triumph over Sam Bernard. Even in the day of Aristophanes the revue was of the theatre



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theatrical. Aristophanes derided Euripides, even as the animosities of rival producers today are aired in their revues. Amazing to realize that the passing follies of Athenian life and politics seized upon by Aristophanes and his confrères remain, after all, the permanent interests of humanity, and should give these revues immortality.

No less akin to the spirit of revue were some of Molière's entertainments. In 1670, to divert Louis XIV and his court during the hunting season at Chambord, he got up a show composed of music, dancing, nonsense, and ballets. Later they brought this show in to the Palais Royal, where it amused the populace no less than it had the court, mainly because of its dancing, ballets, and spectacular scenes, and incidentally as well for its comedy scenes. These scenes and ballets were held together by a central character named Jourdain. Yet even in this *divertissement* Molière created a character that lives today; a play that still amuses and entertains, even bereft of music, dances, and elaborate costumes.

The great tradition of the revue assuredly includes the collaborations of Gilbert and Sullivan. Only superficially are they comic operas. The peers in "Iolanthe," those lovesick maidens who surround Bunthorne in "Patience," the indefatigable villagers in "Ruddygore" (always on tap, as it were, "to hail the bridegroom, hail the bride") are examples of a complete realization of what our revue-makers today attempt to do and so very often fail. The Gilbert and Sullivan *opera* are in the spirit of the revue because of their constant and unceasing criticism of the dramatic conventions, the follies of society itself as they crystallize themselves into the drama. Yet we should likewise note that, as in Aristophanes and Molière, there is a unity of idea in all that Gilbert and Sullivan produced. Let us also note in passing that Sir James Barrie has not found the revue beneath his dignity as a dramatist, and once tried his hand at one for the late Gaby Deslys, entitled "Rosy Rapture"; that Arnold Bennett once confessed his desire to create a revue; and that such satirists as the perennial La Fouchardière and Clément Vautel are represented in typically Parisian revues.

If our New York revues fail to live up to the spirit of true revue, it may be because they are not conscious that it exists. Too often they are apt to spend thousands of dollars on costumes and scenery, to engage expensive actors and dancers, and then to relegate the creation of comedy to the veriest hacks. The "Greenwich Village Follies," devised by John Murray Anderson, is an example of a brilliant entertainment for the eye, of a visual appeal seldom equalled in the theatre. There is discrimination and taste in color and lighting. Comic relief, on the other hand, is of the crudest and vulgar type, seldom rising above the level of vaudeville routine, and thus creating an artistic conflict. Audiences with the intelligence to appreciate the



visual refinements must be too discriminating to tolerate these comic puerilities; while those who guffaw at the latter cannot possess the taste for expressive costume and scenery.

Mr. Irving Berlin's new "Music Box Revue" is conceived in a spirit of greater dignity. Housed in the newest and perhaps the most beautiful of New York theatres, it would of course have been unthinkable not to live up to the beauty of these surroundings. Though there is nothing anemic in the satire offered, the revue fails to reveal the touch of a Molière or a Gilbert, who should have been disclosed by the parting of that marvelously embroidered curtain of antique beige satin, who alone would have been worthy of the brilliancy and beauty of the auditorium, the conspicuous display of drapery and costume, the magic mechanical devices. But if the Music Box failed to divulge any comic writer equal to its architecture, it could well rely on the inexhaustible and irrepressible comic genius of so unique a figure of our American stage as Florence Moore, of such veterans as William Collier and Sam Bernard. There was intelligence as well as taste in their diversities; and Mr. Collier proudly called our attention at the end to the total absence of prohibition jokes. There was sound dramatic criticism in Mr. Collier's advice to Mr. Bernard when he suggested to the latter that his play might have a chance if he would "take the misery out of it." How many ambitious young playwrights should heed that warning! Miss Moore, bemoaning the banalities of the bedroom farces in which she had been condemned to star, announced her resolution of going back to Shakespeare. She essayed a bit of the sleep-walking scene in "Macbeth," but retired swiftly from the stage when she came upon these lines:

Wash your hands, put on your nightgown; look not so pale.—I tell you yet again, Banquo's buried; he cannot come out on's grave. . . . To bed, to bed! there's knocking at the gate: come, come, come, come, give me your hand. What's done cannot be undone. To bed, to bed, to bed!

William Collier's "Nothing but Cuts" contained a sound but disastrous lesson in contemporary dramaturgy. The house-hunting burlesque, by Thomas J. Gray, in which the distracted searchers for a New York apartment led us to a climax that faintly echoed the irony of Dean Swift. But rather too often we felt the comedy, like the costumes, was of the pastel shades—faintly amusing, but not as vivid as it might have been.

Of Ed Wynn's entertainment, "The Perfect Fool," it may be said that it is built to exploit the personality of this unusually effective buffoon. It is little more than sublimated vaudeville, and is seldom in the line of what I have perhaps erroneously termed the great tradition in revue.

ROBERT ALLERTON PARKER

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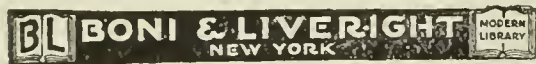
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## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,  
Head of the English Department,  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

#### I. Judge Hooper on the Four-Power Treaty.

1. In 1711 Addison's *Spectator* published daily comments, partly in story form, on characteristics of life in that period. Explain how Mr. Butler's article resembles the *Spectator* articles and how it differs from them.
2. What were the purposes of Addison and of Steele in writing the *Spectator* articles? What is Mr. Butler's purpose in writing his article?
3. Show what positive beliefs Mr. Butler emphasizes through the medium of satire.
4. Why did Addison create such characters as Sir Roger de Coverley and the man called "The Spectator"? Why does Mr. Butler create a character called "Judge Hooper"?
5. Write a somewhat similar satirical, but thoroughly constructive, story-essay on some subject of school life, such as football, baseball or school social life.

#### II. Gustave Flaubert: a Retrospect.

1. What advantage do people gain by celebrating literary centenaries?
2. What is a realistic novel? What is a "naturalistic" novel? Does the article say that present American novelists are writing "realistic" or "naturalistic" novels? Which type of novel does the writer of the article think most worthy of respect?
3. Explain the following sentence: "The Romanticists were entirely personal and subjective; the Realists sought for an objective, dispassionate notation of life, from which the author's personality and his sentiments are eliminated."
4. Show in what respects the following books fall under the heads of romance or of realism: "Silas Marner," "Ivanhoe," "A Tale of Two Cities," "Quentin Durward," "David Copperfield," "Treasure Island."
5. The writer says: "Photographic realism never lives after the external circumstances of the time have changed." What does he mean? What is necessary if a book is to live?
6. The article speaks of a "scrupulous artist, who could spend five days over the writing of one page." What effects would such a writer be most likely to produce?
7. What advantage does a writer gain by seeking for "the exact word" and "the rare epithet"? Explain the full meaning of each term. Explain what means you can employ to enable you to use "exact words" and "rare epithets."
8. What is "verisimilitude" in a novel?
9. Consult an encyclopedia for information concerning the following French writers: Victor Hugo, Dumas fils.
10. What is the French Academy? Is there any similar "academy" in the United States?

#### III. Drama.

1. The writer says that the plays of Aristophanes are somewhat like the revues of today. Consult an encyclopedia for information about Aristophanes and his plays. In what respects are his plays like modern revues?

#### IV. Picturesque Business.

1. Summarize in a single paragraph what the article says about the use of telephones.
2. Write an original short story in which you tell of the adventures of a man of today who was transported into old New York before the days of the telephone; or of the adventures of a man of old New York who suddenly found himself living in the present.

#### V. New Books and Old.

1. What is an anthology of Russian poetry? How can one prepare an anthology?
2. Begin the preparation of an anthology of good newspaper or magazine verse.
3. Go to any library and find information about Hans Christian Andersen. Tell one of his stories. What characteristics of Andersen does the story illustrate?
4. Make a list of the American writers named in the article. Tell something concerning the literary work of every writer.
5. Consult a librarian and gain information about the origin and the history of the *Atlantic Monthly*. What great writers edited that publication, or contributed to it?
6. One writer is said to be given to making epigrams. What are epigrams? What is their value?

### History, Civics and Economics

By AUGUSTUS S. BEATMAN, A. M.,  
Head of the Department of Social  
Science, Julia Richman High School

#### I. Judge Hooper on the Four Power Treaty. The Conference, Do Not Stop Half Way. The Power of Simple Truth.

1. How far do you think Mr. Butler's nonsense is sound sense?
2. Explain the situation at the Conference in relation to (a) the French naval ratio, (b) Chinese questions.
3. Explain the grounds for the demand that the "treaty should be rewritten" in "plenty of plain English."
4. Show the dangers in the Siberian situation. Explain the policy here advocated.
5. Pick out the large ideas of the President which seem to you to carry conviction of their truth.
6. Explain the basis and the importance of the idea that war "to settle the international questions is a futile thing."

#### II. As We Forgive Our Debtors.

1. Show how clearly and completely you can reproduce the argument for remission of the foreign debt.
2. Show in all the ways you can how this article appeals to the greater qualities of the human spirit?

#### III. Deflation—The Federal Reserve System and the Farmer.

1. Review "the economic service which the banks render to the community." Do you think that the proportionate contribution of banking to the national income as shown in Chart 3 in the article on Income is a measure of the proportionate importance of banking in our economic system?
2. Show how a period "of falling prices . . . following a period of rising prices" brings "pressure . . . to bear upon the banker."
3. Describe how "twice in this country within the memory of many persons the standard of value has been all but overthrown under the excitement and resentment arising from the pressure of such conditions."
4. In what way did the stabilizing influence of the Federal Reserve system help "to avoid the financial crisis and complete disorganization which have made havoc elsewhere"?
5. In what ways does Mr. Roberts defend the Federal Reserve system from criticism?

#### IV. Income in the United States.

1. Why is this study of more than ordinary importance?
2. Using the economic definition of wealth state how the wealth of the United States changed between 1909 and 1918.
3. Explain the difference between real and nominal income and state what the charts show about the relation between the two at different periods.
4. Explain the statement: "We have rather patted ourselves for our 'great increase in productive efficiency' during the war; but these graphs show that that increase was in large part an illusion of price-tags."
5. Do you think that a chart showing the contributions to the national income by agriculture and by manufacturing in 1789 would be apt to show about the same percentages as in this chart? Explain your view. In 1860? In 1900?
6. What conclusions can you draw in regard to division of the national income?
7. In the discussion of what specific questions do you think this report would be useful?

#### V. Shaking Down the "Open Price" Trusts.

1. Describe "open price" associations.
2. Give the history of the most notable prosecutions under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. How effective has it been in preventing monopoly?
3. Explain the anti-monopoly suggestion here made.

#### VI. The Economic Situation of Europe.

1. What suggestions for Europe's "measures necessary to self-salvation" are here made?
2. Explain the reported "selfish generosity" of Britain.
3. Show just how much broader than the German reparations question is "the economic situation of Europe" as here discussed.

#### VII. A Meager News-Budget.

1. Debate the advisability of passing the proposed anti-lynching law.

#### VIII. The Tacna Arica Controversy.

1. Look up the controversy and see if you can enlighten yourself on (a) its origin, (b) the points at issue, (c) attempts at settlement.











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